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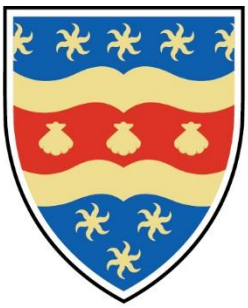

UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH

Sofa-Surfing:

The Cartographies of Young People Utilising Host-Dependent Shelter.

By

Kieran Green

A thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth

In partial fulfilment of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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AUTHOR'S SIGNED DECLARATION

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Abstract:

Kieran Green

Sofa-Surfing: The Cartographies of Young People Utilising Host-Dependent Shelter.

In 2016, 35% of UK young people (16-25 years) reported having sofa-surfed in the past. Past research highlights that spaces where people sofa-surfing stay are often tenuous, short-lived and worsen over time, reducing mental health, educational attainment, and the ability to find work (McLoughlin, 2013; Albanese *et al.,* 2018). However, a study has not elucidated how young people's preferences, identities, experiences, and access to support create highly varied sofa-surfing geographies and outcomes.

This study examined young people's different geographical experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing. Specifically, I outline key sofa-surfing experiences centred on uses of space, mobility, and identity (*cartographie*s) and the *flows* between these *cartographies* across time. Finally, I theorised the motivational capacity of imagined *futures* (termed more-than-homeless *future* identities) to assist an exit from homelessness.

Young people (n=41) who had sofa-surfed for three days or more in the last two years were contacted via gatekeepers and interviewed at homeless charities or via Zoom or telephone between September 2020 and August 2021. A two-stage thematic analysis was conducted on transcribed interview data in NVivo.

The young people inhabited six *cartographies*: Seeking Home, Seeking Intimacy, Overstaying, Those Who Wander, Short-Term Sofa-Surfing, and finally, Exiting after Longer-Term Homelessness. There are five *flows*: Secure, Wandering-Intimacy, to Supported, Overstaying, Collapse to Supported, Secure to Secure, Holding Tightly to Home and an Uprooted Flow. In the main, these *cartographies* and *flows* captured experiences driven by young people's changing needs for independence or dependency combined with the availability of (un)caring hosts. The motivational capacity of young people's imagined futures also depended on experiencing past trauma.

In conclusion, my *cartographies, flows,* and *futures* outline the different geographical experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing by young people. I recommend implementing tailored support, seven-day sofa-surfing backup plans and sofa-surfing agreements. Future research should explore the experiences of hosts and older sofa-surfers and the relationship between sofa-surfing and attachment style.

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List of Abbreviations:

TSO – Third Sector Organisation

UK – United Kingdom

AIHW - Australian Institute of Health and Welfare

NEET - Not in Employment, Education or Training

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Chapter 1
Introduction:

Sofa-surfing is currently the most common form of homelessness in the United Kingdom (UK). Most simply, sofa-surfing refers to living in a host's home without a right to reside or access to more permanent accommodation. The arrangement is usually transitory, with the subject 'surfing', as opportunities arise, between several hosts' communal and unused spaces. This practice has seen a 26% increase from 2010 to 2017 (Albanese *et al.,* 2019; Blenkinsopp *et al.,* 2019), with a current estimate suggesting that around 110,000 UK households are engaged in sofa-surfing (Blenkinsopp *et al.,* 2021). This makes sofa-surfing the most widespread form of homelessness in the United Kingdom (UK) and worthy of in-depth inquiry.

Young people make up a significant proportion of sofa-surfers, with an estimate suggesting that as many as one in five young people (16-25) in the UK have sofa-surfed (Udagawa *et al.,* 2015). Sofa-Surfing is caused by the unaffordability of homeownership, poor quality private rental accommodation (McKee, 2012) and difficulties accessing secure employment (Furlong & Cartmel, 2006; Hoolachan *et al.,* 2017). Significantly, insecure accommodation can impact young people's life chances as they transition into adulthood. Sofa-surfing causes a loss of motivation (Albanese *et al.,* 2019) and creates a limbo that prevents access 'to the resources and space[s] necessary to [make] longer-term, strategic choices about the future' (McLoughlin, 2013, p.539).

Consequently, I focus on youth sofa-surfing because it is a growing practice that may prevent young people from transitioning to adulthood. Thus, by focusing on the geographies of youth sofa-surfing, we can prevent its capacity to forestall transitions to

adulthood. Thus, it requires identifying existing knowledge about sofa-surfing and theoretical and empirical gaps in our understanding.

As stated, sofa-surfing is increasingly common. However, the geographies of homelessness emphasise the spaces, mobilities and identities associated with the rough sleeping experience. For example, geographers have mapped rough sleepers using mobility to access *spaces* like shelter, friendship, food, and other resources. Further, they have mapped rough sleepers' homeless *mobilities*, such as circuiting hostels, or their performances, such as begging (DeVerteuil *et al.,* 2009; Jolley, 2020; May, 2000). Geographers have also explored how stigmatised homeless *identity* leads to rough sleepers receiving poor treatment by law enforcement and statutory services (Hennigan & Speer, 2019), but also how support, care and acts of political resistance from third-sector organisations can support homeless people (May & Cloke, 2014; Johnsen *et al.*, 2005). However, this literature has not focused on the unique geographies of sofa-surfers. Therefore, I build on past geographical research on the *spaces*, *mobilities* and homeless *identities* to understand the experiences of young people who sofa-surf.

Secondly, while past studies mapped the varied relational and locational preferences of people sofa-surfing, host-pleasing behaviours and common outcomes, they lacked a deep understanding regarding the drivers of these variations. For example, young people who are sofa-surfing may locate themselves near family or alternate between spaces of friends and relatives and sleeping rough or official networks of support in the local area (Cloke, 2003; Fitzpatrick, 1998). Also, some sofa-surfing spaces may be reciprocally supportive as hosts act as 'helpers' and guests enact certain behaviours, such as completing chores (McLoughlin, 2012; Peters, 2012; Albanese *et al.,* 2019). However, most arrangements are short-lived, negatively impact their mental

health, and may force people into rough sleeping (McLoughlin, 2013; Albanese *et al.,* 2019). However, there remains a need for an empirical study on why and how personal, familial, and structural characteristics drive these relational and locational preferences and why some spaces lead to reciprocal support, and others harm.

In order to capture these drivers and their relationship with space, mobility, and identity, I draw upon ideas of *cartography*, *flows* and *futures*. *Cartographies* are messy empirical constellations of young people's sofa-surfing experiences during a short-term or episodic period of sofa-surfing, separated by their preferences for certain host spaces or mobility. In each, I explore how and why people use certain types of space or mobility, their associated identities, and their patterned outcomes. For example, I consider how young people's preferences, *identities*, and socio-economic circumstances affect relationships with and access to the host(s). I also consider the characteristics of the host's home (*space*). Finally, I explore movements within and between hosts and urban spaces (*mobility*) and other outcomes (see Chapters 3-5). Thus, the *cartographies* help identify the personal, familial, and structural drive of varied geographical experiences of sofa-surfing.

Secondly, I adapt prior concepts that capture transition through spaces such as biographies, pathways and careers through my notion of sofa-surfing *flows* (May, 2000). Unlike pathways or careers, the *flows* avoid a common scholarly mistake of indicating a linear trajectory from housed to street homeless and map non-linear utilisations of *cartographies* across multiple episodes of homelessness (May *et al.,* 2007). Finally, the *future* explores the motivational capacity of more-than-homeless identities - identities that transcend the immediate constraints of homeless space (e.g., a DJ) (Jolley, 2020), by considering their feasibility within the context of a young person's *cartographies* and

flow. Thus, *flows* and *futures* help understand how sofa-surfers *cartographies* change across time and the impact of young people's desires and motivations.

Aim & Research Questions:

Given the high rates, difficulties in the transition, and lack of empirical data in geography and beyond, this study provides a much-needed empirical exploration of young people's experiences of sofa-surfing. Thus, my key aim is:

> **To examine the different geographical experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing as experienced by young people.**

To meet this aim, I shall answer the following questions:

1. How do different cartographies, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?
2. What patterns emerge in young people's flows through cartographies across time?
3. How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless future identities?
4. How can theories of cartography inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

Thesis structure:

Literature Review (Chapters 2-5):

Chapter 2 attends to the interdisciplinary research on sofa-surfing to help define and identify causes and elucidate its common experiences. This includes defining sofa-surfing using prior definitions in grey literature and exploring the key personal,

interpersonal, and structural causes of youth homelessness in the UK. The remainder of the chapter then considers the key experiences of sofa-surfers and the outcomes of sofa-surfers. Careful identification of gaps in these studies then guides the production of the aims and objectives outlined above and the curation of c*artographies*, *flows* and *futures* in Chapters 3-5.

Chapters 3-5 outline how *cartographies* develop and utilise existing geographical concepts. Thus, these chapters lay the foundation to answer my research questions. I first explore the origin of *cartographies* and their emphasis on a stigmatised homeless identity and its effects on people's use of space and mobility. I detail *cartography's* various geographical and theoretical components, namely space, identity, mobility, and the dialogical approach between various spatial components, which helps elucidate various unique, nonlinear, episodic sofa-surfing experiences. Finally, I theoretically ground my *flows* and *futures* and outline how they move a study of *cartographies* beyond the present into a perspective that considers both the past and future.

Methodology (Chapter 6):

A methodology chapter then provides an overview of developing and conducting this research project. Firstly, this chapter covers the inclusion criteria, the methods of sampling and recruitment, and a timeline of my research alongside descriptions of the TSO organisations I worked with. Secondly, I discuss how TSO gatekeepers helped facilitate interviews, the informed consent process, and considerations around confidentiality, data management, and reflections on positionality, clarity of roles, and avoiding psychological harm. Finally, this chapter discusses the topics discussed in the interview, the two-stage NVivo analysis, and the subsequent qualitative analysis conducted in Excel that formed the six *cartographies* and five *flows*.

*Cartographi*es (Chapters 7-10):

Chapters 7-10 outline the six *cartographies* of sofa-surfing. These *cartographies* tended to differ based on a guest's relationship with the host and their supportiveness during an episode of homelessness. For example, young people tend to stay with or move between places near their childhood home because a familial host is caring and dutiful (Chapter 7). Alternatively, frequent movement through the homes of strangers and friends is associated with more marginalised identities, reduces engagement with third-sector organisations (TSOs) and may encourage sleeping rough (Chapter 9). I also outline episodic outcomes with each *cartography*, such as those on a trajectory towards independent housing (Chapter 10). Each *cartography* chapter helps answer research questions 1 and 4, providing an episodic mental and geographical mapping of a young person's experiences, underlying drivers and outcomes.

Flows & *Futures* (Chapter 11):

Chapter 11 outlines the five *flows and future* patterns of people's trajectories through *cartographies* and their potential relationships with exiting homelessness over time. For example, people may begin sofa-surfing with family but then experience trauma, drug use and long-term precarious sofa-surfing arrangements and then move into Third-Sector Organisation (TSO) supported accommodation. Finally, I explore the relationships between people's *flows* and (un)motivating more-than-homeless *future* selves. Together, by outlining the larger biographical experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing, these *flows* and *futures* answer research questions 2 and 3.

Conclusions (Chapter 12):

Finally, I conclude that this thesis is a major contribution to the interdisciplinary field of homelessness and geography. I outline in detail how I answer all four of my

research questions; for example, I answer 1, 2 and 3 by outlining how different host/guest relationships, hosts' homes, past and performed identities and mobilities create varied *cartography* and subsequent *flows* and identify their impacts on the feasibility of young peoples' *future*. Secondly, I answer research question 4 by emphasising how *cartographies* offer a theoretical advancement for understanding homelessness. I also state that my research provides an important context for focusing homeless policies and interventions on subgroups of the sofa-surfing population. It also outlines future research directions, such as studying the older sofa-surfing population.

Chapter 2
Understanding Sofa-Surfing:

Introduction:

This chapter outlines the current scholarly understanding of sofa-surfing and the critical gaps this thesis intends to fill. First, I attempt to define sofa-surfing and then explore its contemporary causes. Second, I explore past studies on sofa-surfing practices and how they have focused on the experiences of sofa-surfers at moments in time. Therefore, I highlight the need for a dynamic geographical study to identify the synergistic relationships between host homes, mobilities, and other urban spaces that contribute to developing young people's sofa-surfing practices, outcomes, and life chances. The following chapter then outlines my analytic model founded on the concepts of *cartographies*, *futures,* and *flows* (see Chapters 3-5).

Defining Sofa-Surfing:

Sofa-Surfing is an umbrella term for a set of homeless experiences that are otherwise difficult to categorise. Thus, a variety of definitions exist. For example, the AIHW (2016) states that the sofa-surfer 'moves from household to household intermittently, …is not regarded as part of the household, and… does not have any form of leased tenure or accommodation' (AIHW 2016). Similarly, people experiencing sofa-surfing firsthand defined it as impermanence, a lack of control, and invading others' space (McCoy & Hug, 2016, p. 11). Alternatively, Udagawa *et al.* (2015) defined sofa-surfing based on the location and the guest's relationship with the host but not the duration of the stay. Sofa-surfers should stay only on sofas and floors with friends and extended family (see Table 2).

In this sense, some definitions emphasise the temporality of sofa-surfing while others focus on its spatial 'sofa' component. However, these definitions often do not capture the variety and nuances of sofa-surfing experiences, particularly among young people. This inability brings me to the limitation of existing definitions.

Sofa-Surfing Definitions	
Source:	**Definition:**
Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW, 2016)	The AIHW (2016) defines somebody as homeless and sofa-surfing when they intermittently move between different households and lack a secure tenure.
Udagawa *et al.* (2015)	For Udagawa *et al.* (2015), those classified as homeless sofa surfers have nowhere else to go and must stay with friends or members of their extended family on their floor or sofa.
McCoy & Hug (2016)	Utilising young people's self-reported understanding of sofa-surfing, they argued it is characterised by 'impermanence, a feeling of invading space of others and a sense of losing control over the situation.' (McCoy & Hug, 2016 p. 11).

Table 1. Definitions of Sofa-Surfing are found in both academic and grey literature.

Building on these limitations, the core idea across these definitions is that sofa surfers lack a legal right to reside in people's houses when they stay. Thus, as an extension, I initially propose that ‘sofa-surfing’ should encompass various lengths and locations of sleep, thus not mandating that sofa-surfing is merely a short-term arrangement whereby one sleeps on a host's sofa. Instead, I propose that the defining characteristic should be that a person is sheltered informally by a host or hosts because they have no other place to go and lack the legal means to prevent eviction.

