

Cridge Park tent city from the perspectives of participants

by

Cristal Sargent
BA, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2007

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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There is a growing body of research on homelessness, and collective action amongst the homeless. Tent cities are examples of self-help housing efforts. Tent cities are erected as shelter and make poverty visible in public domains. The form and interaction of tent cities are context specific. The perceptions of tent city participants in Canada remain partly understood by researchers.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate activism and collective mobilization in one tent city – Cridge Park tent city - from the perspectives of tent city participants. I questioned what the experiences in the tent city meant for participants, their perceived public reaction to the tent city, and whether the research participants continue their activism beyond Cridge Park tent city. I present an empirically-grounded case study to uncover four participants' perspectives of their involvement. I used qualitative research methods to access the perspectives of tent cities from four Cridge Park tent city participants.

Cridge Park participants spoke of Cridge Park tent city as a “community” where they enjoyed freedom to negotiate their individual identity and where they found security and safety, which they lost when the tent city was closed. Including houseless persons in the decision-making process for services and policies that directly impact them is required to better meet their needs. Comparative research could investigate contextual differences and influences on the success or failure of tent cities as forms of social movement activities.

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Glossary

Affordable housing	Describes housing that does not require major maintenance or repair, is not overcrowded and does not require tenants to pay more than 30% of their before tax income on rent (Falvo, 2007)
Homelessness	Describes a housing continuum that ranges from absolute homelessness, to relative homelessness, inadequate/unsafe housing, people in core housing need and those at-risk of becoming homeless due to poverty and lack of affordable housing. Homeless persons share the commonality of being without adequate shelter. Homelessness is a continuum that ranges from absolute homelessness, to relative homelessness, inadequate/unsafe housing, people in core housing need, and those at-risk of becoming homeless due to poverty and lack of affordable housing. Homeless persons share the commonality of being without adequate shelter.
Sleeping rough/Sleeping-out	Refers to being unsheltered or roofless and literally sleeping on the streets, in parks, in car lots, or in other places not regulated for sleep (Timms & Balazs, 1997).
Stakeholders	Refers to a diverse group of social actors who have various connections to communities. In this report stakeholders include, but are not limited to, Federal, Provincial/State and municipal levels of government, police/bylaw officers and healthcare agencies, non-profit and community organizations, private-sector organizations, housed persons and homeless persons
Self-help housing	Refers to helping or improving yourself without relying on others. It is an example of exerting one's own power or control to change one's current state. Self-help housing is an example of the implementation of your rights without resorting to higher authorities even when it is illegal
Tent cities	Refers to forms of self-help housing, which may or may not be temporary, are self-governing and self-organized, and exist within broad political contexts; these may be organized and managed by diverse stakeholders
Squatter	conceptualized as a heterogeneous group of political protest actors, who participated in direct action.
Residence	Physical structure, including key dimensions such as permanency or temporary, differential or homogenous functions of rooms, communality or non-communality, identity vs. communality, and openness vs. closedness, which vary across and within cultures.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to those who have experienced unstable housing and to those who continue to struggle for human rights and freedoms.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

The social problem of homelessness is at the forefront of the housing and social development agenda in major cities in Canada. Homeless Action Plans have been developed in Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver, Victoria and in other Canadian cities (Calgary Homeless Foundation, 2008; The Alberta Secretariat for Action on Homelessness, 2008; Potter, Hierlihy, Connelly & Connelly, 2005; Toronto City Council, 2009; Toronto Community Foundation, 2010; City of Vancouver, 2011; Dinning & Davis, 2009; City of Victoria Mayor's Task Force, 2008; City of Victoria, 2011). Ten Year Plans to End Homelessness, such as those proposed in Calgary, include: consulting the community; the construction of affordable, supportive and adequate housing; identifying gaps in support services; addressing the needs of the community; and recommendations for implementing plans (Calgary Committee to End Homelessness, 2008). The City of Toronto has identified links between insecure housing and health crisis (Toronto City Council, 2009), The City of Victoria, British Columbia has committed to supportive housing projects, business plans to provide better assistance to residents who experience homelessness, and integration supports and services that target the hard to house and those who are at risk of becoming homeless (City of Victoria Mayor's Task Force, 2008; City of Victoria, 2011). High rates of housing costs, drug and alcohol use, mental illness, discharge from institutions, the breakup of relationships, and the rising costs of living are among the many cited causes of increased numbers of persons without

housing (Hulchanski, 2001; Kidd, 2005; Pauly, 2008). In the last decade, the Province of British Columbia and the City of Victoria have introduced policy and practices which seek to address the gaps in social services that work and advocate for the rights of impoverished citizens

(http://www.bchousing.org/Initiatives/Housing_Matters;

http://www.victoria.ca/cityhall/pdfs/tskfrc_brcycl_exctvs.pdf).

A large body of research into the social problems of homelessness and the ill effects of being without housing has examined responses by government and service agencies (Hulchanski, 2000; Hulchanski, 2005; Housing Policy Branch: Office of housing and construction standards, 2008; Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2009; Greater Victoria Report on Housing and Supports, June 30,2010). We are now starting to see research studies that seek out the perspectives of persons who experience homelessness in current academic writing (Issit, 2008; Haggis, 2006; Pell, 2006; Pauly, 2008).

Research agendas have raised awareness of dominant social and organizational values that shape housing and housing supports in Victoria, BC, increased funding and support, and recommended implementing changes in policy. Failing to attend to the individual's experience of unstable housing in housing supports and service delivery limits the success in allocation of resources and diverts attention away from social relations that produce social inequalities. Alongside these social changes, persons without housing have reacted to the problem of housing instability in creative and controversial ways.

The phenomenon of *homelessness* is not an illegal act in Canada; however, sleeping outside without overhead shelter and in specific areas and at non-designated times is. Since the 1980s, the issue of *homelessness* has become an active public debate in Canada. The European Typology of Homelessness and housing exclusion (ETHOS) includes a common definition of homelessness as a means of understanding and measuring homelessness (FEANTSA, 2007). This typology includes concepts such as “rooflessness”; “houselessness”; “living in insecure housing”; and “living in inadequate housing” (FEANTSA, 2007). Individuals who fit within this typology have not been passive actors; rather they have used diverse strategies to address the problem of homelessness.

This thesis is divided into sections; the first orients this study within the broader literature. The second section describes the research design of this thesis. The third section describes the findings and discussion, and the final section contains the investigations’ contribution to the existing body of knowledge that addresses houselessness, social movements, and informal tent cities¹. My aim in this thesis is to discover activism and collective mobilization in one tent city - Cridge Park – from the perspectives of tent city participants. I describe one case of a tent city in Victoria, BC, I report on qualitative interviews and questionnaire data collected from four Cridge Park tent city participants, and I identify some of the barriers involved in sheltering oneself. I question what the tent city meant for the people who stayed there, their perceived public reaction to the tent city, and

¹ According to Diani (1992), social movements are dynamic; they consist of a process whereby several different actors come to elaborate through either joint action and/or communication and a shared definition of themselves as being part of the same side in a social conflict (p. 2).

whether they continued activism beyond the Cridge Park tent city. I focus on the concepts of homelessness, the homeless, and activism in discussion of a tent city. The need to reclaim the concept of the *homeless* and individual identity, the right to construct working terms, to define selves, and relationships must come from those who experience being without housing and housing instability.

Researchers have reported on informal and formal tent cities, squats, and shantytowns (Haggis, 2006; Gallant, Tremblay, & Brown, 2010; Nye Knipe, 1999; Wagner & Cohen, 1991; Wakin, 2005). Informal tent cities in this thesis describe settlements that are erected by individual actors and their supporters and may not be publicly sanctioned. Furthermore, cultural festivals, social gatherings, and public events have housed informal tent cities. Informal tent cities are not formally recognized or legitimated, yet they are forms of self-help housing which may or may not be temporary, are self-governing and self-organized, and exist within broad political contexts. Informal tent cities have been used as in protest actions and may be organized and managed by diverse stakeholders. Globally, tent cities have become a visible part of the public urban landscape. Tent cities also exist in rural areas and take shape as informal and formal encampments in both urban and rural communities. Formal and rural tent cities are an important area of inquiry; however, for the purposes of this thesis, informal tent cities in urban areas will be discussed and a case of an informal tent city in Victoria will be examined.

I chose to focus on a tent city at Cridge Park in Victoria because the event was highly publicized; this case is a reference point when reporting on homelessness and other tent cities. In reference to Cridge Park, there was a Supreme Court of

British Columbia Charter challenge led by Cridge Park tent city participants. This case is one example of a number of responses addressing the problem of homelessness in Victoria. The City of Victoria, residents, not-for-profit organizations, advocacy groups, and the Ministry of Housing and Social Development and other government bodies are involved in creating and renewing initiatives to address homelessness. Collaborative partnerships, financial support, policies, and community based research are commitments to end homelessness.

In this thesis research I was concerned with human behaviour and I wanted to know what tent cities meant for those who participate in them. Eventually this data may be used by policy makers to identify housing needs in Victoria or to create policies to address homelessness. This research illustrates that homelessness and tent cities are complex issues; this data represents the voices of a small percentage of persons in Victoria who camped as a means to address homelessness and to suggest alternative housing solutions. This case study was used to collect descriptive data on an informal tent city. Tent cities are a rare social phenomena in Canada and informal tent cities in this thesis illustrate that progress is being made to address the process of homelessness and the complexity of the issue in Victoria. Qualitative interview findings from this research can be compared to the perspectives about tent cities in other contexts. Participants in Cridge Park tent city interacted with their environment and represented collective action, which was optimized by collectively using their bodies at a given time and space. In this thesis research I collected several sources of data, triangulated data, created a case study

database, maintained a chain of evidence, and analyzed data to compare outcomes and to demonstrate relevant evidence.

Houseless persons (“homeless persons”), advocates, and protestors have erected informal tent cities² in public spaces. Canada is no exception; provision of social or state housing is not a federal endeavour. Instead, the burden of housing falls on individual/private owners, the housing rental market, supported or assisted living facilities, and social service providers. As a result of changes in the global economy, low levels of affordable rental housing stock, deinstitutionalization in BC, and the escalating costs of purchasing private housing in Canada, there has been an increase in the numbers of persons without adequate shelter. Social actors in Canada have participated in collective actions that challenge governments to make changes in housing policies and practices (Shapcott, 2009; Wellsley Institute, 2010; <http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/homelessness/index.shtml>). Collective action differs from mundane action and occurs when there is an availability of “social and spatial preserves within which traditional forms may be collectively re-negotiated” (Polletta, 1999). Tent cities are visible displays of lack of affordable housing, the problem of houselessness, and housing inequity, but they can also be displays of community and self-help. Tent cities are a form of collective action where groups use space to challenge and negotiate the use of space, social inequities, and official policies and practices.

² Informal tent cities will be referred to as tent cities for the remainder of this thesis.

Research question(s)

The sociological purpose of this study is two-fold: 1) to investigate advocacy mobilization and protest involvement in tent cities from the perspectives of tent city participants; 2) to understand public perception of the tent city in Victoria.

Symbolic interaction is the theoretical perspective that was applied in the analysis of thesis data. Symbolic interaction helped to make sense of how shelter and the self are interconnected and how we understand shelter by means of shared symbols.

Specifically, Erving Goffman's (1974) *Frame Analysis* was a guiding concept in this thesis research to understand different perspectives of homelessness in media reviews and in the existing literature. Frame Analysis in this thesis is briefly defined as the analysis of how messages are encoded with meanings and how they are interpreted in reference to existing beliefs and ideas. How people think about issues influences official outcomes such as policies applied to homelessness and housing.

The act of framing can influence the allocation of public and private resources.

Frame analysis allows for a nuanced understanding of the role played by the media, officials, advocates, and public opinion in advancing or impeding the issues or goals of those who advocate for more housing resources, services, and supports. In

addition, Goffman's (1951) attention to the presentation of self and the meanings people assign to space and objects is of importance in this thesis. Goffman (1951)

referred to buildings, objects, and places that express prestigious styles of life as status symbols. Physical environments, such as privately owned homes, represent status symbols that may exclude others. The collective actions of homeless persons are expressive and signify recognition of exclusion from community ties.

In this thesis research, I examine the interaction of the frames of participants and the resources used in their framing activities. Frame analysis has been a tool used to assess relationships in politics and in public discourses (Noy, 2009). Examining frames will highlight the existence of shared or disputed frames of participants and in news media. Frame analysis is useful in social science research as it is a representation of discourses (public and individual), politics, policy, and the processes of program implementation. In this thesis, frame analyses helped to explain social movement activity of a tent city that emerged alongside a right to sleep campaign in Victoria. Frames provide voice to social movement actors and advance their perceptions of a collective action. It is important to include the voices of houseless persons as their messages and arguments shape public debate, promote social change, and influence policies, practices, and social programs. In this thesis, my research goals were to investigate urban informal tent cities from the perspectives of participants and to contribute solutions to housing challenges in British Columbia.

Background / rationale

Recently a series of tent cities have been erected by persons without adequate housing and their supporters on Vancouver Island, BC. Case study designs are appropriate when the aim is to understand an instance of a social phenomenon within a broader culture context (Yin, 2003; Yin, 2006). Yin (2007) suggests case studies include a variety of qualitative evidence to evaluate an objective of

investigation. There is currently no Federal housing plan in Canada that addresses the issue of homelessness; however, a number of cities across Canada have city housing plans such as Calgary's Ten Year Plan to End Homelessness ([http://intraspec.ca/Calgary's10YearPlan\[1\].pdf](http://intraspec.ca/Calgary's10YearPlan[1].pdf)). The case study of Cridge Park tent city presented in this thesis illustrates the interaction of frames, resources, and policy changes. Thesis findings highlight the connection between perceptions/meanings and (material and immaterial) resources in collective action.

The following case study provides a brief history of the Cridge Park tent city, the right to sleep campaign, and the resulting bylaw policy changes in Victoria. For the purposes of this thesis I define the *right to sleep campaign* as an active social movement including a protest for the rights of those individuals who sleep outside. The right to sleep while protecting oneself from elements and exposure is a key concept in this thesis. Symbolic interaction is useful in studies of housing and, in this case, tent cities, as it helps to explain connections between the housing market, housing structures, emotions, perspectives, and conduct. Framing was a theoretical framework for understanding homelessness. Symbolic interaction theory was used to understand the influence of a lack of housing in urban environments and the shared symbols and meanings between self and society from the perspective of tent city participants.

Case study

In this section I describe a case study that was constructed from data collected in this thesis research. This includes a discussion of Cridge Park tent city,

the right to sleep campaign, and the collective action engaged in by persons without adequate housing in Victoria. I will discuss the collective action, tent city, and the unified action in collective resistance to City of Victoria Parks Regulation bylaw and the Streets and Traffic bylaw that made sleeping outside illegal (City of Victoria, Bylaw No. 07-059, Part 3 (14, 15)). This case study adds to existing case studies that examine tent cities in the Canadian context (Isitt, 2008; Pell, 2006; Haggis, 2006). This case was selected for several reasons: because it is located in North America; Victoria has experienced a series of tent cities; Cridge Park tent city was an informal tent city; and there were responses to problems of homelessness by a collective group. In Cridge Park tent city, participants visibly responded to the issue of homelessness through collective actions (erecting temporary shelters on Provincial- and City-owned land) and made official changes to policy, property rights, and practices in the Province of BC.

In 2005, a heterogeneous group pitched tents in Cridge Park, a public city park, and made visible the plight of homelessness, the right to shelter, and right to sleep in public places in Victoria. This was not the first instance of a tent city in recent Victoria history. Others include the Occupy Victoria Movement, Beacon Hill tent city, and St. Ann's Academy encampment. The downtown location of the public park - Cridge Park - made this tent city visible to the public. The constituency involved in the collective action encountered a series of punitive, structural, material, and non-material barriers in the campaign for the right to sleep Victoria. During this time, there were punitive responses, such as anti-camping bylaws, which were enforced by the City of Victoria bylaw officers and police, and were sanctioned

by City of Victoria counsellors. As a result of punitive measures, a number of constituents / “campers” were arrested. Bylaw officers and police cited the obstruction of justice and trespassing as rationale for the arrests. The arrestees, protesters, campers, and houseless persons’ chattels were seized by Victoria police. In response, a group of activists and concerned citizens gathered at the Victoria City Hall to speak with the mayor about the lack of suitable sleeping space in Victoria (Love and Fearlessness, 3/19 12:26).

Cridge Park tent city was preceded by activist organizations on the BC legislature laws in Victoria (2005), where students protested the rising costs of tuition in British Columbia. In the tent city protest dubbed “Camp Campbell”, students gained constituents including persons without housing and their supporters.

“Originally University of Victoria students on legislative grounds protesting tuition hikes. At Cridge Park only truly homeless remained, students returned to classes.” (Peach, 29/10/2008).

The right to sleep constituents pitched tents, laid blankets, and created a tent city that lasted three weeks. This protest event was an opportunity to organize and foster networks of support, which are important resources for activists (Soule, 1997, p. 863; Cress, 2000; Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986)³. Participants in Cridge Park tent city were described in a sample of 35 newspaper articles as homeless, activists, (urban) (homeless) campers, unfortunate members, people who sleep outside, propagandists, dangerous and lawless, street people, and squatters.

³ Although it is beyond the scope of this study, scholars could examine if there were linkages or networks that were established at “Camp Campbell”.

These concepts vary but were used to describe the constituents in a Victoria tent city who were seeking more shelter options.

In 2005 there were many more persons without adequate shelter than there were available shelter beds in Victoria (MacLeod, 16/06/2009). Due to the lack of affordable housing and shelter supports in Victoria, individuals with unstable housing had no choice but to sleep outside. The responses of the City of Victoria towards persons sleeping on the streets impacted the health and wellness of the unhoused, as well as their social connectedness to the Victoria community (Pauly et al., 2011). At that time, all public land in Victoria became private after 10pm, and anyone who was taking up temporary abode after then could be considered a criminal (Love and Fearlessness, 03/19 14:50). Police and bylaw and security officers could wake up, ticket, and arrest someone for sleeping in public. Any possessions not attached to the person could be confiscated, including tents, tarpaulins, and sleeping bags. At this time several people were arrested and jailed, some numerous times.

In Victoria, there are policies and bylaws that limit the use of public space. This includes what occurs in that space, even necessary human behaviours such as sleeping. Municipalities, social services, and community members recognized that there was an increasing number of houseless people (often referred to as the *homeless*) in the BC capital city. Diverse stakeholders identified the negative effects that being without shelter has on the health of a community and the health of the individual.

Evidence from a 2005 “Homeless” count in Victoria showed that the homeless population was diverse: the majority were from Victoria, many of those persons counted experienced health problems (Victoria Homeless Count - 2005, 15/08/2005). Although there are methodological issues with homeless counts, findings from a Victoria 2007 Homeless Count and in the Coalition to End Homelessness in Victoria’s document *Hungry and Homeless* (2011) showed that on the night of the count, 700 persons were found sleeping outside and in shelters; of this number 168 participated in the study by providing at least partial data (http://www.solvehomelessness.ca/content/file/GVCEH_Report_on_Housing%20single%20pages.pdf). The count showed there were significant differences in the shelter needs of groups based on age, culture, gender, and identity (Victoria Homeless Survey, 2005, p. 10). Researchers acknowledged there were structural and individual barriers in accessing the housing market, assisted and temporary housing, and in emergency shelters in Victoria.

In 2004 David Arthur Johnston began a right to sleep campaign and publically and officially addressed social injustices and human rights issues encountered by unsheltered individuals. In 2005 the right to sleep stand became public news and the collective action began at St. Ann’s Academy in Victoria, which was the first Catholic Church in BC. By that time, St. Ann’s Academy was owned by the BC provincial government and housed the Ministry of Advanced Education. After several encounters with St. Ann’s Academy security, David Arthur Johnston was arrested for sleeping in public. The struggle did not end there, and the right to sleep constituency grew and erected tents at St. Ann’s Academy. During 2007, the City of

Victoria and the Mayor's Task Force on Mental Illness, Addictions and Homelessness mobilized a Homeless Task Force to identify gaps in services and provide suggestions for housing the large number of persons without adequate housing in Victoria (http://www.victoria.ca/cityhall/tskfrc_brcycl.shtml).

On 23 September 2005, campers at St. Ann's Academy grounds (the 618th day of the right to sleep campaign) were ordered by the BC Provincial government to vacate St. Ann's Academy property. The police were called in to remove the 'trespassers' camping on the property. On 5 October 2005, a Supreme Court Justice issued an injunction that ordered the campers to vacate the St. Ann's Academy grounds (Issit, 2005, p. 14). Some stated that the BC provincial government lacked imagination regarding alternative housing in Victoria. Many of the campers complied with the order to vacate and moved across the street to a City of Victoria property - Cridge Park - on 6 October 2005. The tent city sparked a sense of community for the more than 70 campers who enjoyed a make-shift kitchen, a safe space to sleep, access to supports and networks, and an opportunity to build friendships. As a result, the tent city grew each day and at one point estimates suggested there were over 100 participants.

Newspapers reported the variety of social experiences at Cridge Park tent city. A moral and legal debate began in Victoria on the subject of the right to sleep under the BC Charter of Rights and Freedoms. I make use of two senses of the term moral: one has its roots in the notion of mores, or customary ways of regarding roles and their occupants; a second has to do with personal character, disposition, and virtue. Addressing systemic differences in our social structures draws attention to

procedure, values, decision-making in addressing equity (Varcoe et al. 2009, p. 7).

