Seminar 8: (Mis)trust, loyalty, scandal: competing notions of legitimacy and fairness in homeless social assistance II
Chair: **Nóra Teller, HU**

Hannah Lucey, IE: Containing Covid: Perspectives from Women in Dublin with Extended Experiences of Homelessness

Dr Hannah Lucey graduated from University College Dublin (UCD) Medicine in 2016 and worked as a junior doctor before starting a PhD in Social Anthropology with the University of Cambridge. She works with mothers who have long-term experiences of homelessness and other complex issues, and is currently conducting 15 months of ethnographic fieldwork in Dublin, Ireland.

For those experiencing homelessness and living in emergency accommodation in Dublin, Ireland's capital city, the arrival of Covid-19 portended disaster. This was particularly true for people with extended histories of homelessness and other complex issues such as addiction, for whom chronic experiences of socio-economic deprivation can lead to multiple co-morbidities and premature ageing (Ní Cheallaigh, 2018). Confronted with this prospect, a collaborative effort was launched by the Health Service Executive (HSE), local councils, homeless and addiction services and voluntary organizations to reduce the risk of viral spread to a 'vulnerable' group. This effort could arguably be considered as successful: rates of infection and mortality from Covid amongst homeless people in Dublin have remained low compared to other, international urban centers (O'Carroll, 2021). However, research thus far has mostly focused on the structural and logistical adjustments around service provision which contributed to the containment of Covid (changes regarding access to opioid substitution therapy, for example). In these accounts, homeless people tend to be portrayed as beneficiaries of decisions made by other, more powerful social actors, rather than relevant agents of change themselves. Less attention has been given to homeless people's perspectives on the pandemic and their involvement or resistance to its response. This is a significant oversight, given that many of the public health measures enacted rely on a level of individual buy-in, and that some prominent 'anti-mask' groups have latched onto the issue of housing and homelessness, potentially making homeless people more vulnerable to the atmosphere of conspiracy projected onto the virus, and its antidote, the vaccine.

Using ethnographic data from 12 months of fieldwork in Dublin, during which I have worked with women experiencing longer-term trajectories through homelessness, this paper explores, firstly, whether the pandemic was considered a legitimate cause of concern by this group, and secondly, the factors which contributed to this perception. Consideration of these questions is important if we are ever to get beyond viewing homeless people as passive recipients in the system, rather than active and worthy contributors towards its change.

Ní CHEALLAIGH, C. 2018. Premature Ageing in the Homeless Population. Dublin: Depaul.
O'CARROLL, A., DUFFIN, T. & COLLINS, J. 2021. Harm reduction in the time of COVID-19: Case study of homelessness and drug use in Dublin, Ireland. International Journal of Drug Policy, 87, 1-6.

Johannes Lenhard, Max Cam, UK: Your own Front Door: The Ethics of Care in a Modular Home Project

Johannes Lenhard is an ethnographer of venture capital and homelessness and currently teaching and researching at the University of Cambridge (as the Centre Coordinator of the Max Planck Centre Cambridge for the Study of Ethics, the Economy and Social Change). Having worked towards a better understanding of survival practices of homeless people in London and Paris for his PhD, he has spent the last four years researching the ethics of venture capital investors. His monograph 'Making Better Lives - Hope,

Freedom and Home-Making among people sleeping rough in Paris' will be published later this year. He contributes regularly to journalistic outlets, such as Techcrunch, Prospect, Sifted, Aeon, the Conversation and Crunchbase.

About one year ago, six people moved into the first modular homes ever installed in the UK. While Covid-19 originally led to postponing the move-in-date, in June 2020 the six free-standing modular homes, quasi-one-bedroom apartments, all equipped with their own entrance and en-suite facilities were ready to welcome their new inhabitants. Support has since been provided by a local homeless charity, experienced in running a hostel and several move-on houses. In this paper, I will present first reflection on three fundamental questions in relation to these modular homes:

1) Who is chosen? The first dispute (to the modular homes but also to any housing) arises around who chooses – the care provider, the council, the funders? Different factors are taken into consideration when taking the actual decision: the project, as the pilot it is, needs to be a success so the residents shouldn't be the most vulnerable people straight from the street. At the same time, it could serve people well that have trouble with shared hostels given the specific setup. Several considerations had to be balanced.

2) What is care (supposed to be) like? Having one's own door, autonomy and being self-defined while being able to access support and care might clash with the need for regular check-ins that could turn into surveillance by staff. How has this been managed in the first year?

3) What do the residents say? Most importantly, in order to judge the (preliminary) success of the project, the voices of the residents are most important. I will close this presentation with a number of observations from residents about the pros and cons of the modular homes, one year in.

Melissa Fielding, UK: Planning for Move On: Consumer and Homemaking Practices in Women's Transitional Housing

Melissa Fielding is a PhD candidate in the Department of Geography at the University of Cambridge.

'Conditionality-based mechanisms are central elements of such tenancy agreements' (Costarelli et al., 2020) and have been central to homelessness responses (Clarke et al., 2019). Shalin has likened approaches to homelessness support to as 'staircase' (2005) highlighting how people enter the system through services that have low barriers to access but then progress 'up through transitional housing by adhering to a range of behavioural conditions that ostensibly prove their housing readiness' (Costarelli et al, 2020). Within the past decade, housing scholars have focused on the 'intensification' of conditionality (Watts and Fitzpatrick, 2018) within the context of austerity, noting that welfare reform and budget cuts have created an environment whereby the legitimacy of social housing has been undermined.

In temporary supported accommodation in Leicestershire, residents must complete a 'Ready to Move-on Assessment' in order to gain access to the social housing register. Whilst this assessment has been in practice for fifteen years, a recent addition entitled 'Planning For Move On' directs tenants homemaking practices as a form of conditionality. This paper explores the ways in which austerity and conditionality interact on a local level, and how new forms of conditionality shape tenants' experiences of the home. Drawing from a series of interviews with housing managers and tenants in Leicestershire in the East Midlands between October 2019 and October 2020, I consider the 'Planning For Move On' assessment as a process that shapes consumer and homemaking practices.

Closing words by Michele Lancione, IT