Consequently, in the following study, I will include and analyse sofa-surfing experiences with highly varied lengths, places of rest, relationship types, and mobilities. Nonetheless, my later analysis chapters (from Chapter 7 onwards) will also highlight that this definition does not sufficiently capture the messiness of young people's 'sofa-surfing' experiences, which often intertwine with various other forms of hidden homelessness (McCoy & Hug, 2016).

Causes of Sofa-Surfing in the UK 2020-2021:

A complex familial and interpersonal history is the most catalytic factor of youth homelessness. For example, family environments may be highly precarious due to the mental health and drug use of parents and children (Homeless Link, 2018), domestic violence, child abuse (Quilgars, 2010; Anderson & Christian, 2003), or the need to provide care for unwell parents (Homeless Link, 2018). These home spaces may also be saturated with a conflict between parents, stepparents, and stepsiblings (Brown *et al.,* 2012; McLoughlin, 2013). Consequently, young people can be asked to leave or find home unbearable and turn to sofa-surfing. For example, when young people start running away, sometimes as early as twelve, they sofa-surf with friends or relatives (Hulse & Saugeres, 2008; McLoughlin, 2013; Purcell *et al.,* 2015).

Importantly, structural disadvantages often underlie these difficult familial and interpersonal backgrounds. For example, financially disadvantaged parents may be unable to house their children (Fitzpatrick, 1998). On average, underprivileged youth are twice as likely to be Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET) than their more advantaged peers (Impetus, 2019), and financial stresses reduce the family's capacity to care for each other (Hall, 2019a; Hall, 2019b; Power & Mee, 2020). Problematically, young people also increasingly enter an unaffordable and precarious rental market,

putting them at a high risk of homelessness (Byrne, 2020; Hoolachan *et al.,* 2017). In this sense, structural disadvantages contribute to an unbearable familial environment and place young people at a much higher risk of sofa-surfing.

Finally, the socio-economic circumstances related to the COVID-19 pandemic exasperated these interpersonal and structural stresses. When I conducted this study, the COVID-19 pandemic made 180,000 young people NEET, and the youth employment rate declined by 256,000 (Foley *et al.,* 2020). COVID-19-related domestic pressures also increase poor mental health and domestic violence. Consequently, Centrepoint (2020) recorded a 30% rise in the number of people sofa-surfing. In culmination, adding COVID-related domestic pressure to home lives already characterised by conflict, unemployment, and expensive and precarious housing would have increased the number of young people forced to sofa-surf. In the remainder of this chapter, I outline the current scholarship on the experiences of people sofa-surfing and identify the gaps this thesis aims to resolve.

The Experience of Sofa-Surfers:

This section explores past findings from the study of people who sofa-surf. For example, past studies indicate the types of host people sofa-surfing choose, the factors affecting the capacity of hosts to support guests (McLoughlin, 2011, 2013; McCoy & Hug, 2016), the day-to-day survival practices help sustain arrangements (Peters, 2012; Fitzpatrick, 1998), and the generalisable experiences, such as outcomes (Albanese *et al.,* 2019). However, this section concludes that past studies do not capture how the various combinations of available host relationships and support capacities, guest mobility and payments-in-kind create important differences in sofa-surfing experience and outcome.

Thus, I advocate researching interactions between various sofa-surfing-associated spaces, mobilities and identities and their differential consequences.

Firstly, most young people start sofa-surfing in a supportive close friend or relative's house. For example, some young people tend to move in with grandparents, aunties, parents of school friends, or to a new city, where they attempt to (re)connect with close relatives, such as a rarely-seen father (Moore, 2017; McCoy & Hug, 2016). Hosts may also provide their spare bedroom, safe storage of belongings and outline reasonable rules of behaviour (McCoy & Hug, 2016). Finally, such hosts may be 'helpers', providing counselling, mentorship, advocacy, and friendship (McLoughlin, 2011). In this sense, some sofa-surfing arrangements should assist a young person in overcoming homelessness.

Moreover, people sofa-surfing use mobility and payments-in-kind to maintain these secure arrangements. For example, people who sofa-surf monitor their welcome in a host's home, leave the house when the host has friends over (Albanese *et al.* 2019), and routinely or opportunistically stay with different hosts or in hostels (Peters, 2012; Fitzpatrick, 1998). Additionally, they offer payments in kind, such as cooking dinner, assisting with childcare/eldercare, buying groceries, rent and petrol (McLoughlin, 2011; Peters, 2012). Thus, to prevent secure(r) arrangements from ending, the people who are sofa-surfing exchange their time, money and bodies.

Still, studies suggest that young people risk drifting towards more dangerous host spaces over time. Perhaps, lacking a spare bedroom to sleep in, young people feel unsafe in communal spaces (e.g., a lounge), or without secure space to store their belongings, items are stolen (McLoughlin, 2011; Albanese *et al.,* 2019). Alternatively, in family homes, the hosts may struggle to form a shared agreement to accept a sofa-

surfing guest long-term (Mcloughlin, 2011). Consequently, most sofa-surfing arrangements will last only a few days, and only 25% will last between 3 and 6 months (Albanese *et al.,* 2019). Concerningly, after 'burdening' their family and friends, young people may eventually choose to stay with strangers or move to other towns and cities where people do not recognise them (McCoy & Hug, 2016; May 2000).

Consequently, sofa-surfing produces largely adverse outcomes for people. For example, sofa-surfing with acquaintances and strangers increases young people's risk of exposure to unwanted sexual advances, financial exploitation, bullying, the consumption of illicit substances, physical assault or having belongings stolen (McCoy, 2018). Many become physically exhausted and unable to use host ovens and showers, hungry and unclean (Moore, 2017; Albanese *et al.,* 2019). In some extreme cases, they may even be coerced into sex or selling drugs (Hallet, 2016). Also, young people experience reduced educational attainment (Moore, 2017), worsened mental health (Albanese *et al.,* 2019; Hail-Jares, 2020) and an inability to find and sustain work (McCoy & Hug, 2016). In this sense, frequent arrangement breakdowns increase the risk of staying with exploitative hosts and negatively impact young people’s life opportunities.

On reflection, past studies indicate a potential trajectory of increasingly damaging precarious housing and hosts. For example, most young people first stay with helpful hosts. However, despite host support and guest payments in kind (Peters, 2012), these arrangements remain tenuous and short-lived (McCoy & Hug, 2018; McLoughlin, 2011). Over time, this forces young people to stay with less supportive hosts. Consequently, many experience reduced mental health, educational attainment, and the inability to find work (Albanese *et al.,* 2019; Moore, 2017). Thus, past research

indicates sofa-surfing is a general worsening of potential outcomes the longer a young person remains sofa-surfing.

However, on the whole, this previous work has only examined the effects and experiences of sofa-surfing at particular moments in time; thus, they have not identified clearly how and why some sofa-surfing spaces are supportive and why most are either short-lived or harmful. Thus, the scholarship would benefit from a more dynamic study of how different geographies of sofa-surfing reflect and affect different life chances. In particular, an exploration of how the practice of sofa-surfing has different spatial and social outcomes.

Consequently, in the following chapter, I outline an analytical model to capture how young people's personal preferences, identities, past experiences, and access to supportive social networks combine to create dynamic mental maps of their uses of sofa-surfing spaces and outcomes. Also, how young people move through these mappable responses over time, accumulating into various patterned trajectories with differentiated outcomes and levels of motivation to exit homelessness (see Chapters 3-5). This will help me achieve the overarching aim of my study:

To examine the different geographical experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing as experienced by young people

Conclusions:

In this section, I defined sofa-surfing and then outlined some key factors contributing to young people's sofa-surfing. Firstly, I described sofa-surfing as a dependency on an informal host for some form of shelter, a lack of legal rights and a risk of eviction. This definition reflects various sofa-surfing experiences, such as the varied host/guest relationships, differences in where they stay (e.g., spare bed or sofa) and

how long the person stays. This is important because there is also a large variation in the experiences and outcomes associated with 'sofa-surfing'. Secondly, I also identified how the combination of interpersonal familial conflict and underlying structural disadvantages, exasperated by the COVID-19 lockdown, place young people at a high risk of sofa-surfing. Simply put, I outlined the what and why of youth sofa-surfing.

Moreover, I brought together a variety of studies on sofa-surfing that indicated a long-term trajectory towards increased risk and negative outcomes. For example, most helpful arrangements break down, forcing people to stay with less supportive hosts and reducing mental health and employability. However, I aim to build upon this work, which has only examined the effects and experiences of sofa-surfing at particular moments, and develop a geographical framework, the c*artographies*, *flows* and *futures*, to explore the interactions that create patterned responses and various outcomes to sofa-surfing over time. Consequently, in the next chapter, I outline how I synthesise various elements of sofa-surfing, such as accessibility to certain types of host/guest relationships, supportiveness of the host home, sofa-surfers' preferences towards hosts, and mobilities into my *cartographies* and *flows*.

Chapter 3
Cartographies I: Past and Space.

Introduction:

As explored, sofa-surfing is a practice centring on the availability and quality of host/guest relationships. The hosts' home spaces, movements, and behaviours also affect this relationship. However, a study has yet to outline how the variable, messy spatial experiences lead to various sofa-surfing outcomes. Specifically, how young people use varied host spaces, movements, and behaviour and how they change over time and create varied outcomes. This is important because past studies have focused on the experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing at particular moments. Thus, they cannot explain its effects on young people's life chances over time, nor do they understand the underlying drivers that cause highly varied risks. In the following chapter, by building on other scholars' work on the geographies of homelessness, I develop a theoretical framework to grapple with and map the various aspects of sofa-surfing experiences for young people. I call this framework the *cartographies*, *flows* and *futures* of sofa-surfing.

I provide the conceptual groundwork for my *cartographies*, *flows*, and *futures* analysis in the following three chapters. This requires defining and adapting key geographical concepts and exploring their utilisation in past geographies of homelessness. In this chapter, I define space and outline how hospitality (McNulty, 2007), ethics of care (Bowlby, 2011; Hall, 2019a; 2019b), non-traditional homes and togetherness (Bergan *et al.,* 2021) aid the analysis of sofa-surfing spaces. In Chapter 4, I then define identity and mobility, adapting May *et al.* (2007) notion of cartography to include multiple identities and performances (Cloke *et al.,* 2008; Jolley, 2020). Finally,

Chapter 5 posits the necessity of exploring *flows* through *cartographies* (May, 2000) and their capacity to aid the understanding of people's *futures* (Jones & Garde-Hanse, 2012). Overall, the next three chapters provide the groundwork and sufficient analytical tools to answer my research questions:

1. How do different *cartographies*, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?
2. What patterns emerge in young people's *flows* through cartographies across time?
3. How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless *future* identities?
4. How can theories of *cartography* inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

Creating a Sofa-Surfing Cartography:

This chapter outlines a conceptual transition from understanding homeless pathways towards mapping homeless cartographies. Then, it defines and adapt a key concept embedded within *cartography*: space. The other key concepts, mobility and identity, will be considered in Chapter 4. Directly below, I recognise how mapping the messy combinations of homeless people's identities, use of space and mobility can more accurately reflect the episodic and complex nature of sofa-surfing. Secondly, I explore how underpinning my study with a geographical conception of *space* brings a sensitivity to potential transformation and exclusion in spaces where people who are sofa-surfing sleep. Finally, I also consider how theories of hospitality and geographies of homelessness, care, and home deepen my understanding of sofa-surfing spaces and

their outcomes. Overall, this section outlines key concepts of *cartography* and how they help frame an analysis of sofa-surfing.

From Pathways to Cartography:

The following section maps the theoretical developments that led to sofa-surfing *cartographies*, a model that more realistically captures the experience of people sofa-surfing. Past studies, such as those on homeless pathways and careers, tended to suggest a descending trajectory towards permanent homelessness incorrectly. However, the *cartographic* model avoids this error by closely analysing people's identity and subsequent use of space and mobility during a homeless episode. An episode is a period of street homelessness followed by some form of recovery (May, 2000). This section concludes that the original *cartographies* can accurately frame young people's sofa-surfing experience. However, there remains scope to deepen and adapt this *cartographic* framework.

During the 1980s and 1990s, scholars began recognising the diversity of 'homeless' experiences, with varying homeless needs and risks, such as hostels and sleeping with friends and families (Watson & Austerberry, 1986). However, they argued that people's circumstances *naturally* worsened over time. For example, rough sleepers' episodes of homelessness would grow in duration and frequency (Piliavin *et al.,* 1993). Similarly, Hutson and Liddiard (1991) and Chamberlain and Mackenzie (2006) argued that young people moved through distinct stages of homeless careers, beginning with sofa-surfing and attempts to rent privately. However, via repeated failures, their dependency on localised networks declined, and they became street homeless. Thus, like past studies on sofa-surfing, these studies show an inevitable descending trajectory towards a life of street homelessness.

However, conceptualising homelessness as descending trajectories is a mistake. May (2000) states that Piliavin *et al.* (1993) only explored the housing movements of young people for six months. Thus, their data set was insufficient to predict a longer-term homeless trajectory. Hutson & Liddiard (1991) also do not clarify the duration people stayed in each form of accommodation before becoming street homeless. Thus, one cannot determine whether their study maps a long-term career in homelessness. Instead, May (2000) found that most long-term homeless people spent their lives primarily in rented accommodation, interjected with numerous episodes of street homelessness. Thus, May (2000) argues that these past studies illustrated trajectories towards an *episode* of street homelessness, not a life on the street. Thus, pathways and careers are misleading, so I map young people's episodes of sofa-surfing instead.

Nonetheless, while May's (2000) initial study lacked clarity on analysing and representing these episodes, he and colleagues later developed the concept of *cartography* to map them mentally. At the foundation of their *cartographic* model was the idea that a person's identity, and then the potential to be identified as homeless, is deeply entwined with their choices of homeless space and mobility. As May *et al.* (2007) write:

> *"Bondi and Rose (2003, p. 232) remind us of the 'axes of identity ... never operate spatially but are bound up with the particular spaces and places within which, and about which, people live'… [Thus] as these [people] move around the city, so their 'homeless' identities are shaped by their own, and other people's responses to, the identifications that flow from a person's presence in (different kinds of) 'homeless space'. (p. 127)*

For May *et al.* (2007), *cartographies* grasped how a person's self-identity influenced their spatial choices and mobilities during an episode of homelessness. For example, some women in the study sought to avoid their identity being labelled as 'beggars and tramps'. They chose to stay in areas on the city outskirts, closer to the homes of their family members, rather than risk the labelling and judgement that comes with being in the city centre. This avoidance is visualised in Figure 1 below, which shows how, by circumventing the inner city and its supports, these women move through spaces (in the orange circle) where their homeless identity remains concealed. Also illustrated in Figure 1, these women eventually move directly from hidden spaces into a placement in a women's refuge. The core idea here is that these women's actions are guided by a desire to maintain an identity separate from homelessness, which in turn influences the spatial patterns they follow.