Newspaper reports identified a community that developed at the tent city, alongside which deviancy was present in the setting (MacLeod, 20/06/2008; Shaw, 26/11/2008). The former Victoria mayor Alan Lowe and local officials pursued legal action to remove campers and on 28 October 2005, Cridge Park tent city was broken up by a police raid.

The Cridge Park tent city constituents were pushed out of the public and denied a communal space (Issit, 2008, p. 14). Understanding tent cities within contemporary typologies of social movements makes it difficult to define tent cities as social movement organizations (SMOs). However, tent cities are examples of collective action which can be a part of an SMO's repertoire of contention. In the case of Cridge Park tent city, resistance was organized through informal social networks, curiosity, and word-of-mouth/news reporting. A group of roofless persons and their supporters gathered outside St. Ann's Academy non-violently used their bodies to occupy space visibly and show their presence in the City of Victoria. The tent city at Cridge Park was small, and is not considered mob-action; attention was drawn to the demands for more shelter space and the right to sleep. However, the group did nothing to address the underlying causes of poverty.

The eviction of campers and arrests of several Cridge Park tent city activists set in motion a legal challenge against City of Victoria bylaws: No. 09-079 (Streets and Traffic Bylaw) and No. 07-059 (Parks Regulation Bylaw). Activists argued that these bylaws infringed on Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms S.7 Life, Liberty and Security of the Person. The case went to the BC Supreme Court and the tent city

participants were supported by University of Victoria law students and pro-bono lawyers in their case. The tent city participants' lawyers, Catherine Boies Parker and Irene Faulkner, argued that there were insufficient shelter spaces available in Victoria for the approximately 1,500 homeless persons in the city. Further, they argued that to deny someone the right to erect shelter to protect themselves from the elements was unconstitutional. Citing Section 7 of the BC Charter of Rights and Freedoms, lawyers for the campers argued for and won the right to sleep and to erect temporary shelter in public parks and green spaces. A few days after the 2008 decision that permitted camping in public spaces, the City of Victoria passed a bylaw amendment limiting the times of camping between 7pm to 7am. This curfew restricted the times in which necessary activities – sleeping – could be legally performed in public. At the time of writing this thesis, camping in public is permitted between the hours of 7pm to 7am in Victoria.

The actions by the City of Victoria illustrate the top-down approach that is often taken in order to manage poverty. The City of Victoria applied for a declaration and permanent injunction against tent city participants. Officials argued that the campers in Cridge Park were injuring or destroying turf and trees in the park, disposing waste, selling or exposing for sale goods without expressed permission of counsel, carrying weapons, limiting bylaw officers' ability to enforce bylaws, and obstructing the free use and enjoyment of the park by other persons (*Victoria (City) v. Adams*, 2009 BCCA 563, Para. 15). In August 2007, the City of Victoria repealed and replaced the Parks and Regulation bylaw that prohibited loitering in public places. In September 2007, the Federal and Provincial governments were given the

opportunity to intervene. The Federal government declined, but the BC Provincial government remained involved as the case went to trial. Veronica Jackson, a lawyer representing the Provincial Attorney General's Ministry, described sleeping as involuntary and not a choice (MacLeod, 07/03/2008). However, Jackson argued that erecting a tent is something people can control and that there is no government legislated or constitutional right to shelter. At that time, the policy in Victoria was that people were allowed a waterproof sleeping bag or tarpaulin to protect themselves, but not a tent, cardboard box, or anything attached to trees such as a tarpaulin.

In 2008, Madam Justice Carol Ross of the Supreme Court of British Columbia found that in the absence of adequate housing for all, a blanket ban on shelter constituted an unjust infringement on life, liberty, and security of person as protected under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (*Victoria (City) v. Adams*, 2008, BCSC 1363). This ruling offered some relief to the city's homeless in terms of their obligatory transition from place to place to avoid infractions issued by police and city parks workers (DeVerteuil, Marr & Snow, 2006; Lee and Price-Spratlen, 2004).

The issue of health and exposure are significant to the above-referenced court decision, but is also important in terms of developing healthy communities in BC. Arguments in local news reporting on Cridge Park tent city were framed in terms of equalizing the civil rights of all citizens in Victoria. Catherine Boise Parker, a lawyer working with the campers, was reported as saying,

“[T]o be able to sleep at night and not put one's health at risk is a basic human need... if it's raining or it's cold or it's wet, you won't be able to stay outside without some shelter-- so that right to sleep is an illusory.” (Bell, 06/18/2008)

Simon Ralph, who spent time at Cridge Park, critiqued the disparity in Canada between those who have housing and those who do not,

“When there's a disaster overseas, the Canadian government sends sleeping bags. But when there are people here who are homeless, they're denied that basic right.” (MacLeod, 20/06/2008)

Natalie (Karma) Adams was named one of the plaintiffs in the Supreme Court case (*City of Victoria v. Adams*, 2008 BCSC 1363). She experienced unsafe conditions and violence after the tent city was dismantled,

“When they broke up tent city I was camping out [alone] in Beacon Hill Park.... I ended up having a sexual assault and got pregnant. It wouldn't have happened if they left the tent city alone.” (MacLeod, 20/06/2008)

News reports estimate that approximately two houseless people per week die in Victoria during the winter months (Peach, 29/10/2008). Despite the BC Supreme Court ruling, counterarguments have challenged the decision that a City of Victoria bylaw infringed on the rights of persons to protect themselves by erecting shelter when no other shelter options are available. For example, the City of Victoria argued for time and place restrictions for when and where tents and other makeshift shelters can be erected (*City of Victoria v. Adams*, 2008 BCSC 1363). For example,

“Two B.C. courts have now ruled that the City of Victoria was wrong to prevent homeless people from setting up tents in downtown parks. Let's bypass the fact that a good portion of the campers were propagandists who use "homelessness" as a bludgeon. Our courts seem bent on redrawing civic rights in a way that has no foundation in law” (McFarlane, 12/28/2009).

Counter-frames emerged in local news reporting of the tent city that even in cold weather, emergency shelters were not reaching capacity (Hatherly, 11/12/2009).

Yet, social service workers in frontline shelter work reported difficulties in maintaining support services in Victoria:

“Lack of funding and support for treating addictions is keeping others from being able to help themselves off the street” (Dickson, 13/05/2007).

The BC Supreme Court ruling (2008 BCSC 1363) and accommodative response by the City of Victoria at that time offered no solution to the question of how to end homelessness or house those without shelter. Reactions to the decision were mixed for Victoria residents:

“Until society step ups and provides affordable housing, the homeless will need places to live, aside from crowded and dangerous shelters. It's better that they live in a city park than at the back doors of businesses or on courthouse stairs” (Longworth, 20/10/2008).

“The tents signal a desperate need for a creative plan of action that stabilizes the community” (McKay, 20/10/2008).

“To me this is terribly demeaning and demonstrates a complete lack of respect for people who have no homes. It is like saying you should never aspire to anything other than the life you've got. All your worth is unhealthful, humiliating, undignified existence.... we want you to scrape by on the fringes of our society” (Scot, 15/08/2006).

The group initiated a visual display of moral outrage against perceived injustices. In the face of neo-liberal social policies and police practices, tent city activists successfully appealed to human and moral rights to housing that exist in Canada. The group of “campers/activists/marginalized populations/unfortunate members/people who sleep outside/homeless persons” framed their experiences as out of the ordinary and in need of remedy.

These rights frames highlighted the importance of safety, social inclusion, organization, independence, and justice in Victoria. Campers and their supporters

framed rights by referring to the conceptualizations of Life, Liberty and Security of the person guaranteed in the BC Charter of Rights and Freedoms (S. 7). Campers' frames provided a basis for understanding the social injustices, informed the public of the direction and meaning of collective action, and pointed to which cultural practices should be affirmed and which should be rejected.

Campers' frames also illustrated the exploitative relationships with structures and within relationships, practices and cultural norms, and social exclusion experienced in Victoria by houseless persons. This implicit prejudice was less visible to 'housed' citizens and as such particular issues and modification in existing bylaws needed to be addressed in places where they could actually exhibit change (e.g. the Supreme Court of BC). On 16 June 2008, right to sleep constituents filed a constitutional challenge to the bylaws that prevent people from sleeping and providing shelter for themselves. The right to set up temporary shelters in public parks was upheld by the BC Court of Appeal on 9 December 2009⁴.

Contribution to the literature

In this thesis research I present a case study of a tent city, access the self-reported perceptions of the tent city, examine the framing of the homelessness in past literature, detail participants' responses to interview and questionnaire data, and describe participants' perceptions of the media coverage of Cridge Park tent city. Data provides empirical evidence that in Cridge Park tent city problem/rights framing enabled cooperation, a sense of community, safety and security (the right to

⁴ R. v. Oakes (1986)

sleep), and individual identity. I use symbolic interaction theory to measure a sample of tent city participants' responses regarding their participation in the Cridge Park tent city and to highlight the existence of shared themes between the participants. I triangulate this data by comparing findings with a sample of 35 event data articles. I attempt to overcome the elite bias that has been critiqued in the existing sociological literature (Benford, 2000; Diversi & Finley, 2010). An elite bias focuses on the movement elites and "neglects the rank-and-file participants, potential recruits, bystanders and others" (Benford, 2000, p. 421). Frames can be better made sense of by examining perspectives of movement participants, event data, and other public forms of criticism as well as elite discourses (Torck, 2005).

Structure of thesis

There have been few qualitative interviews with persons who participated in the Cridge Park tent city (Isitt, 2008). This thesis addresses this gap and offers four participants' views of their experience in Cridge Park tent city. I question what actions and mobilization/protest were experienced by participants in Cridge Park tent city; what the experience in Cridge Park tent city meant for participants; how the research participants perceived the public reaction to the tent city; and whether the research participants continue their activism beyond Cridge Park tent city.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In this chapter I outline the selected literature I reviewed for my research. I begin with a discussion of definitions of homelessness; I then analyze changes in the definitions and the varied ways these concepts are used. I discriminate between how I apply the concepts of the homeless and homelessness and explore academic discourses on this topic. Following this discussion, I explore the framing literature as a theoretical analysis and provide examples of definitions of homelessness. I examine the predominant theories of homelessness and consider individual constructions how homelessness has been framed as a social problem. I discuss collective action and responses to poverty, including a discussion of the actions by Social Movement Organizations (SMOs), homeless persons, non-profit organizations, activists, and collaborative approaches towards poverty reduction with governmental bodies.

Homelessness occurs all over the world. However, this review of the literature will focus specifically on North American concepts. In this literature review, I will draw a link between framing by social movement actors and framing of other reporting sources. I discuss mobilization by the poor and creative responses to housing shortages, homelessness, and poverty. Particularly, I will focus on one response to homelessness: tent cities.

Definitions of homelessness

Sociologists have explored essential elements of the reality of homelessness and have used the concepts of the homeless and homelessness in their analyses. The goal of this section of the literature review is to provide a more comprehensive description of the concepts of homelessness and the homeless in the social science literature. Whom do our dominant images of homelessness represent? In order to move forward and find solutions to end homelessness and the stigma attached to the homeless label, it is important to recognize the intersecting individual characteristics and experiences that have led persons to become at risk of being without housing. Research has shown that stigma associated with homelessness can have very negative impacts on the mental, emotional, and physical health of individuals, which impacts the access of housing supports and resources (Pauly et al., 2011)

The concept of homelessness refers to lack of adequate and affordable and stable physical structures such as apartments or houses. The definition includes being without shelter (e.g. sleeping rough) and being without a temporary or permanent place to sleep. Living in insecure housing, facing social exclusion and living illegally in squats and campsites are important classifications of homelessness. Persons who are without housing face social barriers and challenges in public spaces and encounter social stigma. Stigma, according to Goffman (1963), is about relationships used to describe persons rather than the attributes a person possesses. Social scientists have discussed the stigmatization of homeless people found in popular discourses that have legitimated inequality ideologies. Researchers

have explored the effects of being labelled homeless (Phelan, Link, Moore, & Stueve, 1997; Kidd, 2005; Boydell et al., 2000; Lankenau, 1999; O'Grady & Gaetz, 2004).

Scholars have identified the need to develop more nuanced concepts of the heterogeneous homeless population to acknowledge the large variety of housing situations to which the definition applies (DeVereuil & von Mahs, 2009; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992). Homelessness is a process rather than a static phenomenon; this must be acknowledged in order to dispel the stigma attached to the concept. The elimination of stigma is essential to housing and the facilitation of resources and housing supports (Pauly et al., 2011).

Stigmas attached to persons without housing have prohibited and challenged their full social acceptance into North American communities (Phelan, et al., 1997; Roschelle & Kaufman, 2004; Kidd, 2007; Mickelson & Williams, 2008; Rush, 1998; O'Grady & Gaetz, 2004; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992; Pauly, 2008). Historical research reveals that poor laws in the United States enforced stigmatizing measures, regulated the homeless, denied citizenship rights, and separated families (Phelan et al., 1997, p. 323). The concept of homelessness, which is imposed on individuals, accompanies blame and individualizes the social problem. Homeless people experience multiple stigmas: the process, perceived stigmas, social stigmas, and stigmatizing experiences (Roschelle & Kaufman, 2004; Kidd, 2007; Mickelson & Williams, 2008; Springer, 2000).

The ambiguities and differences in the ways in which newspapers cover the problem of homelessness in Victoria provide contextual meaning to the concepts of homelessness and the homeless. A number of categories and causes of homelessness

have been identified in the sociological literature. Factors that influence housing include alcohol and/or substance use, gender, sexuality, children, youth, elderly persons, soldiers, persons with mental illness, persons who are street involved, single parent families and de-institutionalization (Frankish, Hwang, & Quantz, 2005; Morrow, Hankivsky, & Varcoe, 2004; Snow & Anderson, 1993; Larsen, Poortinga & Hurdle, 2004; Larimer et al., 2009; Wang, et al., 2000; Hwang, Tolomuczenko, Kouyoumdjian, & Garner, 2005; Frankish, Hwang, & Quantz, 2005; Morrow, Hankivsky, & Varcoe, 2004; Shaw, 2004; Daiski, 2007; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992; Pauly, 2008)

Historically, persons without housing have been described as social outcasts, deviants, undeserving, and undesirable (Roschelle & Kaufman, 2004; Mickelson & Williams, 2008; Kidd, 2005). Internal and perceived stigma by persons who experience poverty has been addressed by researchers (Mickelson & Williams, 2008; Kidd, 2005). Other concepts of homelessness have typically streamed individuals into two categories: the 'absolute homeless' those who sleep rough on the street, or in emergency shelters and are visible to the public gaze (Spinger, 2000; Hwang, 2001; Girard, 2006; Fielder, Schuurman & Hyndman, 2006, p. 205; Housing Policy Branch, 2008). 'Relative homelessness' is another category used in Western contexts and refers to a homelessness that is largely invisible (Main, 1998). These categories describe individuals who are invisible, including those forced to double-up in shared accommodations, or where housing is unaffordable and

individuals are unable to obtain private dwellings⁵. Concealed homelessness is a temporarily housed situation whereby an individual lives with family and or friends because they are unable to afford shelter. There are multiple and varied terms used to define homelessness, yet the European typology of homelessness and housing exclusion (ETHOS) definition of homelessness implies a process whereby an individual is recognized as passing along a continuum of homelessness. This concept recognizes that there is a need for support prior to as well as once one is roofless. Without friends' or family's accommodation, concealed homeless persons would be without shelter. Researchers have identified another category of "at risk" of homelessness (Springer, 2000), which refers to people who may face losing their shelter through eviction or expiry of lease and do not have anywhere else to live. The ETHOS definition has evolved to include housing deprivation, transitions along the housing continuum, and attempts to cover all of the living situations that amount to homelessness in Europe (<http://www.feantsa.org/code/en/pg.asp?page=484>). This concept is applicable beyond the European context and has been applied in Canadian contexts. For example, in a literature review of Saskatchewan's housing crisis, O'Byrne (2010) used the ETHOS concept to identify the domains that constitute living without a home (e.g. physical, social, and legal) (O'Bryne, 2010, p. 1). O'Bryne, in their analysis of domestic abuse and homelessness, used the ETHOS concept since it encompasses a variety of groups who may be considered homeless in Canada (2010).

The category of being homeless has been framed as a devalued social

⁵ Cultural conceptualizations of who is homeless are largely reflective of these two categories and are influenced by gender, racialization, age, relationship status, ability, context, and time.

location in North America society. Research has shown that persons who experience homelessness engage in stigma management strategies to pass as a part of a valued category (e.g. housed person) (Roschelle & Kaufman, 2004; Kidd, 2005). Stigma is attached to a perceived problem rather than to the physical evidence of it. As Link and Phelan (2001, p. 367) argue,

“[S]tigmatization is entirely contingent on access to social, economic, and political power that allows the identification of differentness, the construction of stereotypes, the separation of labeled persons into distinct categories, and the full execution of disapproval, rejection, exclusion, and discrimination.”

Persons without housing face multiple barriers. They may lack access to the social, economic, and political powers that allow for the construction of categories (stereotypes, labels). When one is unhoused it is difficult to disapprove or reject alienating categories such as “homeless bum” (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 367).

Erving Goffman’s (1959) concept of identity management is useful as it describes individual management of social impressions during social performances. Stigma management is micro-interactional and is a consequence of macro-level processes such as a lack of affordable housing (Isitt, 2008). Impression management may involve the manipulation of one’s own appearance in order to pass as someone who is housed. For example, persons without adequate housing may dress themselves in clothing that does not give others the impression that they are houseless. Dress is an important indicator of an individual’s social status (e.g. as housed). Houseless persons are often excluded from consumer markets because they do not possess the capital required to purchase material objects such as clothing and accessories used to pass as housed. The social services that work with

homeless persons provide goods to individuals, but these are based on community donations and may not match the aesthetic norms of the culture (Snow & Anderson, 1987).

Identity management involves the use of, relationships within, and management of physical environments. For example, women without housing may 'hide' from public view and may choose to stay in unsafe environments as opposed to sleeping outside (Gaetz, 2004; Glisson, Thyer & Fischer, 2001). Often times, the 'absolute homeless' category suggests a male homeless body, and 'relative homelessness' is a concept that tends to be used to express the female body (Kingfisher, 2007). However, social scientists have reported the growing familial relative homeless problem in North America (Roschelle & Kaufman, 2004). Homeless categories also frame homelessness in gendered ways. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis research, a comparison between stigma management strategies used by unhoused persons in differing global contexts would provide a greater understanding of identity management strategies in different cultures/contexts.

Additional research on homelessness in North America has examined street homelessness, focusing on the single male homeless population. Researchers have stated that it is essential to study women, youth, and children who are homeless and the stigma management strategies they use in social interactions (Roschelle & Kaufman, 2004; Kidd, 2005; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992). For many without adequate housing, homelessness becomes a central identity marker and their social interactions are largely framed within a homeless lens (Roschelle & Kaufman,

2004). It is important to critique current stigmatized categories such as the homeless in order to address the issue of houselessness (Kingfisher, 2007).

Framing homelessness

Social service agencies, governmental bodies, not-for-profit organizations, social movement organizations, and individual actors participate in framing collective action. In the process of framing, different interests generate motivational relevance. Framing activities are temporal and frames can shift over time. Analysts have described how characterizations of some event/occasion may differ greatly within an organization and external to it (Goffman, 1974). Frames describe a situation and are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events and the subjective involvement with them (Goffman, 1974; Phelan, Link, Moore & Stueve, 1997).

Frame analysis has been used as a research tool in the social sciences and refers to the terms of the organization of experience (Noy, 2009). Frame analysis has been applied in research to explain media reporting, social movements, public services, politics, context, and interactions to frames providing understandings of the world that precede stories (Noy, 2009; Scheff, 2005; Benford and Snow 2000; Snow et al. 1986; Gamson 1992; Kretsedemas, 2000; Croteau & Hicks 2003; Snow et al. 1986). Data from past studies shows that framing homelessness tends to individualize the problem instead of focusing attention on creating new services, modifying existing programs and policies that marginalize those living in poverty

(Noy, 2009; Croteau & Hicks, 2003; Snow, 2000; Torck, 2001). Social scientists have examined the silencing of discourses of homelessness in mainstream news media (Huckin, 2002; Kingfisher, 2007).

Frames help to construct shared understandings of what is going on. Attention has been drawn to the successes and failures of framing in policies, media reporting, public opinion, organizations, and social movements (Hallgrimsdottir, 2006; Noy, 2009). The contexts in which framing occurs and the interaction between individuals and organizations influence the successes or failures of frames (Noy, 2009; McCarthy, Smith, & Zald, 1996; Scheff, 2005). Three types of framing have been identified as core concepts in the framing literature: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing (Benford, 2000; Cress & Snow, 2000). These three types of framing could be used to frame discourses of homelessness in Canada. Diagnostic framing problematizes an issue, focuses attention on issues, identifies players involved in an issue, and helps shape the perception and significance of an issue (Cress & Snow, 2000). Prognostic framing directs attention to solutions or goals for an organization and identifies means or tactics for achieving the objectives (Benford, 2000; Cress & Snow, 2000). Motivational framing acts as a core framing task and is a call to arms or rationale for engaging in collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617; Cress & Snow, 2000).

Challengers to an issue may offer counter-frames that provide different portrayals of problems, often with contrasting implications for roles, responsibilities, and resources (Benford & Snow, 2000; Coburn, 2006). Contentions in framing are referred to as frame disputes (Benford & Snow, 2000). These

disputes require negotiation within framing and between frames that is likely to be shaped by the structures of power and authority within a given context. Following Benford's (1993) suggestion, researching homeless protest movement framing can contribute to the framing literature through a comparison of frames across cases, movements, and time.

The integration of the media hegemony perspective in framing literature locates power in the relationship between the news media and political elites (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). The media hegemony perspective points to the construction and distribution of hegemonic meanings within news discourse and the dynamic relationships between news and power. The framing concept has complemented hegemony scholarship by "providing a specific means to examine how the news media construct ideological meanings largely consistent with the interests of powerful elites" (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 222). Carragee and Roefs (2004) suggested that the integration of hegemonic perspectives in framing literature needs to be understood within the context of political power. Following Carragee and Roefs (2004), research projects aimed at studies on local-level movements and movement actions such as tent cities will help to examine how movements construct meanings through framing, and how these meanings have the potential to challenge hegemonic ideology (Carragee & Roefs, 2004).

Social movement actors draw on media narratives as well as general knowledge when discussing an issue. Discourses are identified as being linked to the results of cultural changes and have a direct effect on social interaction and policy implementation (Taylor, 1998; della Porta, 1999). David Chaney stated that public

discourse is made up of “all the ways in which collective life or public life is talked about, represented, symbolized and enacted, principally in the media of public communication” (2002, p. 100). Public discourse of modern societies has supported and sustained the legitimacy of institutions of public order and normalized the structures of power embodied in them (Chaney, 2002, p. 100).

Popular images of homeless persons in Canada frame the homeless body as male, a panhandler, and likely suffering from some mental health issue (Lyon-Callo, 2000). Discourses are structures of power that function as an ideology of consensus which normalizes certain social characteristics/traits such as the panhandling man. Conflict in framing ensures the co-construction of issues, and relationships within the discourse interaction. Framing by social movements and their opponents can also involve questions of identity. Identity framing can involve constructing identities of opponents; “the constructed ‘us’ is often defined in relation to a constructed ‘them’” (Doyle et al., 1997, p. 251). Frames are not limited to social movements; rather they are products of processes of multi-organizational fields (Klandermans, 1992).

Introducing the concept of homelessness in Canada

The use of the concept of homelessness in Canada is a relatively short tale. According to David Hulchanski’s (2009) before the 1980s the word was not used in Canada to define a process of homelessness. Prior to the 1980s, there were “beggars”, “panhandlers”, “drifters”, and persons experience housing deprivation.

Hulchanski (2009) suggested that the solution to making progress on homelessness comes down to a matter of housing:

“We need to recognize that action must take place at three levels: the level of individual and families; the community level, with initiatives at the local and municipal level; and the macro (Federal and Provincial) level, where the resources- for the most part, our tax dollars- are located” (p. 7).

The challenge of housing everyone in safe, secure, and affordable housing in Canada has been documented and discussed in social research since World War 2 (Isitt, 2008). The Canadian rental market and shortages in affordable housing have been cited as causes for the increase in the homeless population in Canada (Morrow, Hankivsky & Varcoe, 2004; Isitt, 2008; Hulchanski, 2004; Hulchanski, 2009).

In Canada in the 1980s, ‘homelessness’ became a widespread mass phenomenon that was no longer limited to lower-income countries of the world but was now found in many wealthy, higher-income nations (Hulchanski, 2009).

Hulchanski (2009) stated that the new term referred to a poverty that includes being un-housed without social supports, a state in which even ‘poor-quality’ housing is not affordable. This is a state in which an individual or family spends more than two-thirds of their annual net income on housing (Hulchanski, 2009).

Since the 1980s, the Canadian Federal Government has withdrawn its commitment to ensure access to adequate housing and security of tenure (Porter, 2003, p. 1, Isitt, 2008). For some, the emergence of the concept of homelessness resulted from the policies and practices related to economic growth combined with individualizing neoliberal discourses (Lyon-Callo, 2001).

Homelessness and the homeless are socially constructed concepts, which are historically situated and are tied to material definitions of home. Individuals may have a residence and yet be homeless (Gifford, 2002; Gifford, 2010). For example, people in transitional supportive accommodations live along the continuum of homelessness because the period of residence is short term (FEANTSA, 2007). Yet the material or physical state is closely connected to social and legal domains which constitute having a home (FEANTSA, 2007). Environmental psychologists refer to home as the most important place in our lives, where we are given the potential to help other people thrive, and a means to self-determination (Gifford, 2010). Homes are subjective; they involve cultural, demographic, and psychological meanings that people attach to the physical structure. Unfortunately, all too often those who construct plans that address homelessness (or houselessness) are far removed from people who are actually without residency. The intention of the concept of the homeless is that it is both a housing and a home problem.

Although many may use emergency shelter systems in North America, choosing not to sleep in shelters is common amongst persons who fall within the continuum of homelessness. Emergency shelters lack privacy; communal areas foster the spread of disease, theft and crime, and are unsatisfying places to call home (Brushett, 2007). Determining who is homeless has been a challenge for researchers and has been discussed in public discourses:

“Just determining who is homeless is difficult, even for the people who are expert in such assessment” (Jackson, V., in Bell, 19/06/2008).

It is likely that those who opt-out of shelters have some awareness of the risks of sleeping outdoors (e.g., sleeping rough). Extreme weather, vulnerability to citizens and other persons in the streets, police, probing surveyors, and animals may be encountered while sleeping in public (Snow & Anderson, 1993; Larsen, Poortinga & Hurdle, 2004). Larsen, Poortinga and Hurdle (2004) sought to understand the differences between those individuals who use shelters and those who opt out of shelter use. Interviews were conducted with 130 individuals (those who use shelters and those who do not) in order to characterize the homeless shelters and to identify the predictors of whether or not unsheltered persons were likely to use the shelter. Places such as homeless shelters are stigmatized and in these spaces the people and activities may be defined as deviant. A person's place in a social hierarchy affects their life experiences, development and behaviours and affects how others interact with them (Roschelle & Kaufman, 2004, p. 24). Places such as homeless shelters contain (dis)identifying objects, which are inauthentic and misrepresentative of people they house (Goffman, 1963). However, not all shelters and services stigmatize clients. More research is needed in order to further understand the processes of stigma in the practices and policies of housing supports and services.

Deinstitutionalization policies, which appeared in the US and in Canada, have contributed to the large numbers of visibly homeless persons (Main, 1998; Isitt, 2008).⁶ Others have seen homelessness arise out of the breakdown of social housing

⁶ The deinstitutionalization policies in Canada have implied that homelessness ought to be the concern of the mental health care system; however, this also implies that the homeless are somehow mentally unfit (Lyon-Callo, 2000).

services and the retrenchment of Federal governments in housing markets (Hulchanski, 2009; Isitt, 2008). Homelessness is related to a number of issues depending on who is using the term and to define whom. These connections have been critiqued and focus has shifted toward examining the structural and individual contributing factors (Main, 1998).

Housing has, and will always have, an implication on a person's social, economic, and health and well-being (Gifford, 2011; Frankish, Hwang, & Quantz, 2005; Morrow, Hankivsky & Varcoe, 2004). Housing can accompany a sense of community amongst marginalized groups (Wang, Cash & Powers, 2001).

Historically, marginalized groups such as the homeless have been segregated and have been denied access to certain public places. The type of housing, the place where one is sheltered, and the physical state of the dwelling all play a role in a person's health and wellbeing (Shaw, 2004). Homelessness is an issue related to housing and to home; the realities of homelessness are specific to individuals and their communities. Determining the causes, prevention plans, accommodations and supports are keys in determining policies that will address the continuum of homelessness (FEANTSA, 2007).

There has been opposition to low income and supportive housing by community groups. Vincent Lyon-Callo's (2001) analysis of the relocation of a homeless shelter in Northhampton, Massachusetts found a not-in-my-back-yard (NIMBY) response by upper-middle income neighbours. The Northhampton citizens turned out in mass numbers, voiced concerns and opposed the re-location of a winter emergency homeless shelter. Lyon-Callo (2001) suggested these cries of

opposition were far from unique, and NIMBY responses to homeless services can be found throughout North America.

Lyon-Callo (2001) used a mixed-methods qualitative research approach and found that despite homelessness being labelled a social problem in need of remedy, some believed the problem should be contained outside of certain contexts. Lyon-Callo's (2001) findings show homeless support workers also circulated images of 'undeserving' poor which have historical significance in Canada going back to the housing crisis of the 1940s/1950s (Brushett, 2007). Social service workers have actually reproduced and reinforced images of pathology in local disseminations (including newsletters, calls for appeal for funding, and press releases) (Brushett, 2007). Additionally, the 'outsider' homeless person label has been reinforced in the practices and languages used by homeless advocates and social service providers to address the problem of homelessness (Lyon-Callo, 2001, p. 201). Kingfisher (2007) argued that both the processes and products of policy formation are cultural constructs that represent and serve to reproduce, modify, or contest particular cultural formations and power relationships. But more evidence is needed from persons who experience unstable housing and from their allies in order to develop sophisticated strategies for challenging static portrayals of the homeless.

Research in the US and in Canada has shown links between inequalities of health and poverty, inadequate housing, underemployment, gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity (Larimer, Malone & Garner, et al., 2009; Daiski, 2007; Pauly, 2008). Canadian researchers have included the perspectives of individuals who experience homelessness in health and healthcare needs. Particular concerns about stereotypes

of physical illness, mental health, addictions, drug and alcohol use and misuse, and stress have been shared by participants. Those without adequate housing have a higher mortality rate when compared the housed Canadian population (Frankish, Hwang, & Quantz, 2005, p. 25; Shaw, 2004; Pauly, 2008; Cheung & Hwang, 2004). In order to provide appropriate care for patients who have experienced homelessness, Daiski (2007) recommended offering affordable housing and community-inclusive programs such as job training. Along with program initiatives, healthcare professionals should be conscious of negative societal attitudes towards patients who experience homelessness. Healthcare professionals who work directly with unsheltered persons are in a position to be collaborators in public policy and healthcare programs.

There are barriers to accessing health care and substance abuse treatments for persons without adequate housing (Cousineau, 1997; Kidd, 2005; Shaw, 2004; Pauly, 2008). Shelter routines may not address the needs of shelter clients or may reproduce systemic inequalities in the community (Lyon-Callo, 2000). Shelter practices, such as the client intake process, and weekly and monthly meetings with staff and counsellors (undertaken by staff and guests that work to resolve diseases), reproduce and reinforce stereotypes about homelessness and homeless people (Lyon-Callo, 2000; Brushett, 2007). These discourses contribute to producing particular subjectivities, experiences, self-images, self-governing, and behaviours among homeless people (Lyon-Callo, 2000, p. 332).

In Canada, there has been a gradual shift from treatment of illness to the prevention of illness. Some communities, such as Toronto, have implemented

policies that criminalize homelessness such as the Safe Streets act, and by cracking down on panhandling. Other cities have responded to homelessness by advocating for a continuum of care approach (Lyon-Callo, 2000). For example, Calgary has developed a city-wide plan to end youth homelessness (Calgary Homeless Foundation, 2009). The first of its kind, this plan includes strategies that increase coordination among services and organizations, provide adequate housing for homeless youth, and include youth in the decision making process to gain a more complete understanding of youth homelessness. The continuum of care approach offers programs and services to treat some of the symptoms of homelessness and shelters provide services to assist people in obtaining and keeping housing.⁷ The move towards a care model that is assumed to align with a disease model is ambiguous and may limit alternatives that address the class, race, or gender dynamics that influence homelessness. When homelessness is individualized and medicalized, the individual's shortcomings are highlighted and homelessness becomes associated with deviancy (Pauly, 2008).

Grouping houseless persons into a homeless category masks the different experiences of being without housing and the visibility or invisibility of the problem (Klodawsky, 2006; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992). Research suggests invisible homelessness is more often experienced by new immigrants, youth and by females (Klodawsky, 2006; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992). Many identity management strategies used by females in housing themselves have resulted in homelessness being seen as

⁷ "The move toward this model is part of a broader effort undertaken by some advocates and policy to reframe homelessness as a condition afflicting those victimized by disease and dysfunctions rather than the result of bad individual choices" (Lyon-Callo, 2000, p. 330).

largely a male problem (Klowdowsky, 2006). Individual homeless persons have historically been stigmatized and lumped into groups such as untouchables, unemployed, the chronic public inebriated, underclass, and superfluous people (Pascale, 2005; Wachholz, 2005; Larimer, et al., 2009). Snow and Anderson (1987) wrote that the homeless were once viewed in terms of characteristic problems that homeless persons were thought to possess (e.g. drug addiction). To frame homelessness through a medicalized lens ignores systemic and historical conditions that contribute to social problems and highlight individual traits and behaviours. Alongside these concepts, houseless persons have been viewed as possessing the problems they were thought to pose to the greater society/community. Generating and maintaining self-worth is rarely a concern within these framings of homelessness. Not surprisingly, medical frames present homelessness as an individual problem which demands individual reform. Rather than working collectively to address social, economic, political and other inequalities, the frame is shifted to fix individual bodies with perceived disorders (Lyon-Callo, 2000).

The potential that discourses have in shaping the specific nature of political responses to the public perceptions of social issues has been discussed in the literature about homelessness (Kingfisher, 2007; Wang, Cash, & Powers 2000, p. 82). Discourse analysts have studied policy documents, press releases, and newspaper articles and have found that the representations of “the homeless” depicted persons as mentally ill. These images can marginalize the political-economic context of houseless people (Lyon-Callo, 2000, p. 331). Further investigation of frames of

homelessness in Canada is required, especially those likely to impact individuals negatively.

Canadian municipal governments have attempted to counter stereotyped images of the homeless by showcasing 'reformed' or 'saved' homeless persons in public debates. These strategies are enacted in the media as a means to dissipating public opposition to social policies that address the homeless problem (e.g., location of emergency shelters) (Lyon-Callo, 2001; Klodawsky, Farrell, & D'Aubry, 2002). Those 'reformed' homeless persons are often framed as 'in need' of external intervention (e.g., alcohol rehabilitation program). This reproduces the image of who is homeless, that they are in need of some assistance in recovery, and that this assistance should come from external agencies/organizations. Unsheltered individuals display human agency and connections to social supports and welfare agencies. The definitions of homelessness may come about in policy work or in academic work, but it is necessary to analyze the concepts and their effects in mundane practices (Klowdawsky et al., 2002). Vincent Lyon-Callo (2001) argued that in order to understand how social movements for the poor respond to certain problems, it is vital to understand the interconnections between activists and their knowledge about homeless people (p. 186).

Homelessness is real, but our definition is not central to its existence. Media portrayal of homelessness has influenced policy responses, yet these have typically emerged slowly and as a result of pressures from persons without housing, activists, and social service providers. News reports provide rationales for doing one thing over another. These can be band-aid solutions that do not address longer-term

structural causes, the individual diversity of homelessness, or how the definition itself has been influenced by objective material and social conditions. Klodawsky and colleagues (2002) suggested that most journalists encounter homeless persons from a distance and project the whole of the problem onto the most visible manifestation: that being single men who panhandle in the downtown core. Instances of framing in this way are linked to construction of homeless identities that further push unhoused persons out of the public domain. The context in which the framing occurs interacts with individual and organizational frames. The context changes the opportunities for movement actors to draw attention to issues most pertinent to the framing agents (McCarthy, Smith, & Zald, 1996).

Mobilization

Persons without housing are active agents and self-help housing strategies have been enacted in order to avoid sleeping out. There has been much discussion on features such as biographical availability, protest by the homeless, and contexts where there have been experiences of 'democratic innovation' (Coelho, 2006). Participatory methods are tools to achieve political equality (Coelho et al., 2006), Tent cities are an example of a participatory action model for housing. The United States and Canada have experienced protests, rallies, squats, and public demonstrations by thousands of homeless/houseless individuals and their supporters to protest the right to sleep, rising costs of living, and the plight of homelessness (Corrigall-Brown, Snow, Smith & Quist, 2009). Visible mobilizations

such as protests for the homeless were reported in the 1980s (Corrigan-Brown et al., 2009). Most social movement research has overlooked the impact homeless persons have made in collective actions and rather has focused on organizational and middle class successes in the anti-poverty movement (Corrigan-Brown et al., 2009). Middle class activists have the resources, networks, mobility, health and supposed know-how to protest perceive injustices (Corrigan-Brown et al., 2009). Yet there has been significant involvement in protest actions by homeless individuals.

Sociologists have sought to answer the question as to why some homeless persons engage in protest actions and others do not (Corrigan-Brown et al., 2009). In addition, researchers have examined the level of participation for those who are involved (p. 312). Corrigan-Brown and colleagues' (2009) data was drawn from 400 interviews with homeless individuals in Detroit, Philadelphia and Tucson. There is discussion in the social movements literature on the social psychological, biographical availability, social ties, and context predictors of social movement participation by homeless individuals (Klandermans, 2004; McAdam, 1986; Rohlinger & Snow, 2003; Barkan, Cohn & Whitaker, 1995; Beyerlein & Hipp, 2006; Kitts, 1999, McAdam, 1986; Diani, 2004; Diani & McAdam, 2003; McAdam, 1988; Snow, Zurcher & Ekland-Olson, 1980; Evans & Boyte, 1986; Morris, 1981; Polletta, 1999; Corrigan-Brown et al., 2009). Those who feel "that they have more in common with other homeless individuals are more likely to engage in activism" (Corrigan-Brown et al., p. 326). Not surprisingly, Corrigan-Brown and collaborators found the

role of social ties to operate differently for homeless individuals and for housed individuals in their involvement in protest actions (Corrigall-Brown et al., 2009).

Cress and Snow (2000) undertook a lengthy study on homeless movements and movement outcomes in the United States in an attempt to show that these movements have important consequences and/or effects on the greater society. Wagner and Cohen (1991) illustrated the material and non-material benefits to the homeless and the power of the poor in social movement participation. They discussed material and non-material resource gains from homeless social movements, further emphasizing the agency of homeless movement actors (Wagner & Cohen, 1991). Tent cities are collective actions that have created political pressure necessary for the gradual accession of the civil, political, and social rights associated with citizenship.

Tent city

A scan of the academic literature on tent cities reveals a growing body of research dedicated to the discussion of temporary shelters as responses by social movements and individuals to homelessness (Wagner & Cohen, 1991; Gallant, Brown & Tremblay, 2004). From the 1960s onward, tent cities, shantytowns, and squats have been used as protest tactics in American social movements. In this thesis I define shantytowns as slum settlements that include impoverished and/or over crowded dwellings. Squats are temporary occupations of abandoned or vacant spaces such as in buildings that the squatters do not own. Shantytowns, camp-outs, and sleep-ins were an innovation of the student repertoire of contention from the

1960s onward (Soule, 1997, p. 858). Camp-outs and similar tactics have been used to seek change and to challenge power forces and stereotypes. These are fairly easy to erect and advertise, can access a large adherent pool, and resonate with the living conditions of many students and the urban poor⁸. This protest tactic quickly spread across campuses in the United States and within Canada (Soule, 1997, p. 855)⁹. Not only did the makeshift structures disrupt the campus life, but they also symbolized Apartheid and oppression of South African Blacks (Soule, 1997, p. 856).

Social movement scholars have studied the shantytown protest action and the use of this tactic by social movement actors (McAdam, 1983; Snow & Benford, 1992; Soule, 1997; Soule & Tarrow, 1991, Tarrow, 1989; Tilly, 1978; Zolberg, 1972). Since the 1960s, shantytowns diffused across university campuses in the United States through indirect linkages between students. In large part, the spread can be attributed to the construction of a collective identity amongst students (Soule, 1997, p. 861). Anti-Apartheid activists recognized the protest tactic at other campuses and identified with these actions and further imitated these tactics.

Tent cities are forms of shelter which may be temporary and may take the form of actual tents. Reports of tent cities occurred in times of war and protest. Journalists have described tent cities that have developed in festivals and other cultural events (e.g. Burning Man). Tent cities are sites that allow for the expression of self, identity, and collective identity in public space. Tent cities such as Burning

⁸ Shantytowns were constructed by students in the United States in the mid-1980s on university campuses to protest Apartheid in South Africa (e.g. student divestment movement) (Soule, 1997, p. 856).

⁹ In the university contexts, students adopted the tactic and erected and re-erected shacks such as the "Karl Marx House", which disrupted the campus landscape (Soule, 1997, p. 858).

Men have not been framed as disruptive; rather, they have been celebrated as sites of self-expression. Tent cities and squats that are erected to disrupt and to challenge housing inequalities have been challenged in laws and in popular discourses.

“We're not going to have another tent city”, [Victoria Police Chief Jamie] Graham added. “Tent cities are awful. They are breeding grounds of trouble” (Graham, J., in Shaw, 29/11/2008).

Former Victoria Mayor Alan Lowe said,

“We've seen first hand the ill effects of tent cities. In 2005 at Cridge Park, we saw a tent city that had become a hub of illegal activity, health concerns and vandalism. These are not acceptable conditions for our parks and green space, but even more importantly these conditions are not acceptable for the homeless. This is still no way to accommodate our homeless and will be detrimental to the families and children who enjoy our park system” (Lowe, A. in Gibson, 15/10/2008).

In Victoria,

“The right of homeless people to set up temporary shelters in public parks has been upheld by the BC Court of Appeal. 9 December 2009” (Hatherly, 12/11/2009).