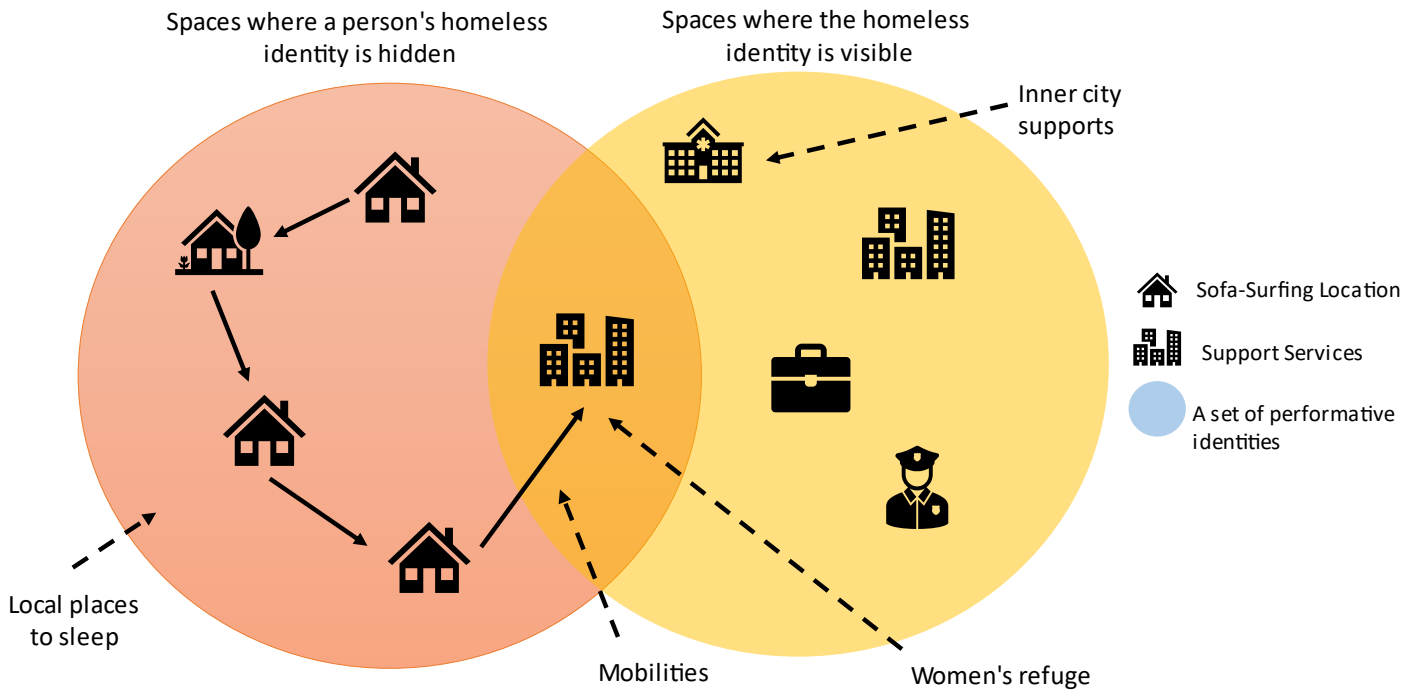

Figure 1. A representation of May *et al.* (2007) *cartography* of women who do not associate themselves with 'beggars and tramps'.

Similarly, other young women accepted their homeless identity but felt vulnerable when appearing homeless, thus frequently hiding their identity in the 'shadows' (Ibid p. 129). For these women who feared violence, mobilities into and through city centre spaces were used sparingly and for short periods, often under male protection, to avoid harassment, to access support services, beg or sleep. Thus, as one can see in Figure 2, while these women spent periods of their day appearing homeless in public, given their vulnerabilities, often in the evenings, they moved into spaces where they could hide this identity. In reflection, utilising the original *cartographies* would help understand how the stigma associated with the homeless identity and concerns for personal safety may affect the way young people who sofa-surf navigate and choose certain spaces during episodes of homelessness.

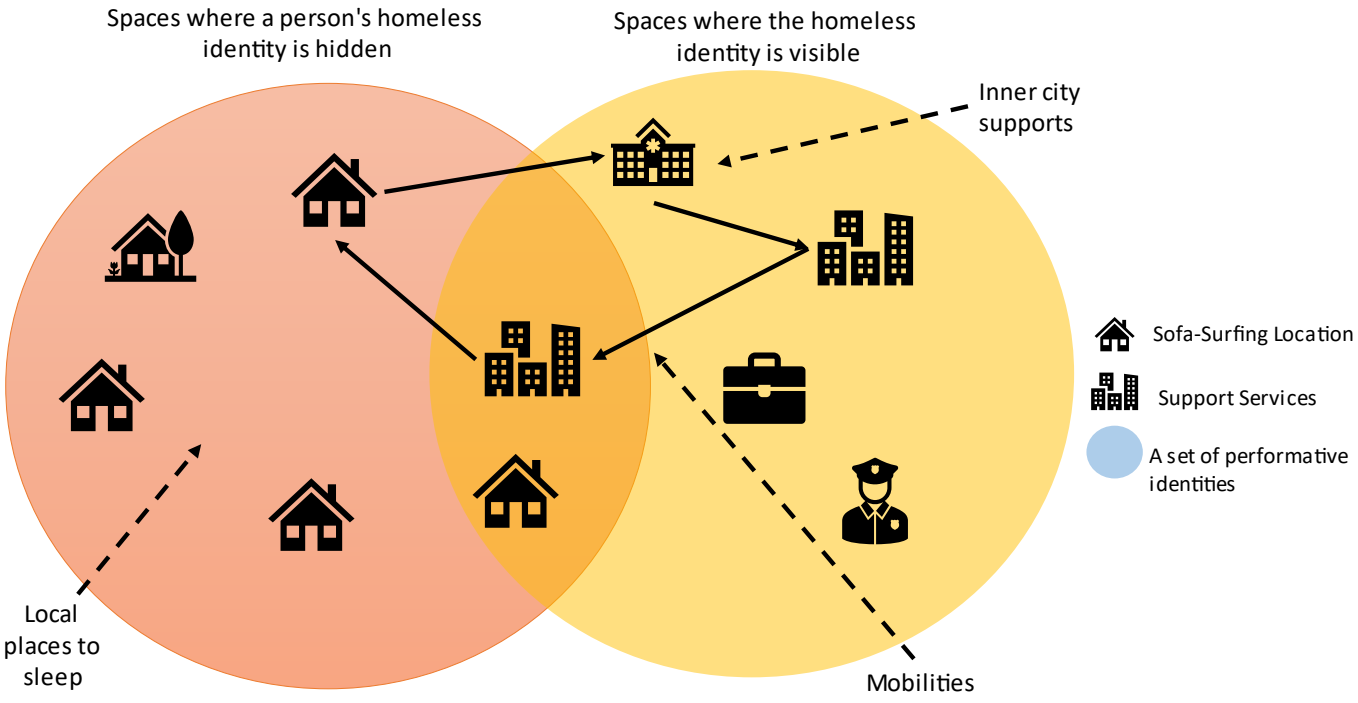

Figure 2. A representation of May *et al.* (2007) understanding of women in the shadows.

Overall, the original *cartographic* model is a useful tool for portraying the complexities of homelessness, avoiding a simplistic, linear, narrative. This depiction emphasises how a person's identification with a publicly homeless identity affects the spaces and mobilities they choose while homeless. However, my first research question is: How do different *cartographies*, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing? To address this, I will also examine the unique characteristics and ethical dimensions of spaces where sofa-surfing occurs, such as the hosts' homes. I aim to explore how these spaces influence different identities, mobilities and outcomes for those who sofa-surf.

Furthermore, in Chapter 4, I delve into the role of space in shaping multiple performative identities and how more-than-homeless identities can transcend the immediate limitations of space (see p. 44 and 47, respectively). Finally, outlining the *cartography's* relationship with past geographies of homeless mobilities also helps understand the meanings attached to sofa-surfers' movements. Consequently, in the chapters below, I unpack and deepen notions of space, identity, and mobility to adapt the *cartography* for studying young people's sofa-surfing.

Space, Hospitality & Care:

In this section, I define what geographers mean by *space* and how it can be applied to understand sofa-surfing phenomena. Thus, first, I explore why space is a more appropriate concept than a place for framing sofa-surfing experiences, emphasising its capacity for change and transformation. Second, I delve into the cosmopolitan ethics of hospitality, whereby the host's goodwill depends on commercial benefits (McLoughlin, 2011), and the ethics of care, whereby people act in another's interest and affect the sofa-surfing *cartographies* (Bowlby, 2011). Lastly, I examine how alternative notions of

home may predicate connections and togetherness between unrelated sofa-surfers and hosts (Bergan *et al.,* 2021; Jarvis, 2019).

Space:

Two key geographical terms, 'Space' and 'Place', refer to analytical arenas for social happenings and intermeshing human and non-human entities. However, I have chosen space to analyse *cartographies*, *flows* and *futures* instead of place. This is because, traditionally, the idea of *place* in geography attempts to fix the meaning of space and bind it to a singular identity; for example, a soup kitchen is an unmistakable place of homelessness (Massey, 1995). It is, nonetheless, important to note that, more recently, geographers recognise that the meanings of places are contested and that place is now treated as a verb – something that is never fixed (see page 36) (Massey, 2005). However, as seen in Chapter 2, sofa-surfers' experiences are fluid and complex; thus, I wanted a concept that can recognise sofa-surfing experiences as both potentially unbounded or defined by temporal fixity.

Consequently, the concept of space proves more suitable for the in-depth analysis of geographies of sofa-surfing. Space recognises the sphere of diversity where multiple potential pathways co-exist, a product of interrelations, constituted in a 'happenstance arrangement' of entities/phenomena (Massey, 2005, p.39), simultaneously local and global. This ensures that spatial characteristics can only temporarily stabilise (ibid; Anderson, 2008). Thus, an analysis of sofa-surfing spaces should explore moments of spatial exclusion, containment and exclusivity, and possibilities for continual personal, social, and place-based transformation. Thus, answering research question 1, within my c*artographies*, I systematically investigate various sofa-surfing spaces, such as the homes, households, and urban spaces where

young people reside, as bounded, limiting, and exclusionary, or safe and inclusive, and withholding possibility for alternative spaces and becoming for the young within them (Jolley, 2020).

Ethics of Hospitality:

Importantly, the principles of Kantian hospitality can affect the exclusionary capacities of these homes and household spaces. McLoughlin's (2011) study on sofa-surfing young people in Australia states that Kantian hospitality ethics meditate host and guest relations. Kant, concerned with hostility between strangers due to cultural mixing through trade and imperialism, proposed a rational principle of hospitality - *the commercial right of visiting* (McNulty, 2007). In essence, hosts only offer goodwill and a right to reside if a guest provides a commercial benefit to the host. Consequently, as most sofa-surfers cannot financially support their host, McLoughlin (2011) argues, hosts are reluctant to offer shelter. McLoughlin (2013) argues that sofa-surfers never feel 'at home', subsequently moving from one unsupportive situation to another. In this sense, the Kantian ethic of hospitality ensures that sofa-surfing spaces remain tenuous and unhelpful.

Geographies of Care:

However, McLoughlin (2011) oversimplified the ethical causes of relational breakdown in sofa-surfing spaces by relying solely on a Kantian ethic of hospitality. This ethic of hospitality functions on the principle of mutual strangers meeting. However, most young people sofa-surf with friends, community members or a friend's parents (see Fitzpatrick, 1998; McCoy & Hug, 2016), where caring, defined as taking responsibility for another's well-being (Bowlby, 2011), is core to the relationships (Hall,

2019a). Thus, beyond the Kantian ethic, caring is a fundamental aspect influencing sofa-surfing experiences.

Importantly, caring is nested in complex and alternating relationships of dependence and interdependence between the cared for and the carer (Bowlby *et al.,* 2010; Bondi, 2008). Bowlby (2011) states that effective, caring relationships between family and friends involve reciprocating *informal* care, emotional involvement, and payments in kind. For example, having parents and friends that help with childcare, provide a lift, or listen to a complex story. In this sense, acts of reciprocal care - a proactive interest from host and guest in each other's well-being – may foster the mutual support and understanding needed to create sofa-surfing spaces of stability and inclusivity rather than exclusion.

Moreover, the increasing interchangeability of familial and friendly caring roles supports the potential for caring sofa-surfing spaces. For example, historically, families offered financial support, while friends provided emotional support and participated in sharing hobbies, stories, and interests. However, with the declining levels of support from people's birth families, people now rely more on their friends in troubling times (Willmott, 1987; Duncan & Phillips, 2008) and create families of choices where friends are family (Donovan *et al.,* 2003). Thus, past geographies of care indicate an increasingly high likelihood of reciprocal caring in both host spaces between family or friends and a sofa-surfing guest.

Nevertheless, the search for these caring hosts depends on various factors, including the host's spaces, class, resources, and routines within the sofa-surfing guest social networks. Firstly, access to care is affected by proximity, the number of friends and family and access to technology (Bowlby, 2011). Class and space affect people's

willingness to use their homes for sofa-surfing. For example, traditional working-class families with smaller homes may avoid inviting non-kin friends to stay, while older middle-class families may be more willing to interact with non-kin in their homes (Allen, 1996; Adams *et al.,* 1998). Finally, the host's daily routines, such as shift work or the limited funds of sofa-surfing guests, which prevent meaningful leisure activities between them, can prevent acts of care that would benefit both parties (Bowlby, 2011). In this sense, the tenuousness of host/guest relations is not simply about a lack of commercial benefit for hosts; instead, the breadth of social networks, technology, class, available space, routines of the hosts and lack of funds for leisure - all affect the caring capacity of hosts, and thus potential stability of, sofa-surfing spaces.

Overall, Kantian hospitality ethics misses the important potential of caring relationships in shaping sofa-surfing spaces. This is important because most young people who are sofa-surfing stay with family and friends, where caring is essential to relationships (McCoy & Hug, 2016; Hall, 2019a). Thus, while having the financial means to support the host is important, individuals with access to various caring hosts, particularly those with a middle-class background or accommodating day-to-day routines and space, could be equally essential. If these factors are present, the host/guest relationships may encourage reciprocal acts of support that aid an exit from homelessness. Thus, I explore the interplay between commercial benefits, acts of care, and circumstances that limit or facilitate care in host/guest spaces. Finally, to answer research question 1, I shall examine how these factors influence spatial outcomes, dialogue with identities and mobilities, and contribute towards potential exits from homelessness.