In Victoria, tent cities have been referred to as ‘temporary shelters’ and have been regulated to specific times/contexts in which sleeping in public with tents is legal (e.g. 7pm-7am). This regulation has been argued as infringing on a person’s right to sleep. The 2008 Supreme Court decision has had a direct impact for those who sleep outside in Victoria.

“Yesterday it was illegal to set up my tent, today it isn't” (Johnston, D., in Gibson, 15/10/2008).

“To be able to sleep at night and not put one's health at risk is a basic human need... if it's raining or it's cold or it's wet, you won't be able to stay outside without some shelter-- so that right to sleep is an illusory” (Boise Parker, C., in Bell, 28/06/2008).

Collective action, such as that in tent cities, represents community ties; yet tent cities are also an example of stigma objects, which are related to spoiled identities and deviant activities (Smith & Bugni, 2006, p. 133; Goffman, 1963). There has been research in lower-income countries that has examined tent cities and slums, which have been referred to as the “shelter dimension of urban poverty” (UN Human Settlements Programme 2006: 26; Choguill 2007, p.1 46). In addition, tent cities have been recognized by some municipalities as a form of temporary self-help housing and are governed externally and internally¹⁰. There have been differing responses to tent cities by the public, government, and in the legislative branches of the US and Canada. In this thesis I use the following definition of tent cities:

Tent cities are a form of self-help housing, which may or may not be temporary, are self-governing and self-organized, and exist within broad political contexts.

Tent cities have been discussed in disaster relief literature; researchers examined the aftermath of natural disasters and human infrastructure reconstruction. Some nations have created large-scale public housing in response to increasing levels of homelessness (Bredenoord & van Lindert, 2010, p. 279). Churches have operated as short term shelters and spaces for individuals to erect tents. However, these examples of tent cities do not address the systemic problem of poverty. The self-help school considered housing security as the prime requirement for such self-building processes to succeed (Harris, 1998). Despite the identification of positive associations between self-help and housing successes, the self-help

¹⁰ For example, Dignity Village in Portland Oregon.

school has been criticized (Burgess, 1982; Ward, 1982; Math y, 1992). The academic attention on self-help housing since 1992 has been minimal. Bromley (2003) and Harris (1999, 2003) provide historical reflections on the self-help theme. For the most part, the self-help projects in their research were small and were typically situated in urban centres. In times of crisis and rebuilding, tent cities have served an important purpose, that being shelter.

Squats are self-help housing actions and in certain contexts squat movement fits with the concept of social movement(s) (Uitermark, 2004). A squatters' movement emerged in Amsterdam in the 1970s and was a direct action against urban renewal operations and the lack of affordable housing in the city (Uitermark, 2003; Pruijt, 2004). Known as the Kalenderpanden, the site, located in the city centre of Amsterdam, had served as warehouses for cargo trans-shipped in the port of Amsterdam. In the 1980s the Kalenderpanden lost many of its former functions, and the local government planned to transform it into social housing. These plans were not carried out and squatters occupied the vacant space. Overtime, the Klanderpanden turned into a breeding ground for a self-help place for cultural and political projects (Uitermark, 2003).

The Klanderpanden squat served many functions, and was a meeting place for radical squatters, political activists, artists, and young people (Prujit, 2004). The buildings were sold to a real estate developer who planned to convert the space into luxurious apartments. Those who used the Klanderpanden protested against the plans and appealed to the city council. They mobilized a diverse group of people and

perform spectacles (e.g. collective marches) (Uitermark, 2004)¹¹. While heterogeneous, de-centred, and changing in character, the Amsterdam squat movement has made effective changes in the fields of social housing and cultural/urban infrastructure (Uitermark, 2004)¹². As a result, in the 1970s, at least two distinct political agendas emerged in the Amsterdam squat movement. First, squatters continued to squat as a means to address (and solve) the housing shortage¹³. Second, some squatters came to see squatting as an alternative way of life (e.g. relative autonomy, anarchistic ideas about self-management). In this “lifestyle, people could distance themselves from mainstream institutions” (Uitermark, 2004, p. 690). Through discussions with squatters, Uitermark (2003) suggests that changes in the political opportunity structure facilitated some segments to address and to frame injustices. The framing perspective is useful in the analysis of the Amsterdam squatters’ movement in that this perspective does not focus exclusively on institutional contexts, but rather examines the changes in movement discourse (Uitermark, 2003). According to Uitermark (2004), squats are hotbeds for struggles against authoritarianism, apartheid, environmental degradation, and neoliberal globalization. Squats serve many functions, but the commonality is that they are forms of shelter.

¹¹ Additionally, a squatting case in New York City was selected by Prujit (2003) as a comparative empirical case for consideration of squatting activity.

¹² “Toward the end of the 1980s, squatters had established themselves as an autonomous, radical and militant movement that seriously challenged the authority of the [local] government” (Uitermark, 2004, p. 230).

¹³ For example, the purchase of the Klanderpenden by a private developer was seen as an example of failed government policies and as an outcome of capitalism.

Since the 1980s there has been increased insurgency by people without adequate shelter in protest rallies, marches, tent cities, housing takeovers, encampments, squats and social movements (Corrigall-Brown et al., 2009; Soule, 1997; Cress & Snow, 1996; Cress & Snow, 2000). Scholars focused on the degree of social power of the social movement organization (SMO) in relation to the broader context to help explain the homeless population's involvement in social movements (Cress & Snow, 2000). Questions such as how to collectively move on an issue/grievance are particularly difficult to answer in such diverse groups who are not adequately housed. Homeless SMOs have attempted to influence policy and have empowered individual persons. For example, Shelter Now is an SMO that seeks to increase participation for homeless people on local boards and commissions, changing service providers' rules and operating procedures, and to create safe zones (Calterone Williams, 2005, p. 497). Safe zones are designated areas in cities that would provide a fixed location for people to camp. These safe zones can be free from harassment, police raids, and violence (Calterone Williams, 2005). SMOs such as Shelter Now use diverse tactics to include those individuals who experience homelessness in the decision-making process. The group abstains from organized protest and has limited resources to reach the organization's goals. Shelter Now has managed to encourage community discussions about the plight of homelessness. Shelter Now meets the definition of a SMO because it shares many of the objectives and tactics of other homeless SMOs. Shelter Now has obtained some success in inserting its demands into the local policy agenda and among service providers. Calterone Williams (2005) noted that Shelter Now lacked resources to sustain

protest and suggested that it is useful to address the limitations of groups such as the homeless in social movement organizing.

Unlike some middle-income movements, groups such as the homeless may rely on social service agencies for survival needs (Calterone Williams, 2005, p. 497). Calterone Williams (2005) suggested social movement theory could better accommodate and comprehend the activism of homeless groups led by homeless people. Groups like Shelter Now provide insights into the limitations of houseless groups, particularly in their ability to organize politically (Calterone Williams, 2005; Cress & Snow, 1996). Everyday forms of resistance such as tent cities, evasion of rules, and false compliance with shelter staff are tools available to marginalized groups and challenge status quos. Social services organizations are important resources for individuals who are without shelter in protest actions.

Inequalities pervading the socio-political structure include access to information, influence over government, and organizational possibilities (Pozzoni, 2002). David Wagner and Marcia Cohen (1991) discussed the material and non-material outcomes in the aftermath of social movement participation and tent city construction by the tent city users. Wagner and Cohen (1991) suggested that the tent city participants in their study obtained considerable tangible and non-tangible gains as a result of protest. Housing and social welfare benefits were cited as the most obvious gains; however, non-material gains such as ideological, moral, and empowerment, were also experienced (Wagner & Cohen, 1991). Wagner and Cohen's findings illustrate that the experience of comradeship was significant for the homeless protesters (1991, p. 557). Follow-up data revealed that people who

experienced homelessness participated on city boards and in service agencies (Wagner & Cohen, 1991). Their actions illustrate the potential for homeless protest action and for their participation in healthy community development (Wagner & Cohen, 1991). Collective cooperation and knowledge sharing will increase community members' awareness of social and political structural and social inequalities. This includes the interaction that occurs within structures amongst individuals and through mediums.

Collaborative action plans have the potential to enhance the access to community supports for people who experience unstable housing (http://intraspec.ca/hot_actionplan.pdf). The support of healthy human development underlying health promotion is key at the community level and should be the central purpose of all levels of government (Hancock, 2009). Community in this sense is the most immediate physical environment in which social relationships are based in and which extends beyond physical settings through virtual communities (Hancock, 2009). A healthy community is one that includes and protects its members from harm arising from its physical, social, economic, and other environments (Hancock, 2009, p. 2). In this thesis, I draw on empirical data from face-to-face qualitative interviews and I highlight specific problems particular to Victoria (e.g. tent city).

Chapter 3: Research Design & Methods

Research Design

In this thesis research I designed an interview schedule, questionnaire, and sampling strategies to interview participants and for media evidence of Cridge Park tent city. I conducted four interviews with research participants who participated in Cridge Park tent city. I asked research participants to answer 31 questions at the time of the interview. In addition, I collected and analyzed 35 newspaper articles that included coverage of Cridge Park tent city. These newspaper articles were accessed electronically.

Interview Methods

In this thesis I was interested in the perspectives of Cridge Park tent city participation and whether there is an association between Cridge Park tent city participation and collective action and protest. The main research method I used was face-to-face interviews, which is consistent with research methods used by symbolic interactionists. I used the constant comparative method to analyze my case study of the Cridge Park tent city. I justify Victoria as a site of research because when I began this research in 2008, Victoria was one of the top Canadian cities with the largest visible homelessness problem and thus a highly relevant research site. In this section I will consider the ethical process in doing research with humans, the research procedure I employed, sampling, and data collection methods used in gathering data for this thesis.

Procedure

In this section I will report on the research methods that I applied in my analysis of interview data from Cridge Park tent city participants and in media analysis of coverage of Cridge Park tent city. Face-to-face interviews included a dialogue between research participants and myself as the sole researcher. During the research process I critically reflected upon and analyzed both informants' responses to my questions and my discursive practices. In my research I used the constant comparative approach for the interpretation of my interview data and the subsequent conceptualizations that will flow from the data itself. I was interested in a case study and with triangulating data.

My research process involved iterative and ongoing data collection and analysis. I was involved in a cycle of inductive and deductive reasoning until sufficient data was reviewed in order to arrive at a dense theoretical explanation (Glaser, 1978, p. 175). My short-form notes included key phrases, using letters to capture meanings (i.e., TC = tent city), behavioural descriptions, descriptions of encounters with others while in the field (e.g., during interviews), and general comments. However, my own interaction with the data influenced what dimensions were understood by me to be most salient and represented the main concerns of the participants in the investigation. My notes were later transcribed (approximately one hour later) and I may have missed recording pertinent information. However, I believe the time between making the notes and typing them up was short enough for extensive notes to be written. Additionally, the point form note taking method

allowed me to avoid being preoccupied with taking detailed notes in the research setting.

While writing this thesis, I acquired a deeply enhanced sense of the power, nuances, and unpredictability of social science research. I was conscious of the problem of generalizability in qualitative sociology. An additional concern I had was the possibility of a power struggle that could emerge in the interview process. I consider this thesis research critical because it is action-oriented and I engaged in reflexivity throughout the research process. I was particularly concerned with triangulating interview data with multiple sources to ensure a range of coverage that would capture the perspectives of Cridge Park tent city from participants (Earl et al., 2004). Triangulating interview data sources with event data enabled me to address description bias.

I also conducted a media analysis of event data covering Cridge Park tent city. I accessed news articles with the aid of the electronic database ProQuest. I used the key words Cridge Park, tent city, homeless*, and right to sleep, to locate newspaper data. I used a selective data collection process whereby I collected articles reporting on Cridge Park tent city over a period of five years from different types of newspapers (local, regional, national). Sampling techniques included creating a key word list, sampling newspapers over a period of time, gathering articles reporting on Cridge Park tent city in the *Vancouver Sun*, *Victoria Times Colonist*, *Globe and Mail*, and *The Tyee*. I rationalize using event data in this thesis research because the discourse of tent cities in mainstream Canadian print newspapers has not received much attention. These newspaper articles contain

historical data that did not require ethics application. Event data showed the language used in newspaper articles constructed aspects of reality from a particular perspective. I will illustrate frames and counter-frames I located in the newspaper sample by highlighting quotes from newspaper articles. I organize these findings using three dominant themes identified by research participants.

All in-text news coverage was examined, including cover stories, editorials, and letters to the editor. Newspaper articles were coded inductively using broad categories, such as punitive, and using codes such as absolute homeless, which were derived from the literature. Initial broad codes (e.g., punitive) were later subdivided into narrower codes (e.g., bylaw enforcement). Although the selected newspapers have a significant readership, there are alternative forms of media (television, free newspapers, radio, etc.) that reach a larger audience and may frame tent cities in different ways. The time period was selected in order to accrue a sufficient number of articles for textual analysis. Analysis of photos and images used in newspaper coverage would be fruitful, yet due to time restrictions, I was unable to analyze and report on these data in my thesis. It must be noted that some articles may have been inadvertently excluded from the event data sample because of the specific search strategy. The event data supplements the interview data and provides a context in which the tent city emerged. I will discuss salient themes located in the interview data and those found in the newspaper data sample as a method of validation.

One of the more common strategies of data collection in social movements and collective action research is the location and selection of newspaper reports. During the primary research stage I located newspaper articles that reported on

Cridge Park tent city. Event data was available electronically, articles covered the tent city as a non-traditional collective action, and news reports provided another view of the collective action at Cridge Park tent city. The available research methods were reviewed by a senior colleague who provided input and support throughout the research process. Media analysis methodology starts with the development of search terms, identifies topics, themes, and categories from (electronic) searches. In the media analysis, the researcher examines the types of media sources analyzed, sets a time frame, and retrieves the articles. In this research, I identified the types of stories found in the media sample. For example, I identified a security theme within the newspaper sample, "For a brief time, she'd found some security in the tent city, Adams said" (MacLeod, 20/06/2008) and "It's a huge step towards recognizing the importance of the safety and the dignity of homeless people" (Longworth, 20/10/2008). My experiences when I was a research assistant informed my research and data analysis methods.

The sociological purpose in this thesis was to collect biographical data reported by research participants and to answer the following questions: how did research participants understand tent cities?; What was their role in the Cridge Park tent city?; How did they contribute to the Cridge Park tent city?; What were their perceptions of the news coverage of Cridge Park tent city?; Did they participate in other forms of protest? This research process was undertaken in stages, which are described in the following section.

Sample and research procedure

In the first stage of research I located discourses and interview participants using a non-probability sampling strategy. Non-probability sampling techniques have been used in studies with hard-to-reach populations, who may be stigmatized, outlawed, and psycho-pathologized (Benoit, Jansson, Hallgrimsdottir & Roth, 2007). I drew the research sample on the basis of three overarching criteria: 1) 19+ years of age; 2) English speaking; and 3) participated in Cridge Park tent city. Participation in Cridge Park tent city is conceptualized as spending significant amounts of time (e.g., overnight) at Cridge Park during the 2005 tent city. This purposive strategy included individuals who participated in Cridge Park tent city who identified many of the same identity characteristics.

The interview sampling strategy was to a degree ad hoc and partially done by snowballing and by 'word of mouth' sampling. Additionally, recruitment posters were designed and posted to explain the purposes of the study, the researcher conducting the research, and the research affiliation with the University of Victoria. In addition, the recruitment posters identified potential benefits to participants and the community from the study, and included my contact information. I distributed posters to places where houseless persons frequent, including outside the Salvation Army. I also placed posters on poles in downtown Victoria. I avoided only sampling in service agencies because I did not want to exclude the perspectives of tent city participants who were not connected with social services in Victoria. In addition, I volunteer with two local social service agencies and I wanted to avoid the potential of coercion and breach of confidentiality.

In order for me to conduct this research in a non-hierarchical manner, I constantly reflected on how my own experiences were organized and the social relations that have given rise to my past and present social relations (Finlay, 2009). Oakley (1981) advocated for questions based on personal experience, for self-disclosed responses, conducting repeated interviews, and forming friendships with participants. Authors have problematized the lack of narrative space scholars researching homelessness give to the persons they study (Diversi & Finley, 2010). I was concerned with engaging research participants in the dialogue that emerged in our interactions.

In the second stage of research, five individuals had responded to the research advertisement. By spring 2009, four research participants agreed to participate in the study. One participant did not attend the scheduled interview and I was unable to contact them to reschedule the interview. I completed questionnaires and interviews with the research participants. Estimates from a sample of newspaper data suggested there were approximately 70-100 people at the Cridge Park tent city. The interview sample thus reflected a very small percentage of Cridge Park tent city participants. The participants who responded to the research project did not make up a diversity of social and economic backgrounds, and experienced similar housing situations. However, their participation in Cridge Park tent city, their protest and activism, and encounters with the media differed significantly (see Table 9).

I informed my four participants that they could stop, pause, or return to the question(s) at any time. I also asked research participants to fill out a confidentiality

agreement at the beginning of the interview. I read the confidentiality agreement aloud and asked the research participants if they had any questions. All four of the research participants signed the confidentiality agreement at the beginning of their participation in the research.

In the third stage in this research I asked participants to complete a 31-question questionnaire (Q)¹⁴. Each of the four research participants spent between 15-30 minutes with the questionnaire and answered all of the questions. This questionnaire was self-administered, reported, and completed by the participants. Each of the four research participants asked me to read the questionnaire aloud and I recorded their responses on questionnaire forms and filed these into my field book. I asked participants if they were comfortable with this data collection method. All participants consented to allowing me to record their responses. I asked participants closed-ended questions in the questionnaire to obtain key variables, which could then be used to triangulate data. In the questionnaire I collected sensitive information such as individual interests, values and beliefs, feelings of security, and social relations/connections. I asked participants to answer questions using a Likart scale, which ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree:

Q32. "I have family and friends who help me feel safe, secure, and happy."

1. Strongly agree	2. Agree	3. Disagree	4. Strongly Disagree	5. Unsure
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¹⁴ I examined a qualitative interview questionnaire constructed by Cecilia Benoit, which was part in a previous qualitative study. I understood there was a need for questions and approaches that would measure participants' opinion on tent cities adequately. The questionnaire model helped guide my inquiry process. It was a tool to consider when I constructed interview questions that I asked research participants.

Tables 2-8 represent the self-reported responses from participants to the closed-ended questionnaire (pages 135-141). The participants were asked questions regarding their biography, family structure, their past and present housing situations, cost of housing (e.g., rent) and how they paid for housing (e.g., kind), their personal feelings at the time of the interview, and their sense of housing and personal security.

In stage four I asked the four research participants open-ended interview questions (IQ). I followed up with participants' responses by using probing questions. For example, I asked research participants how they became involved in the Victoria Cridge Park tent city (IQ5). I followed up by asking participants "is there something you would do differently in another collective action?" (probing question). Comparing data in the questionnaire with interview responses enabled me to examine my research methods for validity of measures, and gave the participants a chance to elaborate on their responses in their own words.

Each interview lasted between 45-90 minutes. Two of the participants agreed to have their interviews recorded. The other two did not feel "comfortable" having their interviews recorded. Neither participant revealed why they were "uncomfortable", but both participants completed the interviews and questionnaires completely. As noted earlier, in all of the interviews I kept detailed notes (field books 1-4), reflections and jotted questions to consider in my research. I also recorded the participants' responses onto their corresponding interview form. I transcribed field notes of the interviews and recorded notes about interview

questions, notes recorded on interview forms, and the audio recordings (verbatim) directly after the interviews (within 1 hour of the interview completion).

A key informant with whom I had met with regularly aided me in this research. The key informant helped me navigate my way through the various services and “hang outs” frequented by persons without adequate housing in Victoria. The key informant was an informal organizer of Cridge Park tent city; as such I consider this person to be a gatekeeper into the tent city community and, more generally, the downtown Victoria community.

Three interviews were conducted at the downtown public library and one was conducted in a local café. I selected the downtown library because it was a place of convenience to participants, a public space that contained ‘nooks’ for discreet conversation, and a public location in which long meetings occur regularly.

After collecting the interview data, I coded the transcripts using a question-by-question method (Table 9). This coding strategy was used to identify themes and salient codes in the participants’ responses to questionnaire and interview data. I used an iterative approach to data analysis and returned several times to the interview data I collected. After reviewing the interview and questionnaire data several times, I identified common themes and codes. I compared the transcripts and my codes to check for reliability. I constructed one database to enter data and honoured the confidentiality of participants’ data by locking files in a filing cabinet. I used a self-reported measure of housing experience and tent city participation. This method of data collection has been used in studies of mobilization of the poor (Corrigall-Brown et al., 2009). Qualitative research is interpretive and I

continuously engaged in self-reflection throughout the research process. I considered my role in this research, the effect of my personality and research methods I used in the inquiry. The following analysis will contribute to the existing research on tent cities and mobilization by houseless individuals in Canada.

Reflexivity

Throughout the research process, I engaged in a process of reflexivity. Reflexivity is the awareness of how knowledge is acquired, organized, and interpreted (Mauthner-Doucet, 2003, p. 416). Researching tent cities can be a difficult task for an individual who does not have a history of homelessness. Reflexivity is a tool for researchers to identify the effect of the self in the research relationship. I locate myself socially, emotionally, and intellectually within this thesis research. I acknowledge that my assumptions and views might affect my interpretation of the data I gathered. I am a researcher who has obtained a post-secondary degree, I am female, I live in Victoria, Canada. My social locations are thus different from those of my research participants (Mauthner-Doucet, 2003). During the research process, I engaged in journaling where I recorded my interpretations, emotions, and experiences in field books¹⁵.

The location of reflexivity in social research enhances the production of knowledge as it speaks to the influence the researcher has over their research

¹⁵ For example, "Direct action and the manifestation of community, but it is also emotional and passionate. The direct action is only one component of the meaning of community. Direct action is a transformative process, the tent city transformed policy, but what other forms of direct action in this case were present?" (22/03/2009). Also, "what is my theoretical justification for the original data sample? I have taken measures to 'fit in', but am I perceived as an advocate or a researcher?" (6/10/2010)

(Finlay, 2002). I was conscious of the power imbalances between myself and the participants during the different stages of my research, including in my data analysis and in the discussion section below. I addressed these concerns by describing how my data findings were reached. For example, I understood that the tone of the interview questions could have a measurable impact on participants' responses. With this in mind, I used closed-ended questions that would be posed in different forms later on in the open-ended interview (e.g. IQ1) with participants (e.g. Q25, IQ2). Furthermore, I conducted a series of presentations to report on findings discovered in each stage of my thesis research.

I engaged in a reflexive practice of multiple readings of research data collected. While I was the sole researcher, I was able to identify salient themes, record my thoughts, and examine my own assumptions. I have not experienced protesting in a tent city before and the multiple reads research technique allowed me to identify my most obvious biases that hindered my understanding of the interview participants' narratives. I attempted to be reflexive by discussing findings with a key informant who had experienced homelessness and collective action in the fight against poverty. I chose this research with regards to my values, methodological perspective, and theoretical perspectives. The interpersonal contexts in which I volunteered and engaged in activism played a role in shaping my decisions for research.

My experience as research assistant – in research to study of how parents talk about their children on the Internet, and in a study of the representation of complementary and alternative medicine in magazines - motivated me to conduct a

media analysis of event data. In these research assignments I was responsible for conducting a media analysis of a sample of magazine articles and blog/message board posts. I found guidance within this research from my research supervisor. The experience of being a research assistant informed my research and data analysis methods.

My interpersonal connections as well as the research context deeply influenced my research practice and the data collected and analyzed in this thesis research. Responses gathered from the presentations were supportive and many attendees described their conversations with people who are entrenched in the street community. In this research I obtained contacts and resources that assisted me in understanding the case of Cridge Park tent city. Additional comments were made in regards to the need for hearing from the people who experience houselessness and participated in tent cities (Diversi & Finley, 2010). During my thesis research I became a part of a municipal housing rights group, I participated in direct action, consciousness-raising, and lobbying. I continue to support the right to housing, community groups, social movement organizations, and education. Activists can facilitate institutional change strategies and in the case of Cridge Park tent city, so too can tent city participants.

Ethical considerations

As required by the Office of Research Services at the University of Victoria, I filed an ethics application for research with humans. I decided to submit an ethics application in the proposal stage of my research design. I filed for ethical approval

early on so I would have time to reformulate and modify the ethics application. This strategy allowed me to identify potential problems throughout the research. Understanding the sensitivity of research with humans, my ethics application was submitted and approved. The approved ethics procedure stipulated that the research participants were informed about the study, the purpose and how the findings would be used, the specifics of data collection/storage, and the participants' power in the research. In order to inform the research participants of their rights in the interview process, I created a confidentiality agreement. After some research proposal revisions, I submitted a second ethics application and changed the context of research and the title of this thesis to: Tent Cities: Perspectives from Cridge Park Tent City Dwellers. Thesis research recruitment posters and informed consent forms were modified to reflect the new study. The recruitment posters contained sufficient information to enable potential participants to make a decision to participate in the research (see Appendix 1-4).

Concurrent with filing for ethical approval, I was enrolled in an interdisciplinary graduate seminar, GS 501 *Homelessness and Housing*, at the University of Victoria. In this course I was paired with a British Columbia Ministry of Housing and Social Development (MHSD) policy analyst. I selected a research project that examined cases of tent cities in North America. In this project my research questions were: Are tent cities a viable option for British Columbia? Would they fit with existing policies? What are the outcomes of tent cities on various stakeholders? In discussions with MHSD project coordinators, I became

aware that these policy workers wanted to broaden their view of community needs and assessments of space.

Chapter 4: Findings

Introduction

In order to become familiar with the participants' history with housing, I created a matrix that identified potential housing types, locations, and number of months lived in (Q20). Data are presented in Table 2. The four research participants experienced a variety of housing conditions that can be included in the continuum homelessness. Participants described their own housing situations as precarious, and within a continuum of housing. All of the participants reported they did not have secure housing at some point in their lives. The self-reported housing from each research participant can be considered within the ETHOS definition of homelessness (FEANTSA, 2007). At the time of the interview, none of the participants were spending money to pay for their living accommodations (Appendix 6). Individual-level data from the questionnaire indicates that research participants were not middle class activists, but rather were enmeshed in the issue itself. Appendix 7 presents social psychological factors and the participant's feelings about themselves at the time of the interview. Appendix 8 documents the participant's social ties with others and their sense of security of housing. Evidence from this thesis research shows that the research participants were involved in a collective action whereby they represented themselves and framed the issue in regards to a right to sleep and to erect temporary shelter.

My findings, expanded on below, illustrate that, despite the lack of material resources and political influence in Victoria, the Cridge Park tent city was successful

in making changes to city bylaws and the interpretation of Life, Liberty and Security of the Person in the British Columbia Charter of Rights and Freedoms (S. 7). Overall, within this study there was a rich questionnaire and interview data that was highly sufficient for reflexivity. In the discussion section that follows, I examine the perspectives of the research participants in relation to their tent city participation, investigate variations in the perspectives, and consider differences between the four participant cases.

The sample represented four individuals who experienced different behaviours and interactions in Cridge Park tent city. The interview participants had spent time at Cridge Park tent city; three participants had spent time over night at Cridge Park tent city. The amount of time spent organizing, role in collective action, their leadership actions, their role as a spokesperson, gathering and maintaining resources, and reasons for participating in Cridge Park tent city were compared to other participants' responses (Corrigall-Brown et al., 2009; Wagner & Cohen, 1991).

In this section, I report on data collected from the qualitative open-ended questions with the interviews with participants. This qualitative research method allowed me to probe interview participants for more detailed knowledge when it was needed. For me, the research process was a training exercise where I learned much about the complexity of qualitative research. The 2008 Supreme Court decision (*City of Victoria v. Adams*) in favour of the right to camp in Victoria's city parks (with restrictions) motivated me to pursue this research. Official documents, media reporting, and public discourse on Cridge Park tent city was largely discussed

and disseminated by those with housing. These discourses have real implications on the lives of persons who experience the continuum of homeless.

Emerging Themes

Symbolic interaction analysis was used to examine participation in and the perceptions of Cridge Park tent city from participants who mobilized and drew attention to homelessness in Victoria. Each of the participants used diagnostic (problem) framing to describe homelessness and their experience in Cridge Park tent city. Frame analysis has been employed in empirical research with homeless individuals (Croteau & Hicks 2003; Downey, Ireson, Schuthfield, 2009; Coburn, 2006, p. 372; Benford, 2000; Cress & Snow, 2000).

Three dominant themes emerged in the interviews related to tent cities: attaining a sense of community, safety and security (the right to sleep), and negotiating individual identity. In the section below I elaborate on the findings from thesis research data analysis. Appendix 11 represents participant's responses to interview questions directly related to their experiences in and perceptions of Cridge Park tent city. I will now present the participants' responses to interview questions. I will discuss the three dominant themes in qualitative data and the differing perceptions of tent cities of research participants. In the section following interview data analysis, I will introduce findings from a secondary analysis of newspaper articles from the Victoria Times Colonist, the Vancouver Sun, Globe & Mail, and the Tyee. Analysis of public media documents (newspapers) is important

because these are cultural constructions that can serve to reproduce, modify, or contest dominant cultural formations and relations of power (Kingfisher, 2007).

Community

At the beginning of the interview, research participants described how they became involved in the Cridge park tent city. Participant responses show they became involved in the collective action through organizing, association with other activists, leadership, sharing political and personal ideologies, and/or spontaneously became involved. One participant was a formal organizer of the Cridge Park tent city,

“I sort of had a lot to do with starting it... uhm I was part of a huge campaign from beginning of 2004 and I was arrested again and again and again and again for uhh maybe 30 or 40 times in a like 1 year period.”

This research participant reported they were involved in peace keeping at the tent city. The participant discussed their role in the *City of Victoria v. Adams case* (2008) and their continued pursuit of the right to sleep. Not all participants were formal organizers in the collective action. Two participants explained discovering the tent city by accident. These participants stumbled upon the collective action as evidenced in one participant’s description,

“I got involved in the tent city really by accident. I was walking by and saw a bunch of people I had met before and they said this tent city was a continuation of the St. Ann’s encampment.”

These participants’ passersby status differs from a bystander position in that they actively engaged in the protest after discovering their values aligned with the

collective action cause. Another participant told a story of their involvement in Cridge Park and the tent cities leading up to the Cridge Park tent city:

“So I went to the place where David Arthur Johnston was supposed to be and met him. I was arrested at St. Ann’s Academy and then moved to Cridge Park. There was also a lot of media there and I was able to talk with the media.... I stayed every day and night and went to the library to type up reports and thoughts about the city crushing it in almost 24 hours.... I was involved in cooking in the kitchen and offered the tent city community support... I stayed until the end of Cridge Park tent city and (I) was not militant, I did not engage in direct action, but I was willing to get arrested.”

Participants’ discourses reflect a range of affiliations that led to their involvement in the tent city. Tent city participants frequently described the tent city as enjoyable and beneficial to their living situation. All four participants cited the right to sleep campaign that was made public through the Cridge Park tent city. For example, “It [Cridge Park tent city] meant everything for me, it was a battlefield, although it was also a place for peace and freedom.” The same participant elaborated on their initial response:

“[but this tent city was] Well another battle ...um ... giving a whole bunch of new people or rookies a picture of what freedom is to sleep for free... general thing tent cities is that they start people really appreciating this this [sic] new phenomenon of a tent city and they come and stay there and there are all of these cool people around and fantastic conversation and people having nervous breakdowns around a burning barrel... and tent cities afford kind of a sanctuary.”

Safety

Although Cridge Park tent city was a sanctuary for this participant, they reported the loss of freedom that was experienced following the breakup of the tent city. I probed the participant, by asking if they thought tent cities were another

opportunity to raise awareness and advocacy about poverty issues in Victoria?

“Absolutely... um ya it was another step towards raising awareness.”

Echoing sentiments of freedom and sanctuary, another participant mentioned a desire for freedom in the public realm, “We have freedom of speech in public, there should be freedom to sleep in public.” This participant further stated,

“Being able to sleep legally [outside] at night without having people pick on you or cops waking you up and asking for you to leave your spot, that really means a lot in my life right now.”

The participant’s words illustrate the importance of the *Adams case* (BC 2008 Supreme Charter challenge to the City of Victoria’s anti-camping bylaws) led by tent city participants and the supporters. Another research participant discussed the vulnerability they felt while visibly sleeping in public prior to the 2008 Supreme court ruling and the relief they felt afterwards. These responses illustrate “safe zones”, or designated areas in cities that provide a fixed location for people to camp could be a haven from harassment, police raids, and violence.

Research has shown that social interaction and housing impacts health in positive and negative ways (Pauly, 2008). One of the research participants reported their health and wellbeing improved at the Cridge Park tent city,

“At first it [tent city] was safe and a comfortable to leave stuff there. There was healthy food there and no access to cooking on the streets. Very quickly there was a political stand and it was empowering and exhausting.”

This participant is vegan and there are limited vegan food options at local social services, “my diet benefited.” This participant experienced a range of interactions and structures that correlated with their health and wellness.

“Loss of sleep wears you down and the police convinced the Church [Church of our Lord] to shut off the water and not allow us to use the bathrooms... The police created a health issue (at Cridge Park).”

The interview participants cited poor health and marginalization, reported poor wellbeing, and experienced high levels of interaction with police while being without housing. They highlighted the importance of the protest aspect of their involvement in Cridge Park tent city. They said,

“I learned about occupation as a form of civil disobedience and learned how the police use deprivation to strategically defeat you.”

I probed the participant to elaborate on in statement,

“The police targeted people who were not at the tent city and started blaming them. In the long term, tent city had a lot to do with a personal political change in view.”

Individual identity

A research participant reported that Cridge Park tent city was a place for learning and for activist education. Some participants’ activism and advocacy work has transcended this tent city. When asked about what the Cridge Park tent city meant for them, a research participant expressed a sense of freedom, community, and security,

“It was really something I had never experienced before. It was freedom under observation. I met a bunch of people there, some I am still involved with... We bonded over food and the community that was beginning to develop there (Cridge Park).”

The conditions and readiness to participate in collective action were described by participants. Thesis research participants reported being involved in

other squats and tent cities, both before the Cridge Park tent city and afterwards.

Two participants cited participation in a tent city in Beacon Hill Park prior to Cridge Park tent city. Protest for the right to sleep, the fight against poverty, and for the right to erect tents in public were reported by all four participants. Two participants reported organizing events after Cridge Park tent city was dismantled.

“I have participated in protests, community action, and organized gatherings. I organize teach-ins. I have organized the Victoria Anarchist book fair, but since Cridge Park I have not protested (with signs), squatted or occupied any buildings.”

This participant’s sentiments illustrate the diversity in interpretations of protest amongst participants.

“I have written for the Street News and organized a 3-day event ‘A world without cops’ which brought together workshops, panels, history of modern police and indigenous politics.”

For this participant, public education and information sharing were a part of other protest events. The organization of the collective action was important for the protest component to emerge in the tent city. “Tent cities often have no strategy... at first it [Cridge Park tent city] was legal and successful, but then it was made illegal.”

This participant concluded their response by saying “I have little faith in legal protests.”

One participant has not been motivated to participate in other protests since Cridge Park.

“This was sort of a one-off thing. I mean I was walking by and thought yes I agree with this. I haven’t participated in any other protests, I don’t organize stuff I just sort of ended up at Cridge Park.”

I probed this participant to expand on their response,

“I stayed in tent cities after Cridge Park, but these weren’t visible like Cridge Park and Beacon Hill Park were. The other tent cities have been more secretive and I was there with friends and we didn’t want to break it up like the Cridge Park one.”

Another participant echoed similar sentiments,

“Since meeting a bunch of cool people at the Cridge Park tent city I started to get involved in other activism in Victoria. I went to a couple of tent cities since Cridge Park, but these weren’t political like Cridge was.... It [Cridge Park tent city] was more political than the other ones cause they were hidden. And there wasn’t any media coverage there.”

For these participants, the lack of publicity of other tent cities rendered them to be non-political. I asked participants if Cridge Park tent city was a gateway into activism,

“I met a few people there [Cridge Park] who were pretty cool, but we didn’t maintain contact afterwards. We didn’t become friends, we were all there for similar reasons, but I’m not a political person and I don’t really like to put myself out there in some protests.”

Juxtaposed to this response another participant said,

“Yeah [since Cridge Park tent city], I did some volunteering with Food not Bombs, but I found that I really wanted to get involved with protesting for a safe needle exchange and injection site like the one we used to have here... I think this was a really important service and it is obviously needed here.”

For this individual, meeting like-minded individuals at Cridge Park tent city who shared similar values was a step towards feeling a sense of belonging. The social ties that were made at Cridge Park tent city helped facilitate organization for other social justice groups.

My investigation into the perceptions of the Cridge park tent city revealed the range of perceptions of political action in the context of this tent city. One participant differentiated Cridge Park tent city from other tent cities.

“Well, tent cities are all over the world essentially... uhh hum and the only reason there isn’t obvious places where tent cities can go is that eh uh the city’s bylaws and policies have exasperated the conception of land really it’s a Crown controlled thing sort of.”

Furthermore, this participant framed this tent city as an extension of the right to sleep campaign.

“Cridge Park is unique in that it was the tent city that initiated the ruling of the right to ... the charter challenge so it was an average ordinary umm illegal tent city just like the rest of them across Canada except that it was this time uhhh because of whatever time, circumstance uhh () friends who knew lawyers and friends who knew law students and so the law students came down and took affidavits from everyone and it was taken on a full route of a constitutional challenge.”

This participant referred to the access to material and non-material resources that led to the success of the collective action – Cridge Park tent city.

Research participants used collective action concepts differently in their perspectives of Cridge Park tent city. A participant reported that protest is not a term they used. During Cridge Park tent city, this individual noted that the term protest changed its meaning.

“I prefer the term action-now to walking around with signs.”

Another participant described tent cities as an effective form of protest because they send a clear message to “rich people.”

A third participant described the occupation of public space and their goals at Cridge Park tent city,

“Tent city is an occupation and some protests are not. [Cridge Park] Tent city was symbolic of a non-strategic strategy to get housing. I was not trying to make a political statement and there was a lot of media attention. Cridge Park tent city was not meant to be permanent. It was not direct action. The intended goal is not to permanently house people in that space, it was about lobbying for changes in laws and policies.”

This response illustrates the potential social and political changes tent cities can make in communities. Tent cities motivated people to participate in collective action. Evidence from tent city participants can illuminate subaltern publics and potentially disruptive politics within tent cities. One participant discussed the importance of reclaiming public space and making space for everyone, even those alienated from social services,

“The private and the public were meshed together and this really transformed the relationships I had with others. This was a territorial movement, we wanted to sleep outside and help ourselves with creating our own shelter ...But everything was exposed, and it’s hard to have privacy when you are exposed... We wanted to take back public space and show how serious the poverty in Victoria is, like hundreds of people don’t have any place to sleep.”

The participant’s perspectives and the importance of the BC Supreme Court decision illustrate the influence this group had on public policy despite their lack of material resources.

Participants described feelings of solidarity and oneness that arose during their participation in Cridge Park tent city. Although not all participants agreed that tent cities are a viable in Victoria, each of the participants described the location, supports, and amenities/necessities they thought should accompany tent cities.

“Water essentially, kitchen area, uh washrooms, outhouses, um compostable outhouses can be like ideally we would not like port-o-potties... just too much to maintain with the chemicals.”

An open green space, water access, and a place for sanitation and human waste were referred to by all four participants. Additionally, all of the participants described the importance of a designated tent city location for people to return to each night to pitch their tents.

Alongside a designated green space for tent cities, three participants cited volunteerism as a contributing factor to the viability of tent cities. “If a project needed 20 people then 20 people should volunteer.” Self-help and community development were concepts closely tied to the participants’ discussion of tent cities. Participants identified multiple levels of cooperation that would be necessary for a successful tent city in Victoria.

Innovative ideas such as those that deal with basic human necessities (e.g. sanitation and sleep) and community involvement arose from experience at the Cridge Park tent city. Two participants described environmental impacts tent cities would have on Victoria. “There would be fires, people cooking meals, a lot of garbage pile up.” I probed the interview participant for more detail in this response by asking, *what are your thoughts about the viability of tent cities for social interaction amongst campers?* Participants cited entertainment and being with others with similar values were important for them in tent cities. “Some of it would be good, people getting together, organizing, being social. But eventually tent cities would have to come to an end.”

The temporal duration and social interaction at tent cities were reflected as important concepts to consider when interpreting the possibility or legitimacy of tent cities in a given context. Participants agreed that tent cities are feasible when local services and supports are not meeting the needs of persons without adequate housing. One participant said that tent cities “are useful when no other beds are available.” This participant said that homeless people are too tired as it is and “[the city] should address the problem, and we could hold the city for ransom.”

Furthermore this participant said, “how many times could you tell them; it is obvious.” This participant further suggested the need for the means of survival

“We need food, blankets, and lots of socks. The government (Federal and City of Victoria) should be involved and make sure no one is homeless, besides those who want to be homeless.”

The participants’ narratives illustrate the importance of resources in service provision such as blankets and clothing for houseless individuals. Resources allocated in Cridge Park tent city were partially raised by tent city participants and partially donated by concerned citizens.

Perceptions of publicity of tent city

Research participants’ described their perception of the public opinion of the Cridge Park tent city as being diverse, yet each of the four participants were aware of negative discourses surrounding Cridge Park tent city. One participant stated,

“Uhhh well there’s been a huge spin from the city and from the media and from the police just on ... making the general public afraid to go outside because every homeless person is a psychopathic crack-head... uhhmm uh just the promotion of that mentality that essentially homeless people have chosen whatever bad decision that they chose and so they deserve to die,

essentially; that Common Joe-Public is allowed to have spite against these people who spent all of their rent money on drugs or they can't support their family and so they became homeless ... there is a lot of really smart people that might be introverted or something like that there's a lot of very smart people living on the streets."

This participant reported the diversity within the homeless category. They distinguished between *alternative* media and *mainstream* media coverage of Cridge Park tent city.

"Well I mean there's really no good established Indy [media] thing... like there are.. there's Victoria Indy media there's B Channel and they are really good attempts and maybe might blossom into something someday."

Yet the same participant was aware of the contemptuous public discussions of the homeless,

"But generally the news is left to the Times Colonist and A Channel and Chek and there's a huge spin. There's conventional people who can and cannot and the idea that tent cities are a horrible thing that must be stopped now is not really catching on in people's minds. It's not being a sacrifice that's being made to maintain Victoria as a tourist town, but more and more people are realizing that that there is going to be a huge part if someone dies, that people are suffering so much that they find themselves with nothing, not knowing where the next meal is going to come from. They will choose to join me in freedom from the iron grip of the oppressor more than whatever suffering they might be."