Geographies of Home:

Additionally, McLoughlin (2011) erroneously presumes that sofa-surfers inhabit the traditional 'home' space where Kantian hospitality ethics apply. As she states, via amending McNulty's work, in her thesis:

> *'The foreigner's [or guest's] ability to pass through or do commerce within the country [or private household] is therefore obtained only at the cost of losing his ability to settle there or be integrated into the nation [or private household] as an equal citizen [or member].'*
>
> *(McLoughlin, 2011, p. 155)*

Thus, McLoughlin's (2011) notion of hospitality is founded on a sense of house/home rooted in a place. This notion is of a home where people spend their lives within its boundaries, with an interiority concealed from public spaces (Blunt & Sheringham, 2019; Bergan *et al.,* 2021); it provides a rooted sense of being in the world, as people spend their lives within its boundaries, they feel they belong and have identity with(in) it (Tuan, 1980; Easthope, 2004). With such a public/private delineation of the home, it would naturally follow that a good-willed host must invite a guest into its private interiority. However, with globalisation stretching places, a simple binary notion of home and, thus, Kantian hospitality has become challenged.

In recent years, geographers have highlighted how globalisation time-space compression has stretched places, blurring the distinction between public and private. The home, then, as a place, has evolved from an exclusivist territorial claim on a territory to a socially constructed concept- a network of globally interconnected social relations that intersect the physical, economic, and social worlds. For example, Blunt & Sheringham (2019) illustrate how the urban environment encompasses more practises of homemaking and people's experience of the towns as ‘home’. As home disentangles

from this public/private binary, so may ethics of care emerge between hosts and their relationally distant sofa-surfing guests (e.g., strangers). In this sense, the boundedness of a sofa-surfing space likely affects both Kantian hospitality and capacities to care and thus shapes the experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing.

Interestingly, Jarvis' (2019) understanding of togetherness outlines how strangers in non-traditional homes can practise caring for each other. She states that in non-traditional home spaces like shared houses, people can engage in skilful dialogue, embracing necessary conflict and cooperation to build a collective vision. Such acts create feelings of togetherness. Similarly, 'thrown togetherness' emerges in peripheral spaces, for example, people squatting or sofa-surfing, through courageous acts of care and commitment to each other. Brought together, dialogue, conflict, and courageous caring may increase the connection between strangers. In this sense, within sofa-surfing spaces, the explanatory power of Kantian hospitality ethics is questionable as new forms of home among the socially poor may encourage reciprocal, commercially unbeneficial acts of care between strangers and thus affect the character and outcomes of these spaces.

Overall, the growth of the porous and stretched notions of home, whereby strangers live convivially together, challenges the explanatory power of mere Kantian hospitality ethics when considering the tenuousness of sofa-surfing spaces. Seemingly, the willingness to enter difficult conversations and find resolutions can enable a commitment to reciprocal caring between strangers who have begun living together. Consequently, in my c*artography*, I remain open to the possibility that host space, regardless of the host's relationship with the guest, can create a stable arrangement and transformation for the young person, namely an exit from homelessness.

Reflections:

Overall, this section clarifies how I understand space within my broader theory of *cartography*. Firstly, space refers to a theoretical framing in which I locate young people's experiences while sofa-surfing, such as a host's home or an urban space with peers. This framing emphasises that these experiences are located in spheres of multiplicity, where people can feel included and then limited and excluded. In this sense, when exploring the characteristics that give a sofa-surfing space its temporal form (e.g., the relationship and material qualities), I do not preclude the possibility of alternative spaces becoming or being prevented. This fluidity of form will also afford other messy patterns of sofa-surfing, such as performative and more-than-homeless identities and various mobilities (see Chapter 4).

Secondly, I explored how the ethics of hospitality and the presence of care may shape the characteristics and outcomes of a host-provided sofa-surfing space. Firstly, I outline how framing sofa-surfing space guided by Kantian ethics of hospitality - a right to stay provided by a commercial benefit to a host – can help explain the high proclivity for them to break down. Nonetheless, I argue that access to hosts, socioeconomic factors, host routines, and guest funds for leisure will also affect the variable capacities for caring host/guest relationships and thus spatial, mobility and identity outcomes. Finally, I recognise that dialogue, embracing conflict and reciprocal care and commitment can facilitate greater togetherness even when a young person is sofa-surfing with a stranger. Thus, in my analysis (Chapters 7-11), I aim to identify factors affecting care capacity and togetherness in spaces to understand why sofa-surfing spaces can exclude, harm, break down, or be transformative.

Chapter 4
Cartographies II: Identity and Mobility

Introduction:

As previously stated, this chapter shall focus on the second and third formative constructs within a *cartographic* analysis, the notion of identity and mobility. Below, I outline how geographers have traditionally understood the homeless identity and why it creates varied preferences for certain spaces and mobility. Second, I adapt May *et al.'s* (2007) notion of *cartography* to integrate aspects of performativity. This performativity is people's choices to perform an identity (Goffman, 2002) and how discourses embedded within spaces affect and sustain these performances (Butler, 2002). I explore how more-than-homeless identities can transcend space itself as people project identities into more hopeful futures. Finally, considering notions of mobilities, I conclude that the *cartographies* of sofa-surfing must also require exploring the personal and socially ascribed meanings of young people's movements.

Overall, this exploration will provide key understandings that underpin the relationship between space, identity and mobility within my *cartographic* model. Together, these understandings will help me fully answer research question 1:

> How do different cartographies, as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?

Identity:

Identity is the second key geographical concept underpinning my *cartographies*. Identity is a construct built upon the self and imposed by others through constant dialogue between the external and internal worlds. Giddens (1991) regards identity as

emerging from the self, an inner world. This world is in continuous dialogue with large quantities of external information, and identity is an attempt to simplify and frame this information into a narrative mosaic of 'me'. Similarly, Bondi and Rose (2003) remind us that identity is subject to change as people move through space and encounter new information, relations, and materials. Thus, in my sofa-surfing *cartographies*, I consider how young people's engagement with various mobilities and spaces affects their identities.

A Stigmatised Homeless Identity:

As previously explored, May *et al.'s* (2007) *cartographies* focused on people's preference for spaces and mobilities depending on their rejection or acceptance of an imposed and externally stigmatised homeless identity (see p. 30-34). Firstly, unpacking this identity, imposed via the state, media representations and the public gaze, helps recognise that it leads to various uses of urban/private space and mobility. For example, the government and the media encouraged stigmatisation by reducing the homeless identity to an undifferentiated 'he' (McCarthy, 2013; Pleace, 1998). The US government created the 'chronically' homeless subject, defined by aesthetic-associated characteristics such as disability and length of time someone slept rough (Willse, 2010), and media outlets were criticised for describing people experiencing homelessness as 'filthy' vagrants (Pascale, 2005; Farrugia, 2011) and emphasising their pathological tendencies (Quilgars & Pleace, 2016, p. 8). These powerful representations encouraged the public to pass judgment and stigmatise such behaviours (Parsell, 2011).

Secondly, in the 1990s, this stigmatisation justified state tactics to force homeless people into marginal urban spaces (Duff, 2017; Langegger & Koester, 2016).

For example, governments passed by-laws criminalising camping, begging, and implementing hostile architecture (e.g., spiked floors in downtown areas) in prime urban spaces (DeVerteuil *et al.,* 2009). In this sense, due to externally imposed representations, people experiencing homelessness and living in public areas risked public discrimination and forceful exclusion from space. Consequently, May *et al.* (2007) find that the legacy of this stigmatisation and exclusion continues to affect the spaces and mobilities that homeless people adopt. To reiterate, then, it is important to recognise how the stigmatised homeless identity may continue to impact and influence young people's *cartographies* (i.e., their identities, spacing, and mobilities).

However, I also want to consider how notions of performed and more-than-homeless identity affect the *cartographies* of sofa-surfing. This is because focusing only on the effects of stigmatised homeless identity on people's uses of urban space and mobility (e.g., its hiddenness and visibility) does not respect how young people who are sofa-surfing may adapt and adopt a multiplicity of identities as they move through various spaces (Goffman, 2002). Nor does it address how discourses in different types of spaces (e.g., the host's private home) may create other homeless and non-homeless identities (Butler, 2002) or how identity may be detached from space and instead find its source in a desired future (Jolley, 2020). Thus, the sections below integrate aspects of performative and more-than-homeless identity into my *cartographic* model.

Performative Identities

Goffman (2002) helps us understand how young people who are sofa-surfing can perform a multiplicity of identities for varied purposes. He conceptualised the

performativity of identity as a constant and conscious reworking for managing impressions. As Cloke *et al.* (2008) state:

"Goffman… is useful [for] understanding the tactical management of impression in situations where homeless people choose to play to an audience, for example, when begging or busking (Dean, 1999)" (p. 246)

For example, Parsell (2011) documents that while waiting for donations of food or money, people experiencing homelessness would enact passive, meek identities through displays of submissiveness, quietness and orderly behaviour. Alternatively, when purchasing food and drink, others acted as 'assertive, empowered customers,' holding their heads high, openly discussing the use of money for alcohol and illicit substances and engaging in debates about football. Similarly, young homeless men, when around their peers, may deliberately present themselves unfavourably if it improves their social status—such as drug dealing, acting violently, and graffiti tagging (Kennelley, 2020; Barker, 2013).

Moreover, geographers have documented homeless men using scripts such as hard-luck stories or street performances to earn money (Cloke *et al.,* 2008), and older homeless women may perform flirtatiously with non-homeless men for free food. Younger women might emphasise their vulnerability and increase their earning potential (Huey & Berndt, 2008). In this sense, the *cartographies* should not only account for the choice of spaces based on the perceived threat of a stigmatised homeless identity but also consider how young people may consciously alter their identities depending on the spaces they inhabit.

Additionally, many sofa-surfing young people are likely to unconsciously perform identities as they move through spaces (Butler, 2002). This notion of 'doing discourse'

refers to routinised performances of normative social practises that help define and sustain what it means to be homeless. Specifically, discourses discipline and produce subjects (Gregson & Rose, 2000, p.433). For example, regulations at homeless hostels prevent alcohol, drugs, families, couples, or visitors from entering, perpetuating the embodiment of homeless subjects who are single and socially disconnected (Cloke *et al.,* 2008, p.248).

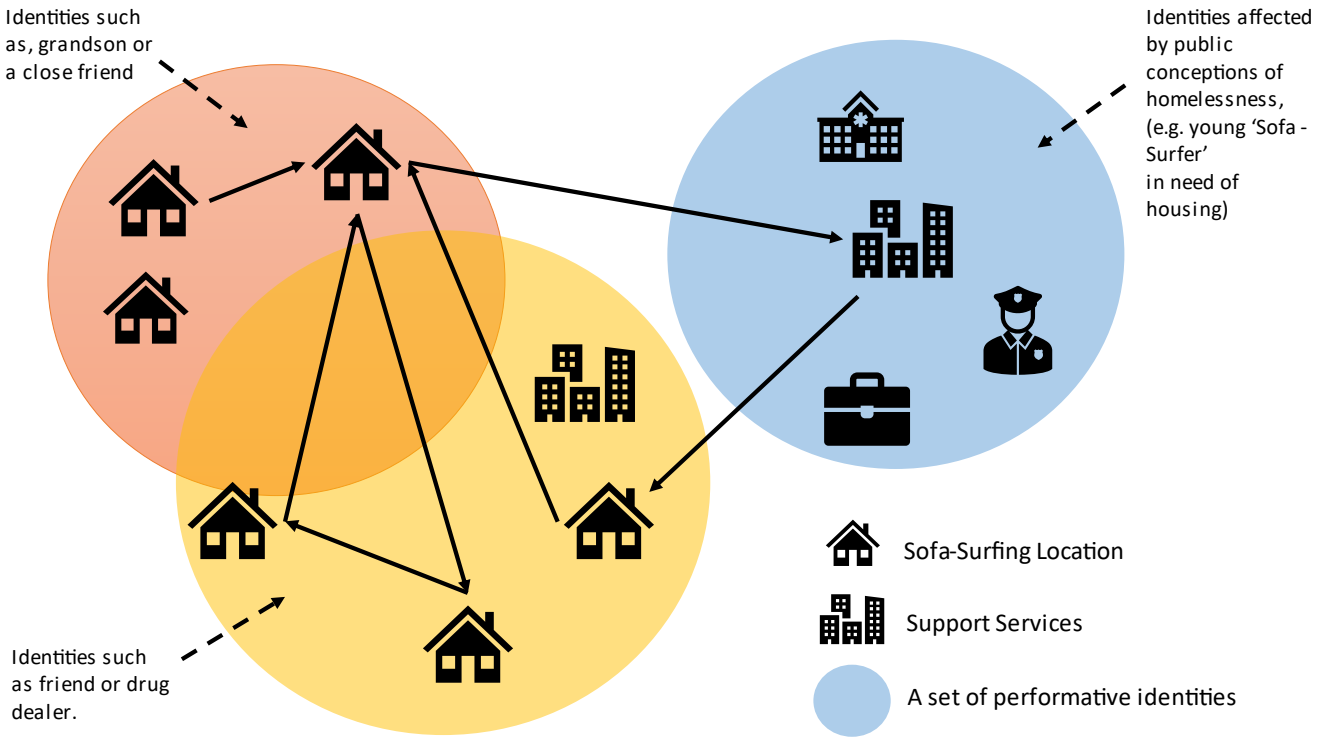

Figure 3. A representation of *cartographies* that acknowledge multiple performative identities.

Consequently, it will also be important to explore how conscious or unconscious reworkings of identity shape the *cartographies* of sofa-surfing young people. As illustrated in Figure 3, sets of performative identities will likely be associated with different locations. For instance, if young people stay near or with family, discourses of home, hospitality and care may unconsciously lead to performances associated with guardianship and dependency (see the orange circle). Conversely, young people may

move into spaces that offer opportunities to consciously perform identities to make money (e.g., drug dealer, see yellow circle).

Overall, when mapping young people's experiences of different sofa-surfing spaces and mobilities, I shall also acknowledge how performative identity, conscious and unconscious, contributes to producing varied *cartographies* and outcomes. This will help research question 1:

1. How do different cartographies, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?

More-Than-Homeless Identities:

The concept of 'more-than-homeless' identities provides the final adaptation to understanding identity found in the original *cartographic* model. These identities aim to avoid absolving all individuals into a totalising notion of homelessness. For example, the work of May *et al.* (2007) and others (Fitzpatrick *et al.,* 2000; Cloke *et al.,* 2003; May 2003), unpacks the unique identities and experiences of various types of homeless individuals, such as those who are the hidden, rural, young, and single homeless. However, these works emphasise 'homelessness' as the defining aspect of these people's identities. This focus can be problematic, as the explored stigma attached to this identity leads to spatial exclusion (Hennigan & Speer, 2019). Moreover, Jolley (2020) identifies that it feels like a disease to those who bear it, sometimes leaving them tempted by crime, drugs and suicide.

Subsequently, I explore how my *cartographic* approach to studying sofa-surfing can reframe this discourse, prioritising a nuanced understanding of identity beyond just being homeless. Specifically, I integrate 'more-than-homeless' identities into my perspective of young people who sofa-surf because it helps me recognise the multiplicity of future pathways. These pathways transcend young people's current housing circumstances. To do this, Jolley (2020) proposes analytical reorientation that first considers the past and, secondly, the future. Understanding the past can help illuminate people's present choices and future aspirations, such as how the experience of homelessness can thwart a woman's aspiration of becoming a veterinarian. Still, Jolley (2020) states that the experiences of homelessness, its spaces, mobilities, and identities cannot wholly define the individual; people still project future ideas of who they could become. Thus, the women later embarked on a new path of identity and self-discovery.

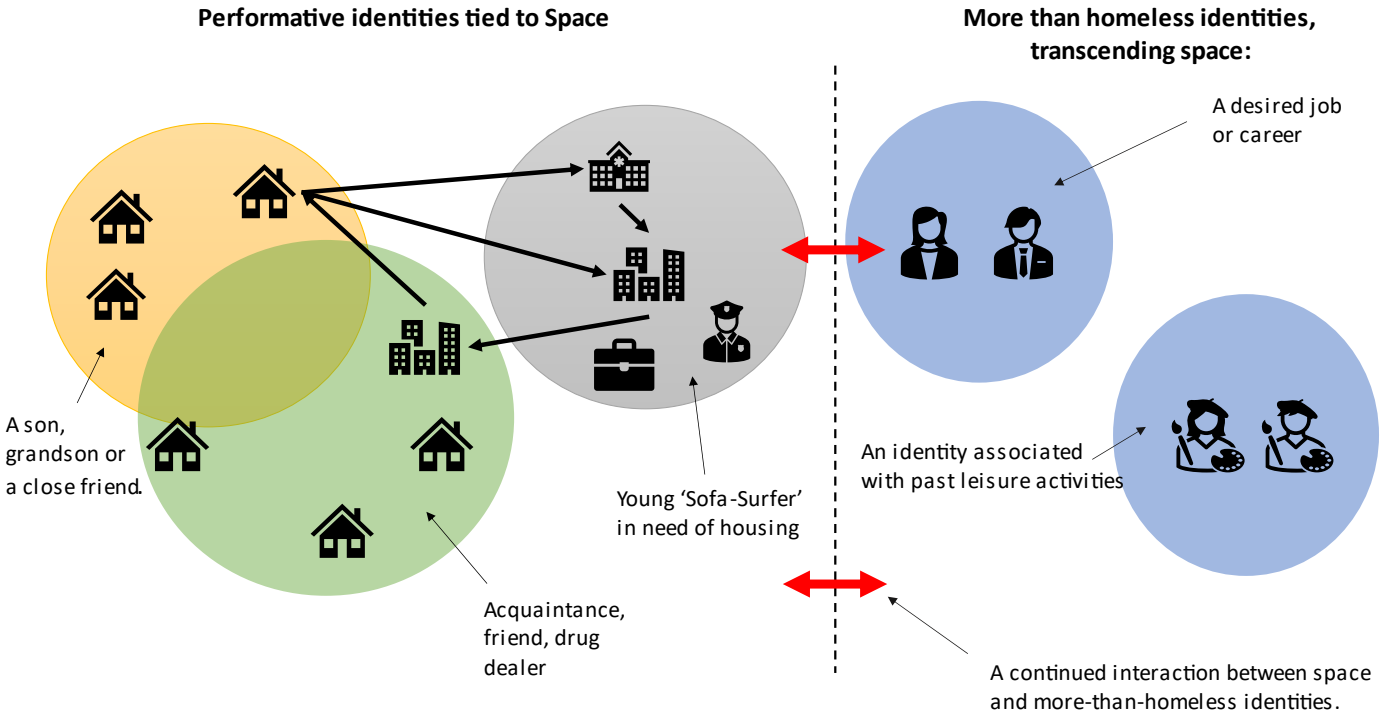

Figure 4. A representation of *cartographies* that acknowledge multiple performative identities and more-than-homeless future identities.

In this framework, identities draw from a broader spectrum of experiences and aspirations beyond the stigmatised homeless identity and its associated spaces, and thus neither wholly separable nor reducible to homelessness. As illustrated in Figure 4, the left-hand side of the figure shows how performative identities, outlined on page 46, are tied to certain spaces. Alternatively, the right-hand side of Figure 4 portrays identities less constrained by immediate spatial characteristics. Such identities, when pursued, create hopeful future possibilities in otherwise bounded and exclusionary spaces. Thus, in my analysis, I aim to emphasise how the identities of young people who are sofa-surfing can transcend the immediate limitations of their spaces, taking root instead in their hopes and dreams for the future.

Reflections:

In this section, I attempted to integrate performative and more-than-homeless identities into my cartographic analysis of the messy mappings of space, movement, and identity pertaining to young people's sofa-surfing experiences. May *et al.* (2007) argued that people's stigmatised homeless identity, curated by the state and media, influenced their spatial preferences. However, I also place stronger consideration on the opportunities and demands for the performance of multiple identities that different spaces provide. Also, I examined how discourses of homeless stigma or hospitality and care in a host's home may define and sustain certain identities associated with sofa-surfing.

Thus, I aim to acknowledge the multiple performative identities adopted as young people traverse different spaces. Finally, to avoid reproducing homelessness as an immutable characteristic, the *cartographies* elucidate how complex negotiations of past and present selves inform the creation of more-than-homeless identities extending

into the future. In culmination, this thesis' *cartographies* map how young people's use of space, mobility, and outcomes relate to their identities prior to homelessness, their performed identities (e.g., conscious impression management or unconsciously 'doing discourse'), and more-than-homeless identities.

Mobility:

Finally, mobility is a key concept underpinning the *cartographic* analyses. Importantly, mobility is not just objective and fact-based statements of moving from point A to B; it explores the embodied experiences of moving and its socially ascribed meanings and consequences (McCormack, 2012). For example, an analysis of mobility considers the qualities of movement, such as the learning, feelings, and sensations it evokes (Kwan & Schwanen, 2016). It also notes how powerful groups ascribe meanings to movement, such as how wealthy elites of European settlements between the 15th and 18th mobilities construed vagrant movements as deviant and threatened the settlement's social fabric (Cresswell, 1997). Thus, in exploring sofa-surfing mobility, I must consider how young people's movements are a source of feeling, knowing, sensing and responses to socially ascribed meanings.

Moreover, past geographies on rough sleepers' mobilities help guide the kinds of mobilities I analyse in my *cartographies*. For example, studies highlight how people who sleep on the streets develop routines between spaces for sustenance, such as using soup kitchens, spaces to earn, such as begging 'pitches', and public buildings, such as libraries, for warmth and shelter (Cloke *et al*., 2008). Some people also travel long distances to shower and thus appear less homeless and avoid stigmatisation (Langegger & Koester, 2016; Jackson, 2012). Additionally, people also cycle between homeless hostels to create a sense of home and keep themselves from the street (May 2000),

develop getaway routes from police, and finally, homeless women avoid the city's underpasses at night to prevent male violence (May *et al.* 2007). Thus, past studies highlight rough sleepers' use of space and mobility in opportunistic and routinised ways for varied purposes. In my *cartographies*, I seek to understand different qualities in young people's movements and their meanings, such as movements for sustenance and security, avoiding stigmatised identities, creating a sense of home, and how they interact with their identities and use of space.

Summarising *Cartography*:

Thus, this section unpacked and developed May *et al.'s* (2007) understanding of *cartography* to analyse the experiences of sofa-surfing young people. First, I outlined space as a sphere of multiplicity capable of inclusivity and exclusion (Massey, 2005). I then considered how hospitality ethics (McNulty, 2007), caring relationships (Bowlby, 2011), and non-traditional homes (Jarvis, 2019) informed the potential inclusivity of sofa-surfing spaces. Secondly, I emphasised how recognising a stigmatised homeless identity determined people's use of space and mobility (May *et al.*, 2007). But also, how young people's performed identities may affect the use of certain spaces and the meeting of personal needs (Cloke *et al*., 2008), and how a more-than-homeless perspective can help reveal the alternative trajectories of sofa-surfing that transcend immediate space (Jolley, 2020). Finally, I explored how considerations of sofa-surfing mobility must track movements between spaces and elicit their meanings and relationships with identity. For example, people experiencing homelessness move for shelter, social and financial needs, or to hide from stigmatisation.

In culmination, and as to set the foundation for answering research question 1, my sofa-surfing *cartography* maps the messy yet mappable interactions between sofa-

surfing spaces (e.g., location, ethics, accessibility to caring relationships), identities (stigmatised, performed and *more-than*) and, finally, mobilities (movements and their ascribed meanings). This notion of *cartography* helps me answer a key gap in past literature on the experiences of sofa-surfing, namely the need to explore how various elements of sofa-surfing, such as accessibility to certain types of host/guest relationships, supportiveness of the host home, a sofa-surfers' preferences towards hosts, mobilities and other host pleasing behaviours, lead to patterned short-term responses to homelessness.

Nonetheless, because *cartographies* focus on an episode of young people's sofa-surfing, they do not capture how young people can move through various of these *cartographies* across time. Thus, in Chapter 5, I deploy the notion of *flows* and *futures* to map how people move through *cartographies* across time in a non-linear fashion and how these *flows* may affect their life chances (see below).

Chapter 5
Developing Flows & Futures:

Introduction:

The idea of *flows and futures* captures two aspects: the patterns of movement through various cartographies across longer periods and how young people's broader contextual experiences of sofa-surfing affect their capacity to imagine motivating more-than-homeless *futures*. This helps answer research questions 2 and 3, namely:

1. What patterns emerge in young people's *flows* through cartographies across time?
2. How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless future identities?

To understand these *flows*, I borrow from the biographical approach that maps provide an insight into the varied non-linear trajectories of homelessness across time (May 2000). Secondly, to assess the feasibility of people's more-than-homeless *future* identities, I contextualise these identities within research that explores how socioeconomic resources affect the capacity of imagined *futures* to produce motivation and self-regulatory behaviour (Jolley, 2020; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). This section then concludes by bringing together my thinking from Chapters 3, 4 and 5, reiterating how *cartographies*, *flows,* and *futures* function together.

Flow:

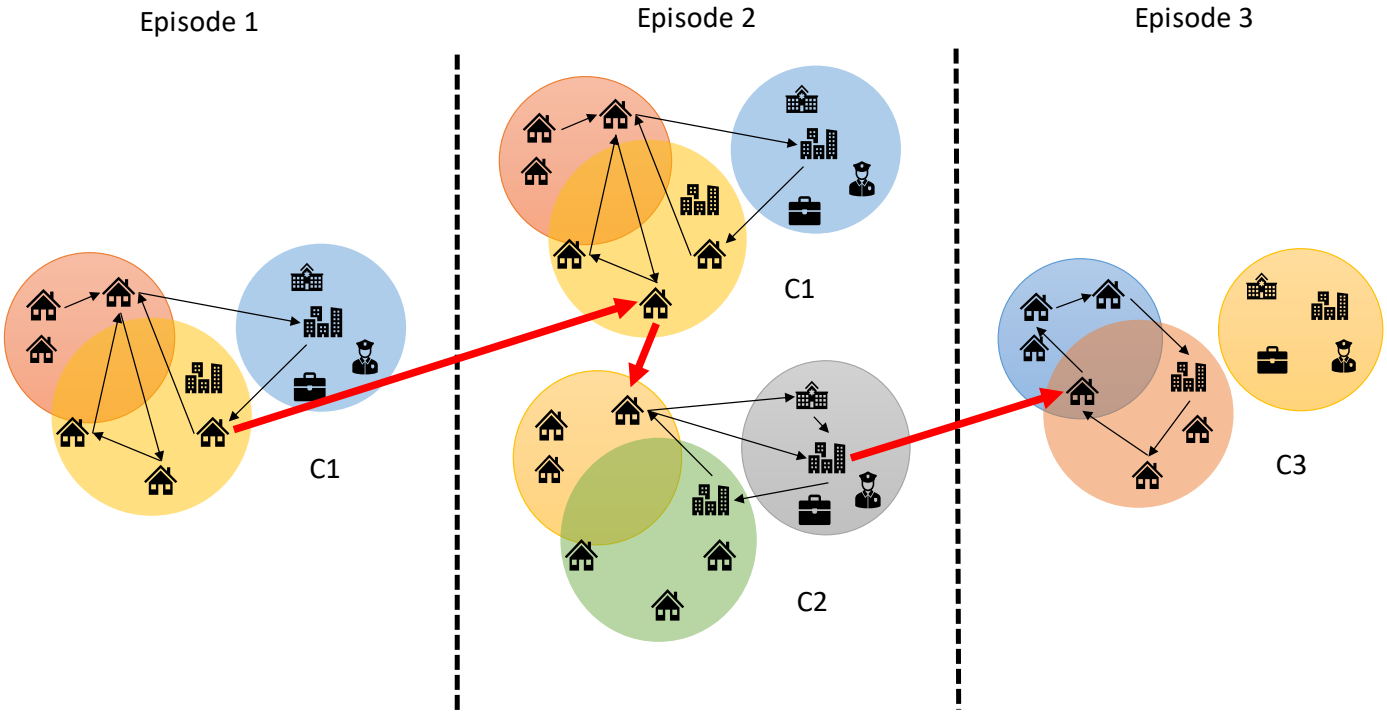

Figure 5. A representation of people's *flows* through their episodes of sofa-surfing, made up of various *cartographies* across time.

I adapt May's (2000) biographical approach to map the *flow* of young people's sofa-surfing *cartographies*. This approach requires timelining people's homeless experiences and accommodation use over their lifespan and provides insight into housing insecurity, employment, and relationships. In doing this, May (2000) found, among long-term homeless experienced individuals, a complicated movement between homelessness and non-homelessness. For example, some returned to street homelessness after long periods in stable accommodation. Others experienced repeated homelessness after leaving a tenancy, relocating for a new job, or an addiction, divorce, or poor mental health prevented them from living independently. Like May (2000), I shall try to map young people's sofa-surfing transition through multiple episodes (*cartographies*) of homelessness. This mapping helps answer research question 2: What patterns emerge in young people's *flows* through cartographies across

time? These *flows* also provide good contextualising when considering the feasibility of a person's more-than-homeless identity.