This research participant noted the differing frames found in media coverage of the tent city. Participants referred to the consumption of media coverage, "I think the public saw direct action and a trial by the media." Furthermore,

"Ya it's [the media coverage] an interesting phenomenon. I think I figured out that generally people don't have enough time to think so they rely on the media to tell them what they should be thinking, even if they don't look at it that way or think of it that way. That is sort of what happens is that Common Joe sees again and again about how horrible the tent city is and that it's attracting crime and everything is going to go to shit because of tent city, and so occasionally they like fighting and so they will act like they believe what

they are being told, and so start talking trash about something they don't really know about... it happens."

Furthermore, another participant described their interpretation of the public perception of the tent city,

"The public saw the right to sleep and the media created a public perception and people who read and watched and those who came to tent city split the public perception. The media made it look like professional activists came there to make claims and there were little homeless. They called the people who were there 'hippies'."

The perceptions of the interview participants highlight how frames organize experience and interactions with individuals and institutions. During the interview a participant reported that the public perceptions surrounding the tent city were generally limited by news reporting,

"The news doesn't report on the colonization of space that we have experienced here on Vancouver Island.... Nor does it show the police brutality we experience on almost a daily basis."

I asked this participant to elaborate on their response. The participant started by saying,

"The cops are the scariest people, they use force to move us out of public space, they have picked me up and taken me out of town and they have used violence against me for nothing [for sleeping outside]."

Despite these punitive experiences the participant added,

"At least people were hearing about it. I didn't feel like I was participating in something that was for nothing. It was obviously a highly debated issue and I think the editorials and letters to the editor represent that."

Frames may succeed or fail, but the research participants' responses highlight the value in the news reporting and publication of the Cridge Park tent city for the City

of Victoria. Furthermore, thesis research participants described the public's perception of Cridge Park tent city as:

“Horrible or disgusting places, these views are usually from rich people. It didn't seem like the media were saying tent city was something that was happy, and it seemed like the rich people weren't happy about the tent city.”

According to one participant, the media made Cridge Park tent city a public health and safety issue and added that the media put a spotlight on behaviours like stealing, drug use, and no sanitation or hygiene facilities such as washrooms.

Furthermore this participant said, “There was a strong media campaign against us.”

But,

“Monday Magazine was supportive and the Vic news and Times Colonist were against us. People who read the left wing papers like the Martlett and Street News would have a different perception than what the mainstream news gave them.”

The participant identified the bias in news reporting by competing news agencies and in different forms of media. Interview participants described the diversity of framing activities in which their portrayal of Cridge Park tent city influenced public perceptions. The outcomes from Cridge Park tent city have influenced policy responses. Yet the responses from city and provincial trial court hearings, cases, and rulings were slow despite the publicity the collective action received. The collective action at Cridge Park illustrates the ability persons have in addressing common problems. The Cridge Park collective action was empowering and each of the participants described their future hopes. One participant described their desire to obtain court documents for the campaign for the right to sleep. Participants were hopeful about their health, finding housing and housing supports, and about their

future. Security and stability in shared and independent housing were important for participants.

“Mostly, I want a bed to sleep in and a clean and safe place. I really miss that sometimes. You know like have your own pillows and blankets to keep you warm.”

Another participant reported,

“I want to find permanent housing. No more of this week-to-week stuff or trying to find a dry and safe place in parks. I would like to live in my own place or with roommates and I want a door on my room that I can lock and a place where I don’t have to worry about my stuff being ripped off.”

The location of housing was also important to participants,

“I want a place that is close to downtown so I can easily walk there. My friends are downtown and I want to be close to them.”

Additionally, participants shared goals of writing, activism, organizing, and education.

“I am working on an Earth First journal and I want to write more. I want to publish more using militant feminism.”

Education, independence, stability, security, and obtaining the right to sleep in public were future hopes of the participants.

Summary

There are many similarities between these thesis findings and past research. Participants illustrated that tent cities could be organized and functional, and that tent city activists could participate in community planning and revitalization. The findings in this study also show the close proximity of unsheltered individuals to

violence. Further research would shed light on the experiences of violence faced by houseless individuals in Victoria and in tent cities in Canada. The interview sample participants are similar in that they need shelter and they united to use public space to erect their own shelter in the form of a tent city.

There is a growing phenomenon of homelessness in Canada. In contrast to popular discourses that frame the homeless as unorganized and unlikely to engage in collective action, I present descriptive findings that illustrate the range of affiliations, organizing, and political responses that led to the success of the tent city in Cridge Park. Dominant discourses in a sample of newspaper articles that reported on the Cridge Park tent city were examined in order to assess discourses of this tent city. In the following section, data from secondary event data analysis will illustrate media discourse, agency, and mobilization.

Frames are socially constructed and are dynamic; they are related to the interpretive and ideational issues of social movements (Snow et al. 1986; Benford, 1997). Frames refer to systems of structuring or imposing meaning on sets of symbols so those symbols are situated in relation to one another (Doyle, Elliot & Tindall, 2000, p. 241). These ideational elements enable individuals to locate, perceive, and identify occurrence - for action- in their lives and in greater society (Benford & Snow, 2000). Frames are not constructed in a vacuum; rather their appearance and believability are dependent upon the context in which they are constructed. Social movements need the media for mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement even if the media vilifies social movements. The frames

identified in the event data analyzed in this thesis research highlights the diverse ways in which collective action frames are made public.

Media discourse is an indispensable mode of frame transmission. The media can validate a movement through highlighting the movement as standing for something of value (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). Media validation is often a necessary condition before targets are influenced to grant movement recognition of demands and claims. In the case of Cridge Park tent city, the event was highly visible, collective; and participants mobilized in the tent city. The media discourse in Victoria facilitated the frames of mobilization and participation in the tent city.

The self-reported data from interview participants' recollection of the tent city was triangulated with publicized data from a sample of newspaper articles reporting on Cridge Park tent city. The newspaper data provides evidence of poverty reduction strategies, collective self-help housing, challenges to structural situations, collective action frames, individualized counter-framing, social exclusion, poverty bashing, social movement strategies, questioning the use of space, and public health concerns. These themes are related to diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing as found in the thematic analysis noted above.

The newspaper sample represents the local, provincial, and national contexts in which the Cridge Park tent city was located. The concept of community was used in both the tent city participants' framing and the counter-framing of the event in the sample of public discourse. Journalists and newspapers frame stories in particular ways and these frames influence readers' emotions, opinions, and politics. Readers interact with news media by reading and commenting on events. Editors

choose to publish opinion pieces and some aspects of public views make their way into event data. The issue of the right to sleep and homelessness was framed skilfully by activists, lawyers, advocates, supporters, and tent city participants. However, counter frames of the tent city were also present in the newspaper sample. This newspaper data sample was collected by myself as the sole researcher, and thus there may be critiques regarding the selection bias and or description bias. A larger event data sample size may provide greater statistical power, provide evidence of consistency of a particular relationship in Victoria, and may help explain variability causes. However, this event data sample is robust across the range of included newspaper articles. The results from the event data were synthesized with qualitative interview data.

In the following section I will describe the frames and counter-frames of the community that developed in media discourses on Cridge Park tent city.

Framing developing and sustaining a community

Collective action adherents and potential adherents may participate in movement activity at a distance, and may be engaged in different forms of involvement, such as in public discourses. Concerned citizens articulated diagnostic frames of the problem of homelessness, which were accompanied by prognostic framing. For example, one newspaper reported the prognosis to ending homelessness by community involvement,

“It is our obligation as a community to do whatever we can to make sure all of our residents have access to safe and warm shelter every night of the year.” (Kaye, 18/12/2009).

Community members talked about the tent city at Cridge Park as one specific response to a lack of affordable housing in Victoria. For example,

“The tents signal a desperate need for a creative plan of action that stabilizes the community. We wouldn't need more law-and-order measures if more people had a place to call home.” (McKay, 20/10/2008).

Other voices represented in the newspaper sample argued that campers were no more delinquent than housed persons. Some stories called for inclusive communities in Victoria. For example,

“In recent days, there have been complaints about homeless people being allowed to sleep in Victoria's parks. Yes, some homeless people are responsible for making awful messes in parks or on city streets, but so are people who drive expensive cars, own houses or live in apartments.” (Longworth, 20/10/2008).

A participant in the tent city reinforced the argument for inclusivity,

“I think they're saying business and property owners have more rights than people with no property,” said Ralph. “It seems to me we should all have equal rights.” (McLeod, 16/06/2009).

Journalists highlighted statements from campers who described their desires to live in communities, some located in parks. For example, “comments in affidavits by Alymanda Wawai and other campers [state] that they want to live in communities inside the parks.” (Hatherly, 12/06/2009). Campers' stories described the resistance they experienced in the public from police, lawyers, politicians, and the general public (Hatherly, 12/11/2009; Peach, 29/10/2008; Gibson, 15/10/2008). However, other campers were reported saying that people in the neighbourhood and local businesses treated them very well; dropping off food, blankets, tents and warm clothes.

“People in the community come and chat and give the campers money for food and propane. People driving by in cars also honk their support.” (Dickson, 15/10/2005).

Counter-framing tent city as community

Sentiments of failed community development were important themes in the event data about Cridge Park tent city. Even when park land was noted as public, citizens reported concerns that the campers’ appropriation of space was a form of colonization. Consider these examples,

“The order amounts to an allocation, an opening up of land, park land and public land. “People would be able to stake a claim to whatever spot they wanted”, he said. “We say that that is anarchy.”” (McDannold, G., in McLeod, 16/06/2009).

“Shelters are good short term emergency situations, people treat the sidewalks, squares and parks as their bedroom of choice... public spaces are for the general public. No one is entitled to colonize them to build a shelter on them or otherwise use them as a personal residence.” (Anonymous in the Globe & Mail, 30/08/2006).

“What about the competing rights of other city residents? Surely they have interests that also need protecting. That doesn't mean that we can't or shouldn't attempt to help folks who need aid. There are extensive support programs already in place, including subsidized housing and shelters for the homeless.” (McFarlane, 28/12/2009).

Newspaper reports contradicted the thesis interview participants’ beliefs regarding the positive impact on their health, safety, security at tent cities. Several newspaper articles reported that the tent city was unhealthy and did not build a community for the city’s houseless citizens,

“There are no winners in this judgment. This is still no way to accommodate our homeless and will be detrimental to the families and children who enjoy our park system.” (Gibson, 15/10/2008).

Data from another newspaper article illustrates diagnosis framing regarding the homeless problem without a prognosis to remedy the problem,

“I don't want people less fortunate to be encouraged to live outside the laws of our community.” (Scot, 15/08/2006).

Counter framing tent cities as unsafe for community

There was a frequent insistence on the difference between safety and security between homeless people and housed persons located in the newspaper sample. Concerned citizens, politicians, city lawyers, police, and rescue crews challenged the safe and secure community frames in the discourses around the tent city. For example, police and rescue workers framed tent city in Victoria as a threat to public health and security. Victoria police Constable Jamie Graham said,

“We're not going to have another tent city,” and “Tent cities are awful. They are breeding grounds of trouble.” (Shaw, 26/11/2008).

A diagnosis frame of homelessness was sometimes presented as a threat to overall community health and thus implied insecurity and unsafe environments. Yet interview participants reported the negative experiences they had with emergency service workers and the interactions the police had with persons not involved in the tent city. News articles reported that emergency service workers were required to protect public safety,

“[The] fire department put out one trash can fire (...). Police became concerned about the number of young teenagers hanging around known drug users at the site, and incidents of escalating violence. “We called the Victoria Fire Department and they went down and extinguished the fire, but as they were doing that they encountered a bit of resistance from a couple of people,” said police officer Sylven.” (Cleverly, 06/12/2006).

Cridge Park tent city was also framed as dirty and a breeding ground for illegal activity as read in the following quote,

““[There were] a number of young teenagers hanging around known drug users at the site, and incidents of escalating violence. Three truckloads of accumulated junk were removed from the park” said Victoria police officers.” (Cleverly, 06/12/2005).

A number of news articles reinforced the idea that tent cities are problematic for communities and that there are existing services that should be utilized by houseless persons. Drug and alcohol use and misuse were common themes in the newspaper sample. Rather than questioning why persons use or misuse drugs or alcohol, news articles linked drug and alcohol consumption to individual failures.

Safety and Security:

The results of this study call into question the assumption that tent cities and homeless encampments are dangerous and unsafe. The tent city was framed by participants as a safe zone as compared to sleeping in public alone. Counter-frames emerged in event data and argued that campers were colonizing space making public parks dangerous for the general public.

Framing safety and security of tent cities (right to sleep)

The news stories reporting on Victoria’s tent cities identified a link between safety, security, and housing. Many articles reinforced and emphasized the theme of safety through appeals to protect all community members. The terms ‘unfortunate

members', 'safe', 'dangerous', and 'risk' were located in titles and within articles.

Articles underscored ideas that homeless people are in need of help to protect themselves as evidenced in the following quotes:

“One measure of a society is how well it treats the unfortunate members who cannot speak for themselves. We should provide housing and warm beds and nutritious food for those who need it. Homeless have rights, the rest of us have rights as well. Do the rights of homeless matter more than ours do? How do you balance survival with the right to protect parks from overuse?” (Obee, Comment, 16/12/2009).

Furthermore,

“Until society step ups and provides affordable housing, the homeless will need places to live, aside from crowded and dangerous shelters.” (Longworth, 20/10/2008).

BC Civil Liberties Association representative Ron Skolrood made similar comments,

“You're putting homeless people in a position of having to either choose to break the law by erecting a shelter or choose to put themselves in harm's way by complying with the bylaw and sleeping without adequate shelter, and what kind of choice is that? That's not a choice at all.” (MacLeod, 20/06/2009).

The ability to protect oneself was connected to discourses of health and illness.

Criminalizing those without shelter and preventing someone from erecting shelter limits their ability to protect themselves.

“She [Adams] said the provisions the city has allowed -- a ground mat, sleeping bag and rainproof tarp -- are insufficient and expose the homeless to greater risk of hypothermia.” (Hatherly, 12/06/2009).

This right to protecting oneself discourse was echoed in another news article,

“If people have the right to sleep outside, she said, surely they also have the right to protect themselves from the elements while they do it.” (MacLeod, 07/03/2008).

Another article talks about how shelter is a necessary element in the prevention of illness.

"Taking care to make sure after you go to sleep, you wake up, don't freeze to death, that's voluntary?" (MacLeod, 7/03/2008).

Articles reported the inefficiencies in the existing local services that serve the homeless.

"Shelters are not safe, sleeping in streets or in parks are not private or secure." (Globe & Mail, 30/08/2006).

The tent city participants who were represented in news articles reported that the tent city was a safe space for them compared to the vulnerabilities they faced for sleeping in public. Natalie Adams said,

"It was really nice. We had unity, we had safety, we had the comfort of each other. We could go to sleep and knew we were safe. Once they broke that up, all hell broke loose for a lot of people." (MacLeod, 20/06/2008).

In the same article Adams reported,

"When they broke up tent city I was camping out [alone] in Beacon Hill Park," said Adams, who was known as Karma when she lived on Victoria's streets. "I ended up having a sexual assault and got pregnant. It wouldn't have happened if they left the tent city alone." (MacLeod, 20/06/2008).

Another tent city participant, Tomiko Koyama, said,

"We will be safe here. I feel safe here. But I've been in low income housing in way worse situations than this." (Dickson, 27/10/2005).

Frames negotiating individual identity

A number of newspaper articles included statements from Cridge Park tent city participants. These quotes illustrate activism, an increased sense of citizenship

rights, and personal choice. Activism and community reintegration were important themes in the articles. One tent city camper, Simon Ralph, said,

"My life changed enormously when I went to tent city," he said. "I didn't have hope in society. Through living with people who cared, I learned to love myself." (MacLeod, 16/06/2009).

Furthermore, Ralph was reported saying that through the short-lived tent city, he returned to "being a productive member of society again" (McLeod, 16/06/2009).

In addition to increased self esteem, campers acknowledged that their citizenship rights were confirmed when the decision of the right to erect temporary shelter stemmed from/grew out of the 2008 BC Supreme Court of Canada,

"“Yesterday it was illegal to set up my tent, today it isn't" said David Johnston (houseless activist) who argued they have the right to sleep outdoors on public property." (Gibson, 15/10/2008).

Comments from "concerned citizens" criticized the City of Victoria's response to the Cridge Park tent city,

"The city of Victoria has wasted hundreds of thousands of dollars on a losing legal battle to keep homeless people from erecting temporary overnight structures." (Anonymous, 11/12/2009).

Counter framing campers' collective action

A number of newspaper articles report on the differences between the free use of land and the appropriation of free space by undesirables. These articles reflect and highlight a lack of "trust" in the use of park land by houseless persons and their supporters. The city's lawyers argued that

"Whatever benefit the tent city had for the people who lived there, they [the campers] shouldn't be allowed to make a "defacto expropriation" of a public park." (MacLeod, 20/06/2008).

Another article underscored the resistance to tent cities as a prognosis for homelessness in Victoria. A comment published in the Times Colonist read, “a good portion of the campers were propagandists who use “homelessness” as a bludgeon.” (McFarlane, 28/12/2009; Kaye, 18/12/2009). The perception that the tent city participants are in need of external assistance is spoken of in the following:

“To me this is terribly demeaning and demonstrates a complete lack of respect for people who have no homes. It is like saying you should never aspire to anything other than the life you've got. All your worth is unhealthful, humiliating, undignified existence.... we want you to scrape by on the fringes of our society.” (Scot, 15/08/06).

Victoria citizens and policy makers voiced concerns and opposed the tent city at Cridge Park. Despite homelessness being labelled a social problem in Victoria, there was evidence in the event data sample that the problem should be contained outside of certain contexts (e.g. in Beacon Hill Park).

In sum, the qualitative data indicate community, safety and security, and individual identity within the collective action at Cridge Park. The campers had a desire to take control of their housing situation and make the plight of homelessness visible. The right to sleep, challenging bylaws that criminalize the homeless, and speaking out for their rights and desires for the future was achieved by tent city participants.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

The findings from my thesis research show that interview participants attained a sense of community, safety and security (the right to sleep), and negotiated an individual identity at Cridge Park tent city. Tent city participants were agents of social change in Victoria (Issit, 2008; Coelho et al., 2006; Corrigan-Brown et al., 2009; Diani & McAdam, 2003). The participation in Cridge Park tent city did not conform to societal norms in public environments (Bickford, 2000; Calterone Williams, 2005; Cress & Snow, 2000; Gifford, 2011, February 8; Goffman 1974; Goffman, 1963; Hulchanski 2000; Kingfisher, 2007). Rather, the participants accessed public space and distributed information concerning the City of Victoria bylaws that criminalized the homeless. Erecting temporary shelter is beyond the experience of most housed Victoria citizens.

Thesis findings from my analysis of this tent city collective action support those found in other research (Uitermark, 2003; Pruijt, 2003; Pruijt, 2004; Springer, 2000; Pell, 2006; Wagner & Cohen, 1991, Polletta, 1999; Calterone Williams, 2005; Cress & Snow, 2000; Uitermark, 2004). I locate the research participants' voices within the bigger picture of how this tent city made social, political, and personal changes. Cridge Park tent city developed alongside groups, organizations, individuals, and municipal plans of action, which are working towards eradicating homelessness. In this section I will describe the themes that emerged in the thesis research.

Salient themes

As noted in the introduction, homelessness is a contested concept, yet living along the continuum of homelessness is a reality for a number of BC citizens. Previous research on movements by the poor emphasizes a range of resources mobilized by social movement actors (Wagner & Cohen, 1991; Calterone Williams, 2005; Cress & Snow, 2000; Coelho et al., 2006; Diani & McAdam, 2003). The salient themes were derived from interview transcripts, field notes, and in follow-up meetings (Anderson & Koblinsky, 1995; Diversi & Finley, 2010; Poortinga & Hurdle, 2004). I organized my discussion of the research documents and grouped themes into three identified categories: *material, human/networks, and personal empowerment*. These categories contain a range of outcomes that the four research participants identified. Themes are linked to the participants' shared problem frames associated with City of Victoria bylaws, their perceptions of community, safety/security, and personal identity. In this section I will discuss the three categories that were discovered in the interview data.

1. Material

At the time of the interviews, the housing needs of the participants were not being met (Lyon-Callo, 2000; DeVerteuil, 2006; Hulchanski, 2000; Larimer et al., 2009; Larsen, Poortinga & Hurdle, 2004). Researchers advocate doing research with persons who may face social and structural barriers in their daily lives, have difficulty accessing social services, and may have minimal access to media and

networks to policy makers in order to create client-centered approaches to housing (Wang, Cash, & Powers 2000; Larimer et al., 2009). Similar to other contexts, thesis participants' self-reported and identified gaps in Victoria's existing social services which work with marginalized or vulnerable populations (Calterone Williams, 2005; Croteau & Hicks, 2003; Hulchanski, 2005; Kingfisher, 2007; Torck, 2001; Wakin, 2005). Participants articulated that they had experienced self-perceptions of stigma and social stigma while sleeping outside (Goffman, 1963; Rush, 1998; Kidd, 2007; Mickelson & Williams). The social design of housing supports, such as homeless shelters in Victoria, were described by interview participants as institutional environments that did not meet their physical and social needs (Bickford, 2000; Gifford, 2011; Smith & Bugni, 2006; Wang, Cash & Powers, 2001). Research participants listed cultural, relationship(s), diversity, security/safety, and time of shelter stays as impeding their use of shelter services (Hwang, 2000; Hurdle, Poortinga & Larsen, 2004; DeVerteuil, 2005; Wakin, 2005).