Futures

Moreover, in the previous chapter, I began to outline how homeless people can develop hoped-for *future* identities that transcend the constraints of their immediate spaces (see p. 47-49). However, I also want to explore the achievability of these more-than-homeless identities. To do this requires exploring how past and present spaces may i) influence a young person's ability to conceive desirable future identities ii) and the identities' motivational and self-regulatory capacities. By analysing these two aspects affecting the feasibility of young people's more-than-homeless *future* identities, I lay the foundations for answering research question 3:

> 3. How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless *future* identities?

Firstly, research indicates that articulating a more-than-homeless imagined *future* may help exit homelessness. For example, children who articulate a pathway towards the type of family, lifestyle, job and hobbies they wanted, along with strategising responses to potential 'big decisions' and 'roadblocks', had improved academic outcomes, behavioural self-regulation, and self-reported feelings of depression (Oyserman *et al.,* 2006). Similarly, those who articulated what they might like to learn, their social leisure and family lives, and their future career are documented to improve people's academic outcomes (Morisano & Shore*.,* 2010; Schippers *et al.,* 2015; Schippers, 2020). In this sense, research indicates that a well-planned road map towards desirable adult identities facilitates measurable progress towards those desired ends. Thus, for young people who are sofa-surfing, a well-articulated, more-than-

homeless identity may motivate a, albeit non-linear, life trajectory towards a self-described desirable end.

However, young people's more-than-homeless identities must also align with the socio-economic resources in their spaces to produce motivation and behavioural self-regulation. Hardgrove *et al.* (2015) found that young people only experienced improved motivation and self-regulatory behaviour to successfully pursue a desirable working identity (e.g., construction, the armed forces) if a role model in their family or community already inhabited this identity. Furthermore, young people lacking these role models could not articulate a future identity and pursued short-term projects like part-time work (ibid). Thus, without alignment between a person's socioeconomic resources, their more-than-homeless identities are unlikely to produce motivation.

	Misaligned	**Aligned**
Vague	Wishes	Hopes
Detailed	Blue-sky plans	Precise Plans

Table 2. Devadason (2008) categorises the hopes and dreams of young people.

Consequently, I use Devadason's (2008) four-point typology to help examine the precision of young people's more-than-homeless *futures* and their alignment with their socio-economic circumstances. Firstly, he found that young people may have 'hopes' or vague future identities, but due to their structural advantages, such as good socio-economic resources, they make reasonable progress towards them. Secondly, they may have 'precise plans', more-than-homeless *futures* with a clear future identity. These identities carefully consider the young person's current socio-economic positioning and outline a reasonable way of obtaining it. Theoretically, returning to Hardgrove *et al.*

(2015) and Morisano and Shore (2010), these futures have the greatest potential to motivate their desired end.

However, Devadason (2008) also finds young people have vague wishes or detailed but 'blue-sky' more-than-homeless *futures* that do not align with their socio-economic circumstances. If Leccardi (2008) is correct, this may, unfortunately, be a consequence of a young person's structural disadvantages, whereby they use their mental, emotional, and financial resources on completing short-term projects, perhaps a part-time job in the gig economy. Consequently, they struggle to develop effective long-term plans. However, returning to Hardgrove *et al.* (2015) and Morisano and Shore (2010), such futures, poorly articulated or detached from space, are less likely to motivate young people. In this sense, I can use this typology to categorise how sofa-surfing spaces affect motivational capacity by considering their relationships with the preciseness of young people's plans.

In reflection, building desirable goals and identities that transcend the temporal and move into the future is understandable. However, the feasibility of these more-than-homeless *futures* depends on the detail in which they are articulated and their alignment with young people's spaces and socio-economic resources. Thus, aided by mapping a person's *flow* through *cartographies* across time, which considers the broader socio-economic and relational contexts of young people sofa-surfing, I consider the quality of articulation and level alignment between space and a young person's more-than-homeless future identity. Using Devadason's (2008) typology, this consideration helps me estimate the feasibility of these more-than-homeless *futures*. This analysis helps answer research question 3: How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless future identities?

Conclusion:

In conclusion, Chapter 3 began by advocating for a *cartographic* model that analyses episodes of homelessness instead of pathways and careers. This was because studies that mapped pathways and careers suggest incorrectly that people's experiences of homelessness were a linear downward trajectory from housing instability to long-term careers living on the street (Piliavin *et al.,* 1993). Instead, I argued, like May (2000) and May *et al. (*2007), that homelessness is episodic, and thus, I considered how the *cartographies*, as unique compositions of space, and in Chapter 4, identity and mobility, are a more accurate way to depict the experiences of young people sofa-surfing. Finally, in this chapter, I considered how *cartographies* may culminate across time (*flow*) and its effect on young people's more-than-homeless *futures*.

The *cartographies* map the messy interactions between young people's sofa-surfing spaces, identities and mobilities. This requires acknowledging how Kantian hospitality ethics, acts of care, and types of communication affect the inclusivity/exclusivity of sofa-surfing spaces. Secondly, how sofa-surfing identities are informed by and respond to space. For example, people avoid spaces based on their identity (May *et al.,* 2007) and perform varied identities in spaces to meet their needs (Parsell, 2011). Space may also unconsciously define and perpetuate certain identities (Cloke *et al.,* 2008). Finally, I consider the meaningfulness of mobilities between spaces and how identities may drive them. By doing this, I aim to fill gaps in scholarship and capture how host/guest relations, host homes, and sofa-surfers' preferences and behaviours create patterned short responses to homelessness.

Secondly, my *flows* and *futures* help capture the patterned trajectories across episodes of homelessness and their potential effect on young people's homeless outcomes. A *flow* analysis helps acknowledge complex non-linear trajectories between *cartographies* over time. Finally, after considering the articulated precision of more-than-homeless identity and their alignment with the socio-economic contexts within the *flows*, I evaluate their capacity to inspire motivation. Thus, by doing this, I aim to fill prior gaps in scholarship and answer research questions 2 and 3 by capturing the longer-term trajectories and effects of sofa-surfing and its outcomes for young people.

Past research indicated a need to explore the connections and interactions between the characteristics of the host home, movements between arrangements, payments in kind, and the behaviours associated with the guest and engagement with support. Consequently, I have presented the *cartographies, flow and futures* as a framework through which I read the experiences of young people's sofa-surfing. This framework acknowledges the relations between space, identities, and mobility across multiple scales and timeframes and, finally, evaluates how these shape the feasibility of more-than-homeless *futures*. Thus, again, this framework fills prior gaps in sofa-surfing literature and aims:

To examine the different geographical experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing as experienced by young people

Consequently, my result sections shall answer the following questions:

1. How do different *cartographies*, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?

2. What patterns emerge in young people's *flows* through *cartographies* across time?
3. How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless *future* identities?
4. How can theories of *cartography* inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

Chapter 6
Methodology:

Introduction:

This chapter outlines the methodology I applied to capture the *cartography* and *flows* of sofa-surfing and critically appraise the feasibility of young people's more-than-homeless *futures*. Below, I outline who and how I contacted participants, the interview I curated, why I chose interviews and where I conducted semi-structured interviews with young people. Briefly, these interviews examined the causes of sofa-surfing, the spaces and mobilities between spaces of sofa-surfing (e.g., hosts homes, urban environments), a mapping of these experiences across multiple episodes, and finally, how young people imagine their *futures* across multiple dimensions (e.g., family, work, and social life).

This chapter also outlines the strategy I employed to uphold ethical research practices. This includes sampling, recruiting participants, a study timeline, some details regarding idiosyncrasies at each research site, informed consent, confidentiality, data management and positionality. Finally, I outline how my thematic analysis of the 42 interview transcripts produced six sofa-surfing *cartographies* and five *flows*. Finally, this chapter provides the methodological groundwork and outlines the analytical that form the subsequent analysis chapters.

Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria:

To participate in the study, a young person (aged 16-24) had to have stayed temporarily with a friend or member of their extended family for atleast five days in the past two years because they had nowhere else to go. The qualification criteria of atleast five cumulative days reflect studies that sofa-surfing is often brief (Albanese *et al.,* 2019). While studies highlight that sofa-surfing can begin as young as 14 (Purcell *et al.,* 2015),

it would be very hard to reach this group as homeless-focused third-sector services rarely support anyone under 16. Overall, I believe that 16-24, with a minimum of five cumulative days of sofa-surfing, provides simple yet inclusive criteria that can capture many young people's sofa-surfing experiences.

Sampling & Recruitment:

I applied a pragmatic approach to recruiting interviewees. This means that the recruitment and sampling strategy was fluid and adapted to the intricacies of each research context (Valentine, 2005). Nonetheless, I aimed to capture diverse voices, seeking a breadth of ages between 16-25 and people of different genders, ethnicities, and locations. Human geographers often use this approach because the recruitment and sampling of interviews are often adapted to meet the complexities and dynamics of each research field (Cloke *et al.,* 2004). Pragmatism made the most sense for this study because of the constraints on accessing and interviewing young people caused by COVID-19 restrictions. Please see page 68.

Given that sofa-surfers are a hard-to-reach group, I approached Third-Sector Organisations (TSOs) to initiate meetings with sofa-surfers. I built a database of 564 TSOs across England that worked with homeless young people and emailed each to see if they would be willing to accommodate in-person research. If an organisation was interested, I sent additional information, including the research information sheets, gatekeepers' information sheet and consent forms (please see Appendix). This email advertising resulted in five TSOs agreeing to act as research facilitators and gatekeepers to service users who met the inclusion criteria. Most of these organisations decided to host in-person interviews, while one agreed to organise telephone interviews with their sofa-

surfing clients on their premises. These organisations' support ensured I had a strong sampling pool for recruiting young people (16-25) who have sofa-surfed.

Figure 6. A map of England highlighting the TSO research sites.

Location	Description of organisation
Devon	1. Youth Support Service
Wiltshire	2. Homeless accommodation provider
Lancashire	3. Youth Homeless accommodation provider
South Yorkshire	4. Youth Homeless accommodation provider
West Yorkshire	5. Youth Homeless accommodation provider
Warwickshire	6. Youth Support Service

Table 3. A list of the different locations where I conducted research at the type of TSO they were.

Moreover, given the COVID-19 restrictions, the research locations in Table 3 were not strategically chosen. Instead, I relied on opportunity sampling. I chose the Devon TSO because of a year of prior volunteering as a support worker. I chose the other four TSOs (South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Lancashire) because of 564 organisations contacted; they responded to my research advertisement emails stating a willingness to facilitate my research (see Table 3). Recruitment at each of the research sites differed slightly. I relied primarily on frontline support workers at each study site to identify young people with sofa-surfing experience.

However, in Wiltshire, South Yorkshire, and Warwickshire, I approached service users independently with TSO permission. Finally, with prior volunteering experience in Devon, I built good relationships and trust with young people, and this helped identify and invite relevant participants. I also incentivised participants to join the research via a £10 voucher for completing the interview. This figure was generated in liaison with a local Foyer (a homeless hostel). I felt it was important to incentivise and give something back for participating in this study.

Location	Pseudonym	Number of participants
Devon	(1) Adrian, (2) Callum, (3) Cameron, (4) Daniel, (5) Elissa, (6) James, (7) Jenna, (8) Libby, (9) Nate, (10) Riley, (11) Tilly, (12) Timothy, (13) Vicky	13
Lancashire	(14) Lucy, (15) Finley	2
Wiltshire	(16) Kieran, (17) Laura, (18) Noah, (19) Isabel, (20) Liam, (21) Laurence, (22) Lani, (23) Jared, (24) Alan	9
South Yorkshire	(25) Abby, (26) Rich, (27) David, (28) Daniella, (29) Ahmed	5
West Yorkshire	(30) Lewis, (31) Emma, (32) Tanya, (33) Rosie, (34) John, (35) Neave, (36) Will	7
Warwickshire	(37) Alex, (38) Flora, (39) Tommy, (40) Phillip, (41) Calvin	5
London	(42) Joseph	1
	Total	42

Table 4. A table outlining the pseudonyms and number of participants at each TSO location.

Overall, the pragmatic approach was inclusive and flexible, allowing for a diverse selection of experiences to be captured while also ensuring accessibility to participants. For example, due to Covid-19 restrictions, I chose research sites ad-hoc based on their willingness to facilitate research; I found five supportive TSO organisations. My subsequent recruitment strategy produced 42 interviews with young people aged 16-24 who had sofa-surfed for five days in the past two years (see Table 3). Of those interviewed, 26 were male, and 16 were female. Five of the participants in the study were from BAME groups, and nobody in the study identified as LGBTQ+. Thus, my pragmatic sampling approach resulted in a range of participants who could discuss a diverse set of sofa-surfing experiences.

The Timeline of the Research:

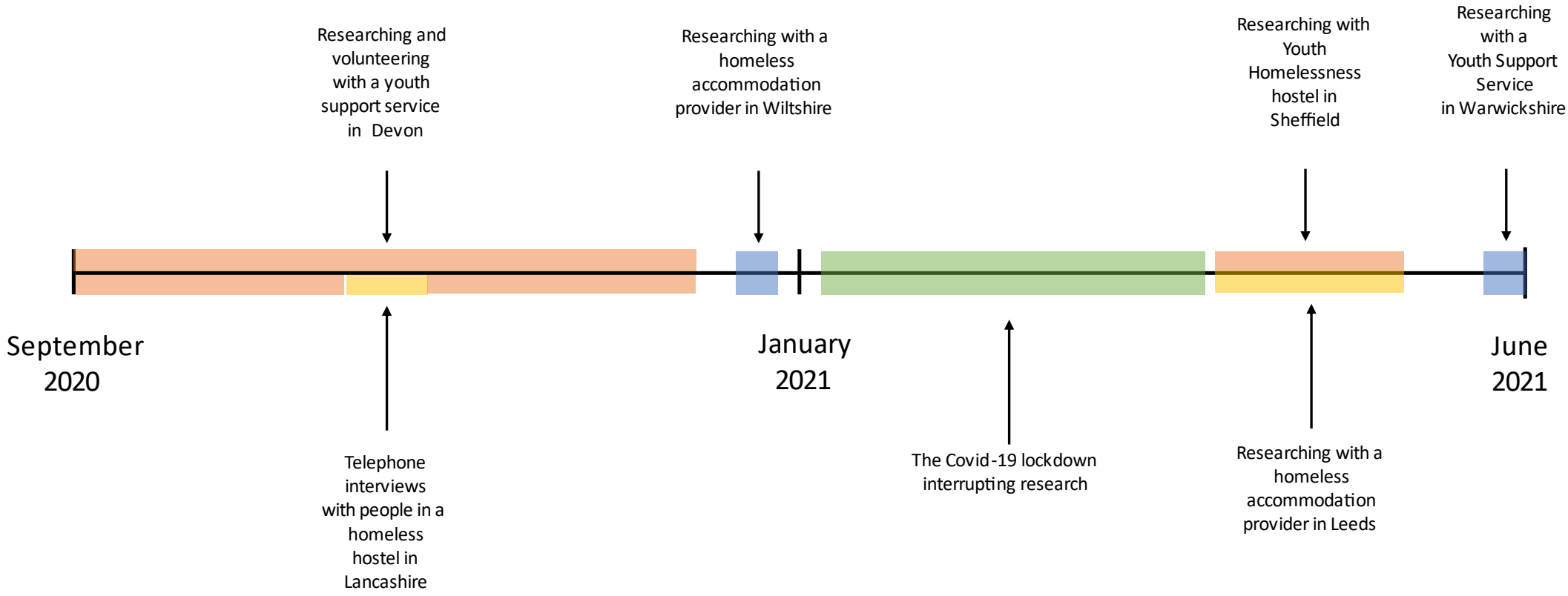

Figure 7. A graphic depiction of my research timeline between September 2020 and June 2021.