The research participants interviewed in this thesis described the *City of Victoria v. Adams* 2008 BC Supreme Court decision as empowering, but the process was long drawn-out and, at the time of the interviews, the issue of the right to sleep was still unresolved. In 2009, Victoria city officials appealed the 2008 Supreme Court decision, and tent city participants continued to struggle for innovative shelters and the right to sleep securely and safely (e.g. erecting tents during the day) (Wakin, 2005; Caterone Williams, 2005). The four research participants made suggestions for permanent semi-urban camp grounds with basic amenities, multiple tent cities in Victoria, credit leniency for renters, and more affordable housing. The

research participants described the freedom in the right to sleep they obtained, yet the type, place, and role of home continue to have negative impacts on the lives of community members (Shaw, 2004).

During the interviews, research participants described the tangible resources they and their supporters mobilized (Cress & Snow, 2000; Croteau & Hicks, 2003; Calterone Williams, 2005; Wagner & Cohen, 1991; Corrigall-Brown et al., 2009). These included meeting space/tent city location, basic resources such as food, blankets, and donations (Uitermark, 2004; Pruijt, 2004; Corrigall-Brown et al., 2009). Surprisingly, money, which is regularly cited as an important material resource in collective action, was not discussed by participants in this study (Cress, 1997; Wagner, 1991; McCarthy, 1977; Cress, 1996; Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986). The participants described the material resources they received at Cridge Park, but did not discuss how they acquired non-donated resources or the value these resources had for them. Cress and Snow (2000) found that the accumulation of resources in viable organizations enables elaborate and focused framing discussions (p. 1100). Diagnostic and prognostic frames constructed by power holders (organizational or otherwise) may hold more weight than those put forth by other social actors (Coburn, 2006). In other words, power within organisations can affect understandings of problems, provide interpretive frameworks that highlight one aspect over another, and influence the range of appropriate responses or solutions. These discourses and the structures that facilitate their publicity are not stable; rather, these can be challenged and curbed by those who seek diversity (Chaney, 2002; Smith, 2007). Each participant's

response displayed the resources and the lack of resources used in their tent city activities.

The interview participants explained the intangible resources they obtained through their involvement in the Cridge Park tent city. Making connections with media sources, the tent city participants co-opted their own resources and interacted with movement organizations and bystanders. These actions publicized the issue of a right to sleep and were reported by all of the interview participants. Social ties such as those made between tent city participants, lawyers, law students, and citizens nurtured movement mobilization (Corrigall-Brown et al., 2009). Movements such as tent cities have outcomes that extend beyond the poorest groups. However, the issue required a relationship between the poor, those with middle income, students, and legal professionals.

The success of a frame has to do with how well it resonates with potential and existing constituents (Hallgrimsdottir, Phillips & Benoit, 2009). Social movement actors must be conscious of the emerging appearance of their cause and the issues/grievances associated with their movement. Local actors in social movements and in SMOs actively construct understandings through interpretive lenses that are based on pre-existing beliefs and practices constructed within local contexts (Coburn, 2004). It is not social movements per se which do the interpretive work in framing an idea or goal; rather, it is the collective work of constituents inside and agents outside the movement whereby some ideas may be highlighted more than others. This is especially important when considering media framing where there is a contest over meaning within the news media and where the media

is a means to oppose or support movement claims. A thorough understanding of the participation process requires closer attention to the interpretation of grievances and other ideational elements.

2. Human/Networks

Data from interview participants' transcripts included discussion of the social connections made at the Cridge Park tent city and the community that developed there (Wang & Cash, 2000). Research on social movements of the poor suggest that the homeless are an unlikely cohesive group because of factors such as spatial mobility, high incidences of physical mental illness, substance use, and interaction with the criminal justice system (Corrigall-Brown, et al. 2009; Lyon-Callo, 2000, Victoria Mayor's Task Force, 2007; Hwang, Tolomuczenko, Kouyoumdjian & Garner, 2005). Other research has shown that community amongst homeless persons can develop through alternative forms of social participation (Wang, Cash & Powers, 2001; Fincher & Iverson, 2008).

Cridge Park tent city participants were political and the subsequent court cases illustrate the wealth of material and non-material social resources amongst these participants. During the tent city, the participants framed the issue in terms of the right to sleep and the right to life, liberty, and security of the person. The findings from secondary newspaper analysis demonstrate that the tent city collective action was unique, and as the constituency grew, bystanders assembled to support the participants (Benford, 1997; Diani, 1992; Benford, 2000; McCarthy,

1997). The bystanders were non-adherents of the tent city, but were witnesses to the collective action at Cridge Park. There was a group of participants who acted as leaders of the tent city, who organized and acted as spokespersons (Meyer, 1994; Morris, 2000).

Lawyers, working pro bono, became involved in the case; past social movement research has reported on legal and administrative “know how” as network resources in past social movement studies in the mobilization of the poor (Cress, & Snow, 1996; Forte, 2002; Williams, 2005). Findings from this thesis research illuminate the role that legalistic expertise has in the process of making moral and ethical claims. The data collected in this thesis research shows that tent city participants can organize, develop networks of support, and disrupt the routine functions of everyday life (Corrigall-Brown et al., 2010; Shier, Jones & Graham, 2011).

3. Personal Empowerment

The four research participants in this thesis research reported internal and external organization in the Cridge Park tent city (Uitermark, 2004; Pruijt, 2004). The tent city participants acted in solidarity and the four research participants described the empowerment they felt around tent city. Thesis interview participants were not connected to formal pre-existing networks, but community developed and mobilized to disrupt the everyday goings-on in Victoria (Cress & Snow, 1996). Past research in social movements has described community development in the affordable housing movement (Uitermark, 2004; Uitermark, 2004; Pruijt, 2004;

Calterone Williams, 2005). The protest for the right to erect temporary shelter was legitimated through the tent city participants' visible presence in the public realm and their subsequent legal actions challenging the City of Victoria's bylaws and policies. The 2008 Supreme Court of BC decision made by Justice Ross allowed individuals to erect individual temporary shelter if no other shelter space is available. This ruling supported the actions of the Cridge Park tent city participants, but the interpretation of the law was contested (e.g., when shelter could be erected).

Policy changes can be effected inside the realm of poverty and limited resources through episodic outbursts such as tent cities. My research did not measure the participants' knowledge about the potential supporters and organizational support for the right to sleep in British Columbia. Instead, my findings are empirically grounded in the participants' interview responses regarding their perceptions of Cridge Park tent city. The findings in this thesis are linked to the four research participants' thoughts on the public perceptions of the tent city. This thesis research adds to the discussion of tangible and non-tangible gains as a result of protest by homeless populations (Wagner & Cohen, 1991; Anderson & Koblinsky, 1995; Cress & Snow, 2000).

Media discourse

The media was an invaluable tool for the Cridge Park tent city case as it offered an opportunity to pressure local and state governments and private sector decision making, and brought ethical questions into public discussion. In newspaper

coverage, tent city participants were able to challenge the broader social structural causes of homelessness in variable ways to address their immediate needs of shelter, housing and home. Frame analysis in this thesis examined how newspaper readers and news media *talk* about social issues (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The media relies on frames and reframing of issues as techniques for finding common ground between disputants and altering the ways in which messages are conveyed (Dewulf et al., 2009, p. 156). The Cridge Park tent city cannot stand on its own, but must be interwoven into larger storylines or frames of housing and homelessness in the given context. As evidenced in the event data, collective action at the tent city and the media transaction was characterised by a struggle over framing (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Summary

Cridge Park tent city was an expressive activity, and one frame on homelessness which was a visible display of a lack of affordable housing in Victoria. This research provides evidence from four research participants' expressions of self and a place. The thesis research participants identified a collective poverty in their community. Giving attention to inequalities such as housing disparities can lead to fairness and justice. Social arrangements, such as classism, shape inequalities in access to housing and in housing outcomes (Varcoe et al., 2009, p. 2). Cridge Park tent city stimulated discussion and encouraged social and policy changes in Victoria's housing market. However, as evidenced in research participants' interview transcripts, tent cities are subject to individual interpretation. The collective efforts of tent city participants humanized homelessness, and the tent city was a site for education and resource sharing. In this thesis I was guided by the symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective and I assessed the extent to which the participants accounted for their participation and their understandings of media and public perceptions of the tent city. The participants in this study reported that a community developed at Cridge Park during the tent city and for some, their involvement in the campaign for the right to sleep at any time continues. According to all of the participants, the right to sleep and to shelter oneself, which was extended into the Cridge Park tent city, offered them a sense of safety and security.

The experience of security differed slightly from the participants' previous housing experiences. This collective action was identity-oriented and for three of the participants was a gateway into further activism. According to participants, Cridge Park tent city was an opportunity for them to reflect on their individual identities and their citizenship rights. The qualitative data amassed in this thesis research suggests that concepts such as the homeless, homelessness, and houselessness should be used cautiously when applying to collective action of the poor.

The interview participants referred to a shared sense of injustice – a collective identity – which is an important predictor of engagement in collective action (Corrigall-Brown, et al., 2009). At the time of this thesis research, emergency shelters were over capacity and left hundreds of homeless persons insecurely housed. The conditions of emergency shelters in the City of Victoria were described by participants as appalling and undesirable. At this time, the lack of funding in the federal and provincial action plans to end homelessness provided opportunity for private solutions by the very people who use the services.

Definitions of tent cities are socially and politically contingent and thus the definition of tent cities was discussed with each participant prior to the start of the interview. I have summarized the four participants' definitions of tent cities as: self-help housing that is community-oriented, inclusive, and political. Tent cities are socially constructed and alternatives to traditional private forms of housing. Tent cities are public or private, and core values include inclusivity (belonging to everyone), specificity, and accessibility. The participants in this study offered suggestions as to how tent cities could co-exist with housed communities in Victoria.

Tent cities on BC provincially leased land could be a temporary solution prior to the construction of new and renovation of existing aging affordable housing. Tent cities located in designated safe zones could be a new direction for housing design and discussion about longer-term solutions. Tent cities can encourage social interaction and solidarity amongst users.

Addressing homelessness requires working with community and with all levels of government. Once housed in tent cities, residents could participate in surveys, interviews, and focus groups in order to assess their needs and the health of the tent city. Research could be longitudinal and could include post-occupancy surveys with former tent city residents. Follow-up interviews could be conducted with residents, service providers who work with those experiencing the continuum of homelessness, and municipal-level government workers as methods for obtaining culturally relevant data.

Tent cities are a temporary model of self-help housing that could be a transition place from streets to homes. A permanently-designated place on publicly leased land would legitimize tent cities in the community. Qualitative data and quantitative data could be analyzed to assess the place of tent cities in Victoria and in other BC communities. As evidenced in this thesis research, tent cities could be a short term location to protect Victoria's absolutely homeless from environmental, physical, social, and economic vulnerabilities. Tent city sites could be self-managed and could help build community from the inside out. This housing response could be one step toward ending homelessness, but one that needs to be taken alongside the

support of community members. The language used by participants constructed a reality of Cridge Park tent city from their individual perspectives.

Frame analysis was grounded in empirical data which is unique to this thesis. Frames were representations of participants' interpretations of their experience in Cridge Park tent city. Alongside participants' frames, I asked participants to reflect on their perceptions of the public's interpretation of the tent city event. Their frames were classified, organized for interpretation, and analyzed by me as the sole researcher. The framing efforts by participants were active processes of sense-making (Goffman, 1963). The experience of Cridge Park tent city was an object of investigation in this thesis and the research questioned what the experience in Cridge Park tent city meant for participants; how research participants perceived the public reaction of the tent city; and whether the research participants continue their activism beyond Cridge Park tent city. I directed attention to discourses shared by interview participants and located in a sample of newspaper articles covering the Cridge Park tent city (Snow et al., 1986).

The research questions guided this thesis research and the case study illustrates creative responses to homelessness and marginalization. The Cridge Park tent city was reported to be empowering, but it is important that government and private organizations work with individual houseless persons to facilitate empowerment. The tent city was an outcome of complex social processes including economic processes, restructuring of institutions and social welfare systems, changes in social attitudes and housing crisis.

Limitations

This thesis was not funded externally and I did not mail out invitations to participate in interviews, nor did I provide monetary honorariums to participants. Previous research with persons who have experienced homelessness has indicated the use of honorariums has been successful in obtaining research participants (Larimer et al., 2009). Instead of providing a monetary honorarium, I provided cigarettes, coffee, and snacks for participants. I could have used a computer program to code and analyze my data, but I thought that this would not reach the deeper meaning of the findings in this social research. I did not need to use qualitative coding software because my data set was small and I could do the analysis by hand using traditional qualitative research methods. The thesis research produced a large amount of textual data, and my analysis was systematic, rigorous, and also labour intensive. The data analysis process in this thesis research was cumbersome and presented demands on me as the sole researcher. I spent a great deal of time processing and classifying the research participants' responses and my own thoughts as a qualitative researcher. If field notes had been coded by multiple researchers, additional codes could have emerged from the data and more central codes could have been discovered in the transcripts.

Within this empirical study I used a symbolic interaction theoretical approach and was guided by the works of Erving Goffman (1961, 1974, 1986). It is beyond the scope of this empirical thesis to examine the Cridge Park tent city using multiple theoretical perspectives. The Cridge Park tent city was episodic and short-lived and involved a series of interrelated events. According to these observations,

the mobilization in Cridge Park tent city could be analyzed to measure its viability. A comparative analysis could be applied to data and measure the frequency of meetings and the planning of this collective action.

In this thesis I did not analyze the possible harmful impacts that spaces such as tent cities have on participants and the surrounding neighbourhoods and communities. Community members assign meanings to tent cities in their physical forms. The interpretation of tent cities reflects an observers' sense of self and projections of themselves to others. People give meaning to spaces in environments in shared language and experiences. Meanings that individuals attach to spaces are flexible and are constantly being shaped and reshaped based on meanings of the self, others, and objects.

The research participants in this thesis were over the age of nineteen, which may have excluded some younger participants who played a key role in the framing tasks of Cridge Park tent city. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain interviews from individuals who identify with ethnic or racial minority status. Despite taking many steps to diversify my interview sample, this example of homogeneity is a notable bias in this thesis. Additionally, I did not ascertain the extent to which participants in this study were representative of other Cridge Park tent city activists in their motivations, participation, and resilience. An additional limitation of this study includes the data being self-reported by participants without independent confirmation.

My thesis has other shortcomings in that research was conducted between 2008 and 2010 and there have been changes in social services and access to housing

in Victoria. Outreach programs, emergency shelter beds, and social services have changed since the time of this research. However, recent reports show there is still a need for affordable housing in the Greater Victoria Area (Pauly et al., 2011). In future research it would be useful to interview social movement actors engaged in activism in the fight to end poverty in Victoria, in British Columbia, and in Canada.

Frame analysis in this thesis allowed for empirical evidence from those involved in framing the Cridge Park tent city. Future examination of the political and material contexts which can shape problem frames and constrain actors' abilities to disseminate frames is necessary (Diani, 1996; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005; Steinberg, 1999). Following Lyon-Callo's (2000). I suggest using textual and discourse analysis as tools in the discovery of interconnections for social movement actors. Exploring various discourses about homelessness in multiple layers of society will produce insights into where and how to challenge the ideological pressures which exclude of persons without homes, or those who are at-risk of becoming so from social domains (Klodawsky et al., 2002). The use of newspaper data for a secondary analysis has its drawbacks. The newspaper data search may have missed newspaper articles reporting on Cridge Park tent city which were framed differently (or in unusual ways) (Earl et al., 2004). An additional limitation in this research is that I did not explore the entertainment aspect that emerged in the Cridge Park tent city. Musicians played hand drums and singing occurred, but I did not measure the impact of the arts on the perceptions of tent city participation.

Suggestions/Future Research

For some, the BC housing system works—moving people from emergency shelter to short-term housing, to transitional housing, to permanent housing. However, many individuals fall through the cracks or are moved back and forth from service to service and then back onto the streets. These individuals experience a range of housing options along the continuum of homelessness. A goal of BC Housing Matters is to get people into housing and to help them stay there (www.bchousing.org/Initiatives/Housing_Matters). The partnership between Ministry of Housing and Social Development and the University of Victoria is helping to develop indicators that would capture community concerns regarding homelessness (Minkler, 2000).

Although there have been increases in provincial spending for responses to homelessness, much of these funds are directed toward providing emergency services, such as emergency shelter beds, without developing long-term plans toward permanent housing. Today, the BC homeless system does not have the capacity to temporarily or permanently house everyone who needs it. The results are increased levels of chronic homelessness.

Further investigation of discourses of homelessness in Canada is required, especially those likely to impact negatively in social justice terms (Pauly, 2008). Discourses have the potential to enhance understanding about how economic, political, and social restructuring is taking place, and to shed light on how to intervene effectively in shaping its key elements. Additionally, more attention needs to be given to the diversity through which homeless policies unfold. Such diversity

leads to a variety of responses (e.g. policies, media accounts, etc), which may be interconnected and overlapping or differing and competing. In this sense, it would be useful to investigate the changing responses in shelters, prisons, drop-in centres, and rooming houses in British Columbia (DeVerteuil, May & von Mahs, 2009).

Further research is also required to assess what services and supports are needed in British Columbia for its diverse homeless population. Wright (1997) suggested that public support systems, such as connections with the housed community for support services, legal advocacy, and social movement organizations, are necessary in order for homeless people to avoid vulnerable regulation practices, assimilation, and exclusion from urban spaces. Conducting interviews with people who participated in Victoria's Cridge park tent city would allow for further insight into tent cities in British Columbia. More investigation of the tensions between different agents of the multiple levels of government and between state and other community agencies will help to give more focus to the subject of control and acknowledge who is responsible for recent shifts in homelessness policy (DeVerteuil, May & von Mahs, 2009).

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Questionnaire and interview

I would first like to thank you for participating in this interview. Your time and energy are very important for me in my thesis work, and for the citizens of British Columbia. Gaining more knowledge about the Victoria Cridge Park tent city will help inform the public, academics, and policy makers.

To start, I would like to ask you some basic information about yourself:

Q 1. What is your gender?

Female

3. Transgendered MTF

5. other

Male

4. Transgendered FTM

Q2. In what month and year were you born? Month _____ Year _____

Q3. Were you born in Victoria?

1. Yes → go to question Q8

2. No

Q4. Were you born in Canada?

1. Yes → go to question Q8

2. No

Q5. In what region were you born?

1. USA, Mexico

4. Asia

7. Other, specify _____

2. Europe

5. Africa

3. Central/ South America

6. Oceania

Q6. What year did you move to Canada?

Q7. In what province were you born?

1. British Columbia

6. Quebec

10. NWT

2. Alberta

7. New Brunswick

11. Yukon

3. Saskatchewan

8. Nova Scotia

12. Nunavut

4. Manitoba

9. Newfoundland/ Labrador

13. PEI

5. Ontario

14. other

Q8. In total, how many years have you lived in Victoria?

Years _____

Q9. Are you Aboriginal?

1. Yes

2. No → go to Q 13

Q10. Which tribal group/ band are you from? _____

Q11. Did you ever go to school on a reserve?

1. Yes
2. No

Q12. If you ever lived on a reserve, what ages were you when you did?

→ go to Q15

Q13. What is your ethnic background? _____

Q14. In this research I define a visible minority person as a non-Aboriginal who is not white in colour. Are you a visible minority person?

1. Yes
2. No

Q15. How many sisters do you have (including foster, step, half, etc)?

Q16. How many brothers do you have (including foster, step, half, etc)?

Q17. Are you currently involved in a committed relationship (romantic partnership i.e. boyfriend/girlfriend)?

1. Yes
2. No → go to Q20

Q18. How many weeks have you been with your romantic partner (zero indicates less than a week) _____

Q19. What is the gender of your romantic partner?

- | | | |
|-----------|----------------------|----------|
| 1. Female | 3. Transgendered MTF | |
| 2. Male | 4. Transgendered FTM | 5. Other |

Q20. The following is a list of various types of living situations. Check those in which you lived for a month or more, and circle your age when you started and stopped living there (you may circle several situations for each group)

	a	b	c	d	e	f	G	h	i	j	K	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	
1. Both biological parents	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
2. Mother	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
											0		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	

only																					
3. Father only	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
4. Back and forth b/w mother and father	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
5. Mother & step-father	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
6. Mother & friend/partner	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
7. Father & step-mother	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
8. Father & friend/partner	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
9. Step-mother only	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
10. Step-father only	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
11. With siblings only	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
12. Foster homes	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
13. Grandparents	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
14. Other relatives	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
15. Friend's families	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
16. Group home	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
17. Adoptive parent	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
18. Partner	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
										0			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

and children																					
19. Alone	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
w/ children																					
20. by yourself	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21. With partner only	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
22. With friends, share apt/house/rm	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
23. Street	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
24. Detention centre	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
25. Boarding school	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
26. Other	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

Q21. Specify other (please explain and include ages)

Q22. Have you ever been in care? "In care" means in care of the Ministry of Children and family development (MCFD) – e.g. ward of the state, in a group or foster home/institution

1. Yes
2. No → go to question Q25
3. Don't know → go to question Q25

Q23. What type of care were/ are you in?