The Impacts of Covid-19 on the study:

COVID-19-related lockdowns, beginning in March 2020, created research delays and additional administrative work. Nonetheless, during COVID-19, considered essential, homeless services did not close. Thus, I managed to maintain contact with the five TSOs to organise and reorganise dates for research visits. For example, due to the summer 2020 lockdown, there was a two-month initial delay in completing in-person interviews in Devon. Moreover, in January 2021, I moved to South Yorkshire, hoping that I could start researching the surrounding areas in late February or March. Unfortunately, strict lockdowns continued almost up until May. This 5-month lockdown reduced the number of interviews that would have been possible to collect in north England.

Moreover, COVID-19 restrictions required the regular completion of health and safety forms and the wearing of a mask during in-person interviews. These forms were uploaded to the University of Plymouth's Evolve system, ensuring I conducted the research safely, such as wearing a mask and remaining socially distanced. Interestingly, wearing a mask may have affected the depth of the interview I collected, insomuch that covering both the researcher's and participants' mouths made it harder to read minor social cues, such as facial expressions. The discomfort of wearing a mask during a long, in-depth conversation also occasionally reduced interview length.

Finally, I believe the closure of pubs and shops and the reduction of social events had the largest impact on this project. This is because it reduced the potential of encountering sofa-surfers outside the homeless system. For example, since the lockdown, I have met at least four young people who met the inclusion criteria at friendly gatherings, pubs, and shops yet had never approached a TSO service for support. In my study, only one young person sofa-surfed and did not seek TSO support.

Thus, I have documented the experiences of young people who have accepted their need for additional and institutional help. Perhaps future research could capture this hardest-to-reach group via a more ethnographic approach in such places.

Pre-Christmas 2020 - Devon & Lancashire:

Between September and late December 2020, a window opened from some COVID-19-related restrictions. From September to early December, I began interviewing young people through the local charity I volunteered with in Devon. The interviews were conducted on-site at this local youth support service charity. At this site, there were designated 'drop-in booths' where the participants and researcher could sit without disturbing or being disturbed by others. These booths provided the best environments for interviews, allowing the participants to speak without fear of other members of staff or peers listening. Since the interviews took place in a public building, these booths were also considered safer for the participants and me. I was also given an alarm button to press if I was physically threatened.

Around this time, an organisation in Lancashire also organised two telephone interviews. These telephone interviews lasted less time than in-person interviews. I held these calls in a quiet room while the young people completed the interview via telephone in the TSO staff office. Due to being held over the telephone, these interviews were less detailed or in-depth than in-person interviews.

Wiltshire:

I researched in Wiltshire for three days in December 2020. Wiltshire's TSO had no central hub where individuals could drop in and receive homeless support. Instead, it owned dispersed homeless accommodations across the local and nearby counties. In liaison with the TSO gatekeepers, I conducted the interviews in the living rooms of three

different supported accommodation spaces. Importantly, each space created slightly different dynamics. For example, there were only a few people to speak to during interviews in the first two houses. However, at the third, I interviewed young people in a self-contained flat, surrounded by many other TSO-owned self-contained flats where word of the research spread; this resulted in five consecutive interviews in one day.

South & West Yorkshire:

In January 2021, I moved to South Yorkshire for approximately six months. By May, with the easing of restrictions, I completed two visits to the first site. The first was a large, supported accommodation project, commonly known as a 'Foyer' (Levin *et al.,* 2015), which housed approximately 60 young people. Each visit lasted around half a day. I contacted the young people via the support workers who advertised the research in support meetings. Three young people agreed to participate before my arrival. Unfortunately, the drop-in booth here was made almost entirely of glass and sat at the entrance of the Foyer. This location and visibility stirred curiosity and disruptive behaviour, such as banging the booth windows mid-interview.

In West Yorkshire, access to young people and the environments echoed Wiltshire's. The organisations provided dispersed accommodation across a large area. I completed two visits to West Yorkshire around three weeks apart. Support workers acted as gatekeepers, approaching young people, explaining the research, and then asking if I could interview them in their homes. This approach resulted in five interviews over two visits. I conducted the interviews in the living room of a service user's self-contained flat, a supported accommodation unit and, in one instance, a grandparent's home with a TSO support worker present.

The support worker's presence in these interviews was both a benefit and a problem. For example, the support workers, knowing the young person better and wishing to protect them from harm or upset, would sometimes try to answer questions for the young person or steer the conversation in certain directions. However, after one young person complained about the quality of shelter she had experienced at the hands of the TSO, the support worker tried to move the conversation onward. Thus, I believe the support workers' presence affected some participant's willingness to criticise TSO practises. Nonetheless, the support worker's role cannot be understated given the hard-to-reach nature of young people who sofa-surf.

Warwickshire:

I located my final interviews in Warwickshire, at a charity where I had previously volunteered. These interviews commenced in July 2021. This research visit lasted one day, and I interviewed five young men. The gatekeeper, the TSO manager, contacted all five young people the day I arrived. There were three locations for interviewing on this day. The first was a private upstairs meeting room; the second was an empty manager's office. These spaces provided high-quality and confidential space for an interview. Finally, I interviewed in one of the organisation's dispersed accommodations. Here, the gatekeeper accompanied me. However, her presence did not affect the interview quality.

Informing Gatekeepers

I recruited between one and two gatekeepers at each charitable organisation. I chose gatekeepers who saw value in the project and had experience supporting young people who were sofa-surfed and thus had critical information and expertise. I provided each gatekeeper with a verbal explanation of the project and a gatekeeper's leaflet (see

Appendix). The leaflet explained their role as gatekeepers and the study's inclusion criteria. The leaflet also explored the key topics that could have posed a risk to participants and the nature of being 'on-call' to prevent harm (see below, p. 76).

Informed Consent:

Ethics is a fundamental aspect of research, and conducting ethical research requires obtaining informed consent, ensuring confidentiality and privacy, and minimising the potential for harm (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). All research carried out in this project was subject to the University of Plymouth Research Ethics Committee's assessment, review, and approval. Before the study commenced, I completed a DBS check. Before participants consented, I informed them in writing, via a participant information sheet, and verbally about the research and the nature of their participation. They understood they were not compelled to participate and were free to withdraw from the study at any time before the submission of this thesis.

Before the interviews, I obtained informed consent from interview participants by giving them a research information letter and verbally explaining the research. I asked them if they had any questions about the project based on what they read. I then provided them with an informed consent sheet, asked them to read it carefully, provided space for more questions, and finally, asked them to sign it if they agreed with the statements. The consent form also acted as another layer of safeguarding for young people by listing sensitive topics covered in the interviews; participants put a cross next to the issues they did not wish to discuss. Further, I let the participant know that if they changed their mind during the interview and did not want to discuss a topic, I would adjust the interview accordingly.

I obtained informed consent from people ages 16 and 17 using a separate consent form (see Appendix). This was, of course, approved by the University of Plymouth Research Ethics Committee. The study did not seek consent from a parent or guardian because the young people were often estranged from their families and primarily sought guardianship from social services. A young person seeks guardianship by volunteering for a care order (Section 20); thus, obtaining written consent from a legal guardian would be inappropriate.

Finally, I developed a separate protocol for consenting participants for interviews completed via Zoom or telephone. A copy of the information and consent forms was emailed to the prospective participants before the interview, asking them to read over the documents and email me a signed copy. Once I received the signed consent form, I arranged the Zoom interview or telephone call and used the in-built call recording software on each. Finally, before the interview began, I asked the participants if they had any questions regarding the information and consent forms and if they were happy to complete the interview. If they were content, the discussion proceeded.

Confidentiality and Data Management:

I kept all information confidential, following the Data Protection Act 2018 principles and the University of Plymouth's data protection policies. The policies stipulate that personal data should be processed lawfully, transparently, and for a specific purpose. Thus, to meet policy stipulations, no confidential or patient-identifiable data was accessible outside my University of Plymouth password-protected laptop at any stage. I stored all audio-recorded interviews on a secure database on my password-protected, encrypted laptop provided by the University of Plymouth. As I transcribed the audio-recorded interviews, I manually replaced people's names with

pseudonyms, broadened the location name to the county-level code, and analysed it in NVivo 12.3. I checked the accuracy of the transcriptions twice, using Microsoft Word 2016, and then deleted the audio files.

I also built an Excel spreadsheet that linked the pseudonyms with identifying information such as name, address, and site. Once completed, this spreadsheet was printed and deleted. All consent forms and a printed copy of a now-deleted Excel spreadsheet are kept securely in a locked cabinet at the University of Plymouth; only I can access these documents. All data will be held securely at the University of Plymouth for ten years after project completion and then destroyed.

Positionality:

Positionality has been central to debates around reflexivity. Reflexivity is understood as the analytical scrutiny of the self as a researcher. As a social scientist, I must be conscious of how aspects of myself influence the 'thinking, doing, and evaluation of qualitative research' (Johnsen & Fitzpatrick, 2022, p. 230). In geography, this generally translates into analysing the researchers' various identities and how their situated knowledge shapes the research delivery and results (ibid). Thus, this section will briefly describe how my position as a researcher may affect and influence the following body of work.

Firstly, aspects of a researcher's identity can impact data collection, interpretation, and presentation (England, 1994; Rose, 1997). I am a young man in his mid-20s from a working-class and middle-class background. However, my education now places me more within the middle class. I became interested in researching homelessness after my mother experienced homelessness when I was a child. I am white, straight, and Christian. Having experienced some degree of homelessness,

coming from a working-class background, and being of a similar age to my male participants, I felt I could reduce the sense of power difference between researcher and researcher. I felt regarded as an understanding peer, not a judgemental elder. I think this was aided by my open and agreeable temperament that, in the interviews I conducted, would often reserve judgment.

However, being male affected my capacity to discuss some critical aspects of sofa-surfing with a proportion of the women. Specifically, speaking with women of a similar age around stigmatising topics such as drug use, homelessness, and relationships could result in a less detailed interview than if women conducted the interview. I felt this was because women may have been more able to build trust and rapport to discuss these topics with other women during an initial encounter. But also, perhaps concerned about the increased risk of stigmatisation and judgement because of gender norms and expectations that women should be modest, they were less willing to share (Smith & Huntoon, 2014). Whereas, as stated, when interviewing young men, I felt some, like Barker (2012) states, are more inclined to associate this undesirable behaviour (drug use, violence) with increased social status and novelty.

Regarding other aspects of my identity and social positioning, I did not feel any power differences based on race; I spoke with three women and one man from the BAME community. Two women spoke liberally of their experiences growing up with parents or adopted parents from the Caribbean; with the young man, I discussed how he practised Eid to try and show interest in his faith. In this sense, I worked to ensure we talked as peers. Finally, being a practising Christian meant I emphasised exploring what young people value and desire in their futures. This is because I partly understand 'God' as whatever a person regards as of the highest value and worth striving towards.

Thus, by opening a discussion regarding what young people aspire towards, I have tried to understand what their 'God' is and how this has been affected by their sofa-surfing experience.

Overall, my background and identities helped me connect with most participants who trusted me to put their voices and stories to good use, developing a profound and much-needed understanding of young people who sofa-surf in England. Nonetheless, being a male could make discussing drug use and relationships difficult with women because of less trust in an initial encounter and a perceived higher risk of stigmatisation. My race, gender, and sexuality may have discouraged some people from participating. However, if it did, I am unaware of it. Finally, I think my faith in Christianity has meant an interest in exploring how people's environments affect their values and desires.

Maintaining Clarity Between Roles:

In Devon, it was important to distinguish between being a researcher and a support worker. This is because I volunteered at the service as a support worker while recruiting young people for research. Thus, at the beginning of my encounters with young people who met through drop-in, I clarified the dual nature of my role as a volunteer and a researcher from the University of Plymouth, completing a PhD. I also told them that nothing from our meeting would be researched unless they read and signed the appropriate documentation. Instead, my primary role as a volunteer support worker is to meet their immediate needs. As a volunteer, I focused on documenting a young person's housing circumstances and then outlining possible avenues of support. As a researcher, if they met the study inclusion criteria, I then invited them to participate.

Notably, at the other four TSO sites, my role as a researcher was clear from the beginning. Firstly, I did not provide support worker services. Also, as stated above, I informed gatekeepers of my project and its aims. Thus, they often informed potential participants before my arrival that I was researching young people's experiences of sofa-surfing and that I would like them to participate in my project.

Avoiding Psychological Harm:

Before starting this research, I developed a protocol to avoid psychological harm. This protocol centred on a list of sensitive topics on the consent sheet that a young person could opt out of discussing. Second, I provided a sheet detailing services around the study site that supported mental health, child protection, domestic violence, debt, and crime (see Appendix). Thirdly, if a young person who agreed to discuss a topic on the consent form became upset when talking about it, I offered to pause the interview and let them have a break. If they wished to continue after a break, I would then ask if they wanted to move on to another topic. Finally, I ensured that a support worker experienced in providing emotional support to young people was 'on-call' to aid if a young person became upset during an interview. The gatekeeper's leaflet outlined this role to be 'on-call' while conducting my research, and gatekeepers were asked well before an interview commenced if they could be on-call (see Appendix). Together, this protocol ensured I avoided any psychological harm to young people.

The Semi-Structured Interview:

The semi-structured interview gathered information, allowing me to develop *cartographic* themes and *flows*. My reasons for choosing interviews were pragmatic. Firstly, interviews obtain in-depth information regarding people's behaviours, motivations, experiences, opinions, and emotions. Also, a semi-structured interview

allows for the fluidity of conversation required to build rapport, which is essential to obtain potentially sensitive information about people's sofa-surfing experiences (Dunn, 2005). Further, given a lack of literature exploring the experiences of young people sofa-surfing in the UK, I felt it was important to capture, respect and empower the voices of this often hard-to-reach group (Longhurst, 2003). Finally, I thought the simplicity of a 30–40-minute interview that could be conducted via Zoom or the phone, if necessary, maximised the potential of engagement from a hard-to-reach group. In this sense, interviews are an empowering, rapport-building and adaptable approach to data collection, which is helpful for a hard-to-reach group.