1. Permanent
2. Temporary
3. Don't know
4. Permanent & temporary

Q24. Overall, how do you feel about the care you are/ were in?

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Undecided
4. Somewhat dissatisfied

5. Dissatisfied

Q25. Where have you slept in the last month? Please tell me the number of nights in the last month and week that you have slept in these places

		# Nights Last Month	# Nights Last Week
Rent house or apartment	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Rent room (in apartment or house)	1. Yes		
	2. No		
At home (with guardian)	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Squat	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Motel	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Street	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Hostel	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Shelter/ transition house	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Group home	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Foster home	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Hotel	1. Yes		
	2. No		
ANSWER ON SEPARATE SHEET OF PAPER			
Bath House	1. Yes		
	2. No		
With trick	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Trick pad	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Other	1. Yes		
Specify:	2. No		
Other	1. Yes		
Specify:	2. No		

Q26. How much do you pay per month for your living situation?

\$ _____

Q27. Do you pay for your rent in kind (i.e. Taking care of one or more children, keeping house, gardening, sexual favours, etc)?

1. Yes
2. No → go to Q (fill)
3. If yes, how so? _____

Q28. At the moment, would you say that you are happy?

1. Always
2. Almost always
3. Usually
4. Some of the time
5. Hardly ever
6. Never

Q29. At the moment, would you say that you are lonely?

1. Always
2. Almost always
3. Usually
4. Some of the time
5. Hardly ever
6. Never

Q30. At the moment, would you say that you are hopeful about the future?

1. Always
2. Almost always
3. Usually
4. Some of the time
5. Hardly ever
6. Never

I will read several statements to you. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with these statements:

Q31. If something went wrong, no one would help me

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|
| 1. Strongly agree | 2. Agree | 3. Disagree | 4. Strongly Disagree | 5. Unsure |
|-------------------|----------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|

Q32. I have family and friends who help me feel safe, secure and happy.

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|
| 1. Strongly agree | 2. Agree | 3. Disagree | 4. Strongly Disagree | 5. Unsure |
|-------------------|----------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|

Q33. There is someone I trust whom I would turn to for advice if I were having problems.

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|
| 1. Strongly agree | 2. Agree | 3. Disagree | 4. Strongly Disagree | 5. Unsure |
|-------------------|----------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|

Q34. There is no one I feel comfortable talking about problems with.

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|
| 1. Strongly agree | 2. Agree | 3. Disagree | 4. Strongly Disagree | 5. Unsure |
|-------------------|----------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|

Q35. I miss a feeling of closeness with another person.

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly Disagree 5. Unsure

Q36. People have difficulty feeling close to me.

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly Disagree 5. Unsure

Q37. There are people I can count on in an emergency.

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly Disagree 5. Unsure

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

In this open-ended section I would like us to sit back and get to know each other more. Please feel free to ask me questions about myself as we go along. You may stop, pause, or end the interview at any point during the interview.

1. I would like to begin by asking you to reflect back on your childhood. Probes: What stands out? What were the highlights? Who do you remember the most from your childhood?
2. Tell me a bit about your present living situation. Probes: have you lived in many places recently? Are your basic needs being met? Does it give you enough privacy? Do you feel safe and secure where you live at the moment? Are there any places you didn't like living? Talk about your favourite place of residency and what stood out about it? What types of places were these? How could things be better for you?
3. Talk about the people in your life who you like the most. Probes: why do they stand out for you? Can you confide in them? Do they make you feel good about who you are? Are they there for you when you feel down? Do you miss them when they are not around?
4. I would like to know a little bit about the local services you use. Probes: what services stand out for you? Were you able to bond with a particular worker? What characteristics, in your view, are important for those working with you? Are there gaps in the services provided? If so, what services would you like to see becoming available in the city?
5. How did you get involved in Victoria (Cridge park) tent city? Probes: did your friends participate in a tent city? What was your length of time at the tent city? What activities did you participate in tent cities? Did you participate in the tent city at Cridge Park? Did you stay until the end?
6. What did the tent city (Cridge Park tent city) mean for you? What were the outcomes of the tent city for you in your life? Probes: what were the immediate outcomes? Did you encounter the legal system? Did you develop any relationships? What were the long-term outcomes in your life? Were these outcomes positive or negative in your life?
7. Have you participated in other protests, squats, or tent cities since the (Cridge Park) tent city? Was (Cridge Park) the tent city an important gateway into other protest activities? If not why? Why?
8. What do you think about tent cities as a form of protest?
9. According to your opinion, are tent cities a viable option in B.C. if no other shelter beds are available? Other e.g. safety, health, family? Probes: Are they a good thing?

Are they a bad thing? Should support services be available? Who should provide these services?

10. What do you think the public reaction regarding the Victoria Cridge Park and other tent city was? Probes: are you aware of the newspaper coverage? Did you speak with the media?

11. What are your future hopes in the next few weeks? What are your plans between now and then?

12. How have you found this interview? Is there anything you would like differently for another interview? Would you participate in another interview with me if given the chance? Do you have any advice for me?

13. Is there anything you want to ask me or add to this interview before we close?

CLOSING STATEMENT

I would like to thank you again for the time to participate in this interview. If you feel you need to talk to someone further about this, I can assist you in acquiring a trained counsellor. I can also assist you in locating any services you feel would benefit you. Additionally, I have contacts for local anti-poverty organizations. I thank you very much for your time and participation. Your input is valued and integral for the wellbeing of our community.

Appendix 2: Participant consent form

University of Victoria- Department of Sociology

Cristal Sargent
Masters Candidate
Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Dr. Cecilia Benoit

Cridge Park tent city from the perspectives of participants

You are invited to participate in a study entitled Self-help housing: narratives from tent city participants and critical discourse analysis of newspaper coverage of Cridge Park tent city that is being conducted by Cristal Sargent. Cristal Sargent is a Masters student at the University of Victoria. You may contact Cristal Sargent if you have further questions by phone at @@@@@@ or by email at @@@@@

Purpose and Objectives:

This is a study of participation in tent cities in Victoria (i.e. Cridge Park tent city), and is being conducted by a Master's student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Victoria. The purpose of this research project is to collect qualitative interview data from participants who have experienced/ participated tent cities in Victoria, BC. In order to examine the impact of the protest action on the homeless problem and housing situation in Victoria, and examine the newspaper coverage of Cridge Park tent city. The goal of this research project is to learn more about homelessness protest and other protest action among people in the current context. An additional goal is to discover the outcomes associated with participation in tent cities (asking the people who are most impacted by tent cities- the tent city participants about their experiences). The goal of this study is to better understand what the Victoria tent cities and what tent cities meant for participants through qualitative research interviews.

Importance of this Research:

Research of this type is important because there are many social, structural, and individual reasons associated with homelessness. Rather than being a personal pathology, homelessness is seen as an increasing public health challenge. Having an understanding of homelessness protest trends, and people's attitudes toward safety and prevention allows us to effectively influence and inform social housing policy, health policy, law, and service provision in British Columbia and elsewhere in Canada. In addition, hearing from tent city participants this research will better inform us of the outcomes of tent city participation (i.e. community contacts).

Participant Selection:

You are being asked to participate in this study because you have experience in a tent city. If you choose to participate a student researcher will interview you about your experiences and opinions regarding this topic. The interviewer will be chaperoned, but this chaperone will not actively participate in the interview. You may decline the interview if you are uncomfortable with the chaperone's presence in the interview setting, but not in the interview (the chaperone will remain silent). The interview will last about 60 minutes (1 hour), but may run longer. It will cover such topics as your personal background as well as your particular experience and involvement in a tent city. A summary of the findings will be available to you upon your request. I am particularly interested in participation in Cridge Park tent city, but I recognize the importance of discussing all tent city participation in Victoria. The student researcher will ask for your permission to audio record your interview. However, this is optional and the student can instead make written notes. Upon your request the interview can be stopped at any time. The information collected by the student researcher will remain with her until the transcripts have been destroyed upon the completion of her Masters thesis. You also must be 19 years old or older in order to participate in this study.

Confidentiality:

All information that you provide will be kept confidential. The chaperone will sign a confidentiality agreement (agreeing that all information learned in the interview will be kept private and confidential). Only the student researcher interviewing you and the student's supervisor will have access to your interview transcript and/or audio file. No information will be used that might personally identify you or your family members. All audio files and transcripts of the interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and transcripts will not contain the participant's identifying information. All documents associated with your interview and the observations will be identified only by code number. The key to these numbers will be kept only by the supervisor and the student and will not be publically released under any circumstances. You will never be identified by name in any reports delivered from the completed study. Only pseudonyms will be used in the student's report. All audio files will be destroyed and transcripts will be shredded upon the student completing the course requirements.

Your Rights:

We do not believe there are any major risks associated with your participation in this study. However, your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to refuse to answer any question or to end the interview at any time. If you have any questions or want further information about the study, please contact Cristal Sargent at @@@@ or @@@@. You may verify the ethical approval of this study or raise concerns you might have about your treatment or rights by contacting the Human Research Ethics Board office at 250.472.4545 or ethics@uvic.ca .

What is involved?

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, you will be interviewed about your participation in a tent city in Victoria, perceived outcomes of tent city participation, as well as your continued participation in housing protest action. You have the right to refuse to answer any question, and there will be no consequences for refusing to answer my questions. The interviewer will request your permission

to audio tape the interview sessions in order to transcribe the interview for data analysis purposes. You may refuse to have your interview audio recorded.

Consent:

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without jeopardy to you. Your signature below indicates that you consent to participate in this study and that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Inconvenience:

Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you, including the travel time to and from the research site, and the time required for the interview.

Risks:

There are some remote, but potential risks to you by participating in this research and they include possibly negative emotional responses to some of the questions in the interview pertaining to your participation in tent city. You may refuse, for any reason to answer any questions, and there will be no consequences for refusing to answer my questions.

Benefits:

There are many potential benefits to your participation in this research study. You will have an opportunity to reflect on your experiences in a tent city. This reflection may help you to focus on the outcomes illustrated in newspaper coverage of Victoria's Cridge Park tent city and to reflect on if your perception of the goals of Cridge Park tent city participants have or have not been met. You will also be able to reflect on areas of potential growth in social and housing services in Victoria, BC. Additionally, many people report that they experience a sense of relief when given the opportunity to tell their stories. Your participation may benefit other individuals and activists who participated in other tent cities. Your stories are important, and may help to better illuminate the need for social support services, community-based housing projects and affordable housing in British Columbia. The information collected from your interview will be used for a Masters thesis, publications and in presentations.

I do _____/ do not _____ agree to my interview being tape recorded

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I do _____/ do not _____ agree for a chaperone to be present in the research site, but not active in the interview.

Printed Name: _____

Researcher's Name: _____

Appendix 3: Participant recruitment poster

Department of *Sociology*
University of Victoria

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR
RESEARCH IN Participation in Victoria Cridge Park tent city

We are looking for volunteers to take part in a study of
Participation in Cridge Park tent city

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to: meet with a
researcher for an interview to discuss your participation in the Cridge Park
tent city

Your participation would involve 1 session,
which is approximately 60 minutes.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study,
please contact:

M.A. Candidate Cristal Sargent @@@@ or Email: @@@@

-OR-

Dr. Cecilia Benoit @@@@ or Email @@@@
Department of Sociology, University of Victoria

Appendix 4: History of housing

	Participant A	Participant B	Participant C	Participant D
1. Both biological parents	N	0-5	0-6	N
2. Mother only	0-21	0-18	N	0-17
3. Father only	Visits	0	N	N
4. b/w mother and father	0/	0	N	N
5. Mother & step-father	N	0-18 (2 step-fathers)	6-15	0-3, 8-15
6. Mother & friend/partner	N	0	N	N
7. Father & step-mother	N	N	N	N
8. Father & friend/partner	N	N	N	N
9. Step-mother only	N		N N	N
10. Step-father only	N	N	N	N
11. siblings only	N	N	16-16 (6 mos) (sister & partner)	16-17 (sister & partner)
12. Foster homes	N	N	N	N
13. Grandparents	N	N	N	N
14. Other relatives	N	9 -9	N	17-18
15. Family's friends	N	N	N	N
16. Group home	N	N	N	N
17. Adoptive parent	N	N	N	N
18. Partner and children	N	20/ (several times back and forth)	N	N
19. Alone with children	N	N	N	N
20. By yourself	1993-2011/	20+	Few times 21-22	17+
21. With partner only	N	20+	17-19	21-23, 25-26
22. With friends share apt/house/rm	N	20+	16-17 squat, 28-30 communal housing	20+
23. Street	2005-2009/	20+	Few times	27+
24. Detention centre	Abstain	19, 20+ (4 times)	N	28-29
25. Boarding school	N	N	N	N
26. Other	Tent city few times	Tent city, car, couch surf	Tent city, couch surf	Tent city, Hostel, hotel, abandoned car, couch surf

Appendix 5: Present housing situation

	Participant A	Participant B	Participant C	Participant D
Rent apartment/house	Y: 3-4 places most weeks, "I have a lot of friends that let me stay with them, I do not pay money to stay there."	Y: 1-2 nights/month	Y: 30 nights last month, 7 nights last week	Y: 5 Nights last month
Rent room (in apartment or house)	N	N	Y: has to be out in 2 weeks	Y: Stayed with a friend 7 nights last week
At home (with guardian)	N	N	N	N
Squat	N	N	N	Y: 2 Nights last month
Motel	N	N	N	Y: 1 Night last month
Street	N	Y: 1-2 Nights last month	N	Y: 1 Night last month
Hostel	N	N	N	N
Shelter/transition house	N	Y: 20 nights last month, 5 nights last week- because that is all they allow me to stay	N	Y: 4 Nights last month
Group home	N	N	N	N
Foster home	N	N	N	N
Hotel	N	N	N	N
Bath house	N	N	N	N
With trick	N	N	N	N
Trick pad	N	N	N	N
Other	N/A	Y: Beacon Hill Park 2 nights last month	N/A	Y: Beacon Hill Park 4 nights last month
Other	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix 6: Monthly amount spent on rent (past month)

Participant A	Participant B	Participant C	Participant D
\$0	\$0	Now \$0 (cat sitting), last month \$400	\$0-\$200

Appendix 7: Participants' feelings

	Participant A	Participant B	Participant C	Participant D
Q28. Happy	Almost always	Usually	Usually	Usually
Q29. Lonely	Hardly ever	Hardly ever	Always	Hardly ever
Q30. Hopeful about the future	Always	Some of the time	No. "Society is coming down, but does not think they will personally experience a negative future" (recorded on participant's questionnaire)	Usually

(possible responses: Always, Almost Always, Usually, Some of the time, Hardly ever, Never)

Appendix 8: Participants' perspectives of security

	Participant A	Participant B	Participant C	Participant D
Q31. If something went wrong, no one would help me	Disagree	Unsure	Unsure	Unsure
Q32. I have family and friends who help me feel safe, secure and happy	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Agree
Q33. There is someone I trust whom I would turn to for advice if I were having problems	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree
Q34. There is no one I feel comfortable talking about problems with	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
Q35. I miss a feeling of closeness with another person	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Agree
Q36. People have difficulty feeling close to me	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Strongly Agree
Q37. There are people I can count on in an emergency	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

(Possible responses: Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree, unsure, no response)

Appendix 9: Amount spent on rent (past month)

	Participant A	Participant B	Participant C	Participant D
Cost of rent	\$0	\$0	\$0-400	\$0-200

Appendix 10: Biographical data

Participant	Participant A	Participant B	Participant C	Participant D
Gender	Male	Male	Gender queer	Male
Years of birth	1972	1980	1980	1978
Place of birth	Alberta	Duncan, British Columbia	Alberta	British Columbia
Years living in Victoria	12	20	6	7
Self-identified ethnicity	Norwegian/English	Canadian	Scottish/Irish/English	Canadian
Self-identify as visible minority	Yes	No	Yes- punk and queer	Yes
Family composition	1 sister, 1 brother	1 sister, 1 brother	1 sister	
Relationship status	No	No	Yes partner A female, partner B female	No

Appendix 11: Nature of involvement in Cridge Park tent city

Participant IQ 5: how did participants become involved in C.P. tent city?	Participant A Helped initiate, arrested, punitive, peace keeping, charter challenge	Participant B Passerby, supported it/the community by spending time there	Participant C Talking with media, stayed everyday and night at C.P., typing reports, personal organizing, cooking, offering community support, encountered court system	Participant D By accident, felt like he would “fit in with the activist group”, community work
IQ 6: what did the C.P. tent city mean to you?	Meant everything, a battlefield, place for peace and freedom, C.P. raising awareness in a community setting, sanctuary, escape from capitalism	Supported right to sleep, safety, community, raising awareness, freedom, sleeping legally outside	Safe and comfortable, healthy food/diet, political stand, empowering, exhausting, “a tent city is political”, and that there were no party politics at the Cridge Park tent city, sleep deprivation, police created a health issue, learned about occupation as a form of civil disobedience, police are strategic to defeat people, developed friendship, personal political change in view, targeted, understanding solidarity, learned about media corruption	A novel experience, freedom under observation, community, food, security, a great relief to return to the same place, example of how the current system is failing, self-help, education site, civil liberties, first time protested, empowering, sense of belonging, reclaiming public space, it didn't feel like I was participating in nothing, safety of personal belongings
IQ 7: involvement in other protests,	St. Ann's Academy, Beacon Hill Park, protests for the right to sleep, the	“this was of a one-off thing”, No, stayed in other tent cities	Involved in protest events and activism, organized a	Yes, meeting others, involved in activism in Victoria,

squats, tent cities	fight against poverty, erecting tent cities	(but not visible), no a political person	day of action group against the police, I have participated in protests, community action, and organized gatherings. I work at Camus books and I organize teach-ins. I have organized the Victoria Anarchist book fair, but since Cridge Park I have not protested (with signs), squatted or occupied any buildings." Aligned values, education, empowerment	participated in tent cities (but not political, not visible), volunteering
IQ 8: tent cities as a form of protest	Tensions (crackheads), tent city communities could sustain connections amongst members over time, self-help and empowering, constitutional challenge, right to sleep means the right to be human, volunteerism	Supports tent city in theory but should be regulations, did not sustain contact with activists, tent cities are an effective form of protest (send message to rich people)	action-now, education site, community building, tent cities often have no strategy, "I have little faith in legal protests", tent cities are an occupation and some protests are not, symbolic of a non-strategic strategy to get housing The intended goal is not to permanently house people in that space, it was about lobbying for changes in laws and	Transformative, territorial movement to take back public space,

<p>IQ 9: thoughts if tent cities a viable option in BC, should there be supports (provided by city, BC, CA)</p>	<p>YES. Informal collective agreements, different camps for different needs (e.g. mixed gender, quiet), rules, municipally governed/providing a minimum spot for tent cities, sewage/human manure compost, kitchen area, water, separate tent zones, ideal location would be Beacon Hill Park, tent cities need little resources</p>	<p>NO. Regulations- fire, sanitation, not a viable option, eventually tent cities would come to an end, useful when no shelter beds were available, city should address the problem (homelessness), necessities for survival, government provisions, involving all stakeholders</p>	<p>policies.”, tensions. Did not see a permanent change. Cooperation amongst diverse groups would make a successful tent city</p> <p>YES. In various contexts, empowering and symbolic, resources are land</p>	<p>YES. City and governments regulate access to space, Victoria is exclusionary. Housing necessities – water, green space, kitchen, sanitation/human waste. Established committee (DV) internal regulations, volunteering, on private properties, semi-private, semi-public solution, could be created with little resources</p>
<p>IQ 10: what was the public reaction to C.P. and other tent cities?</p>	<p>Police, governments, and general property disrupt tent city communities, few observers appreciated tent city self-help efforts, people are not trusted to take care of themselves in public access areas. Huge spin in the media and from police, general population afraid, promoting mentality of homelessness as a choice, spite against these people, good established Indy media, AChannel</p>	<p>People see tent cities as dirty and unnecessary, people weren't happy about the tent city, "what I saw is probably a lot different from the public's perception of the tent city"</p>	<p>Cops used (crackheads) against us then there was a divide in the tent city, empowered cops to damage and threaten the tent city, think the public saw direct action and a trial by the media, media called people professional activists or hippies, public health and safety issue,</p>	<p>Witnessed police brutality, lesson about power imbalances in CA, generally limited view by news reporting, did not show colonization of space or police brutality, at least people were hearing about it, highly debated issue, letters to editors and editorials represent diversity</p>

	<p>and Chek spin on people who can and cannot. Generally people don't have enough time to think so they rely on the media to tell them what they should be thinking, tent city seen as attracting crime, drugs, and fighting, focus on individual characteristics or behaviours rather than on structural inequalities</p>		<p>strong media campaign against us, diversity in reporting (Monday Magazine), people who read left media would have a different perception</p>	
<p>IQ 11: what are your future hopes?</p>	<p>Obtain court documents for right to sleep campaign, appeal the city bylaws, live or die for cause</p>	<p>Find housing, more storage lockers, more housing assistance and supports and more leniencies on renting and credit checks, more privacy</p>	<p>Finding secure housing, writing, activism, organizing, education, publish writing, wants to see Ward Churchill speak, Rabbit campaign at UVic</p>	<p>Find secure and safe permanent housing, security/locks, close to downtown, more permanent employment, bed, clean, education</p>