The prompts I used in my interview were adapted following May's (2000) biographical approach to map the *cartographies* and *flows*' characteristics over time. His approach required building a simple biographical sequence of people's housing circumstances and broader socio-economic context (Chamberlayne & King, 1993, as cited in May, 2000). His prompts encouraged mapping accommodation type, duration, material quality and tenure security across peoples' lifespans. Also, whether participants shared this accommodation with others, helped to pay rent, and finally, details of their financial income and reasons for leaving (ibid). Thus, by acknowledging the sequential inhabitation of space (homeless or non-homeless), its broader socio-economic context (employment and housing history), and these spaces' material conditions, his approach was well adapted to capture key aspects of my sofa-surfers' *cartographies* and *flows*.

I adapted May's (2000) approach to capture the unique experience of young people who sofa-surf. For example, I explored childhood experiences that lead to homelessness, whether they engaged with youth support or child protection services after becoming homeless, and whether the support was helpful. I then asked them to

build a timeline of all the spaces they stayed in, both temporary and long-term. In each space, I encouraged considerations regarding how they located the host and their supportiveness, the characteristics of the host's homes, and their activities and behaviours. I finally reflected on how these may affect the arrangement's longevity. Overall, this questioning provided in-depth consideration of why young people became homeless, their engagement with support, and the key characteristics influencing their movement between and experience in various sofa-surfing spaces. Simply, I asked questions that helped me understand how spaces and identities of childhood affected the spaces, mobilities and identities (*cartographies* and *flows*) of people's subsequent sofa-surfing experiences.

Secondly, the interview explored the young person's self-reported effects of sofa-surfing, mapping young people's more-than-homeless imagined futures. For example, I asked them about the barriers to getting independent accommodation or engaging with support, whether they felt tenancy-ready and the effects of sofa-surfing on their sense of well-being, and finally, to outline an unwanted and ideal future explicitly exploring what they might like to learn and their social, leisure, and family lives (see Schippers *et al.,* 2015; Morisano & Shore*,* 2010). Thus, this interview section required the participant to reflect on their experiences and consider how they affected their desired futures. Together, this data can help understand how various *cartographies* and *flows* lead to certain effects on well-being, the feasibility of young people's imagined *futures* and, thus, their motivation to achieve these ends.

Overall, the interview explores the causes and experiences of sofa-surfing and its effect on people's sense of well-being and their imagined futures. Firstly, I explained that semi-structured interviews offered a pragmatic approach to capturing and

empowering the voices of a hard-to-reach group. Secondly, I explained how the biographical approach was adapted to capture the causes of homelessness, engagement with support, and experiences of host spaces, varying in their supportiveness and longevity. Finally, I questioned the effects of sofa-surfing on young people's well-being and capacity to generate a desirable future. Thus, my interview ultimately captures young people's *cartographic* response to episodes of homelessness (interactions between host spaces and its effects on identity and mobility), the patterns of movement through these spaces across episodes of homelessness (*flow*), and their longer-term effects on wellbeing and the create of motivating and desirable more-than-homeless futures (*future*).

Thematic Analysis:

This final section explores how I thematically analysed my data using NVivo to form the six messy *cartographies* and then used Excel spreadsheets to help visualise non-linear sofa-surfing *flows* and contextualise people's *futures*. First, I took inspiration from the narrative analysis approach of Wiles *et al.* (2005) when analysing the interview transcripts. Narrative analysis interprets and explores multiple layers of meaning in interview talk and how they are embedded in the speaker's intentions and context, thus illuminating 'the contingent, the local, and the particular' (Schwandt, 1997). Wiles *et al.* (2005) state that a narrative analysis should connect the 'intimate details of experiences, attitudes and reflections to the broader social and spatial relations of which they are a part' (p. 98). As such, my analysis aimed to explore how people narrate the particularities of their day-to-day experiences and behaviour and their embeddedness with the places they stay and their broader social, cultural, and economic pasts.

To do this, my first step in the analysis was to complete the transcriptions of audio-recorded interviews. Listening and relistening to the audio files allowed general patterns and core ideas of young people's experiences to ruminate in my mind. At the same time, I noted interesting and repeating themes that connected people's use of specific spaces and movements to certain types of homeless experiences. For example, I noticed the high precarity of staying in the houses of recently found sexual partners (See Chapter 8). Or how some people with a propensity to depend only on their extended family tend to avoid third-sector services (See Chapter 7). These early themes aligned with McCoy and Hug's (2016) study that the young person's prior relationship with sofa-surfing hosts (and thus their spaces) had an important impact on the character of their sofa-surfing experience. This would later assist the development of codes that focused on relationship type and subsequent experiences.

Thus, after transcription, I imported all the interviews into NVivo. Then, I developed a set of higher-order codes. These higher-order codes were related to the various host spaces, such as staying with family, friends, and romantic partners. Beneath these higher-order codes, I then explored the characteristics of these host spaces and their effects on people's mobilities and identities (see Appendix). Specifically, I explored a range of subsequent themes associated with particular material characteristics of space (e.g., size of the house), the reasons why young people stayed with a host, how the space affected their identities and sense of well-being, and the outcomes of these spaces, such as encouraging stable or unsettled semi-regular movements between hosts, and their engagement with employment, education and TSO support.

This coding process helped identify how certain types of access and preference to host space (e.g., familial, friendly, romantic, distance) created *cartographies* - messy

patterned and distinguishable outcomes - but specifically regarding space, mobility, and identity. For example, I initially noted how a preference or capacity to access familial spaces was frequently associated with a young person's expectation of security, better access to amenities, and a longer-term stay due to a sense of duty from their host (see Chapter 7). This predisposition was also reflected in Fitzpatrick's (1997) and Cloke *et al.'s* (2003) studies. Importantly, this predisposition produced mobilities that either orbited key family spaces or were chaotic when the arrangement fell apart. In this sense, by coding experiences via access to or preference for staying with and near family, I elucidated messy associations between sofa-surfing host space, mobilities and identities.

Alternatively, I found that those who depended on non-familial romantic partners had unique *cartographies*, namely distinguishable effects on mobilities and identities. For example, facing homelessness, some young people prioritised building temporary or longer-term sexual relationships with peers (see Chapter 8). However, power imbalances in these spaces created a high risk of harming guests or mistreating more vulnerable hosts. This imbalance meant those dependent on long-term relations had unpredictable arrangement lengths, and those seeking temporary relations had chaotic, unpredictable mobilities. Again, different sofa-surfing spaces affected experiences. This finding is reflected in a past study which stated that staying with friends, strangers, and acquaintances increased the risk of physical, sexual, or emotional harm (McCoy, 2018). Once more, exploring experiences associated with non-familial yet intimate host spaces, I elucidated a messy set of sofa-surfing experiences, distinguishable from those that depended on the family.

Similarly, I found two *cartographic* negotiations of space, mobility and identity related to dependency on non-familial, non-romantic, yet supportive older hosts. For example, I noted that young people often sought kin-like bonds with older non-familial hosts and experienced reduced mobilities between other spaces and a more stable, non-homeless identity—however, this high dependency level led to host protest behaviours or power imbalances that enabled host exploitation (See Chapter 8). Alternatively, I found that young people who avoided over-dependency via moving between older kin-like hosts on a routine basis and who also often engaged with TSO and their community often successfully exited homelessness (see Chapter 10). Thus, emerging from young people's dependency on and management of supportive non-familial hosts, I found two more distinguishable experiences based on host space and its effects on identity and mobility.

Nonetheless, analysing young people's accounts focusing primarily on the effect of certain host spaces on associated mobilities and identities, I found that some young people's episodic experiences lacked preference for or access to a certain host space. Instead, these young people's experiences were better defined by a form of mobility. This approach to coding reflects May (2000), seeing that varied types of homeless mobility were associated with types of identities and experiences (e.g., nomadic, homesick) and were often directed by the avoidance of certain spaces (e.g., where the family lived). Consequently, I created two higher-order codes, 'short complex mobilities' and 'long-term complex mobilities', and beneath these codes, I explored associated or avoided spaces, identities, and outcomes. This mobility-driven analysis leads to the curation of the final two *cartographies*.

I discovered that two key groups of people sporadically moved between friends, family, friends' parents, and strangers immediately after becoming or returning to homelessness. The first group, however, by quickly utilising available TSO support, ensured their exposure to complex mobilities, and its effect on identity and use of space was short-lived (see Chapter 10). Second, I found those engaged in long-term complex mobilities between host spaces, rough sleeping, and squatting. These people experienced low self-worth, mistrust of people, reports of drug use and addiction, criminal activity, and greater awareness of being a burden, and often avoided TSO support (see Chapter 9). Thus, I found TSOs could intervene and end complex sofa-surfing mobilities, yet self-limiting identities, behaviours, beliefs, and emotions could also drive long-term complex mobilities. Thus, for those with chaotic and frequent mobilities between spaces, higher-order codes around mobility helped discover different *cartographies*.

Overall, by creating codes that associate experience with types of relationships to a host or a lack of clarity thereof, I found a variety of distinguishable yet messy *cartographies* of sofa-surfing. These *cartographies* can be found in Table 5 on the next page. Importantly, while inconclusive, these *cartographies* offer insight into how access and preference to key types of host space, mobilities and identity shape sofa-surfing experiences.

Cartography	**Criteria**
Seeking Home	Young people Seeking Home seek the comfort, security and assurance of sofa-surfing with family.

Seeking Intimacy	Young people build close quasi-familial host relations for security and guardianship or romantic relationships for safety or novelty.
Overstaying	Young people obtained a longer-term stay with a non-familial host but eventually struggled to leave even though it was in their best interests.
Those Who Wander	Those Who Wander are young people engaged in complex, long-term mobilities between hosts. They also often have an underlying ambivalence towards dependency on their hosts.
Short-Term Sofa-Surfing	Young people embody complex and unstable mobilities for a shorter period and also prioritise third-sector accommodation as soon as it is available.
Exiting after a longer-term homelessness	Young people who are exiting homelessness develop routine or stable mobilities between hosts and engage with various community members and supportive institutions.

Table 5. A table listing the six cartographies and their core characteristics.

In reflection, *cartography* can be considered thematic mappings of the complex interrelationships in young people's narratives that, unlike careers or homelessness pathways, acknowledge that people's lives are complex, multi-layered, and non-linear (May *et al.,* 2007). The six *cartographies* were carefully chosen based on the shared patterns of experience that emerged when young people depended on a host space or short-term or long-term chaotic mobilities. These coding choices and their proceeding experiential groupings reflected past literature insomuch that others identified host relational type as having the largest impact on sofa-surfing experiences (McCoy & Hug, 2016), young sofa-surfers tend to prefer being near familial spaces (Fitzpatrick, 1998), there is a greater risk of harm associated with non-familial hosts (McCoy, 2018) and that types of homeless mobilities also drive the creation of distinguishable experiences of homelessness (May, 2000). Importantly, each *cartography* is named after its defining

characteristics; for example, those *Seeking Home* orientate themselves towards or around familial or a childhood-related locality, and each is also a verb, a deliberate choice to reflect that sofa-surfing *cartography* is not a category but a temporal and messy 'doing' in response to homelessness.

	Cartography 1	Cartography 2	Cartography 3	Cartography 4
Abby	Seeking Intimacy & Seeking Home	Overstaying	TSO Accommodation	
Adrian	Seeking Home	Those Who Wander		
Ahmed	Seeking Intimacy & Short-Term Sofa-Surfing	TSO Accommodation		
Alan	TSO & Those Who Wander	Short-Term Sofa-Surfing	Seeking Intimacy	TSO Accommodation
Aleks	Seeking Intimacy	Overstaying	Seeking Intimacy	SH
Alex	Short-Term Sofa-Surfing & Seeking Home	Seeking Home & Seeking Intimacy	Those Who Wander	TSO Accommodation
Callum	Short-Term Sofa-Surfing	Exiting Long-Term Homelessness	TSO Accommodation	
Calvin	Seeking Home & Exiting Long-Term Homelessness	TSO Accommodation		
Cameron	Seeking Home	Short-Term Sofa-Surfing	TSO Accommodation	TSO Accommodation
Daniel	Short-Term Sofa-Surfing	Seeking Intimacy & SH	TSO Accommodation	
Daniella	Seeking Home	Seeking Home	Seeking Home	TSO Accommodation
David	Short-Term Sofa-Surfing	TSO Accommodation		

Table 6. An example of the Excel analysis process that resulted in the formation of flows.

After identifying these key *cartographies*, I wanted to recapture the narrative *flow* of young people through *cartographies*. To do this, I developed two Excel

spreadsheets. The first spreadsheet mapped the *cartographies* each young person had been in throughout their multiple episodes of homelessness. This process revealed that young people engage with various *cartographies* during their homeless episodes. However, this spreadsheet could not illuminate people's movement through *cartographies*. Thus, I developed a second spreadsheet, documenting the *cartographies* each young person went through chronologically (see Table 6). Each *cartographic* period refers to around 1-6 months, except for Those Who Wander *cartography*, which also refers to several years of complex sofa-surfing circumstances. Throughout this process, I continually made notes on paper regarding emergent patterns in the data.

Once people's *flows* across *cartographies* were mapped in the Excel spreadsheet, I began identifying how shared characteristics in two *cartographies* resulted in a *flow*. For example, I discovered that among many young people, after initially inhabiting *cartographies* with supportive hosts, such as those Seeking Home or Seeking Intimacy, would proceed to inhabit a Those Who Wander or further Seeking Intimacy *cartography* before finding safe accommodation again. In this sense, secure initial *cartographies* could predicate seeking guardianship and emotional closeness. Nonetheless, this breakdown of security could lead to a simultaneous rejection of relational closeness and the adoption of Those Who Wander *cartographies* (see Chapter 11).

Secondly, I found distinguishable *flow* patterns when I explored the experiences of those who relied on other initial *cartographic* responses. For example, I identified three kinds of flow: i) the unexpected collapse of arrangements (Overstaying, followed by a Short-Term Sofa-Surfing, ii) those who stayed in a secure space long-term, using an Exiting Long-Term Homelessness *cartography* and were eventually placed into accommodation by a TSO, and finally, iii) those who got perpetually stuck in a Seeking

Home *cartography* which often prevented TSO access. Again, I found three distinctive patterned flows by orientating my analysis onto how an initial preference and use of *cartography* leads to a particular progression in young people's *cartographies*.

Finally, I identified a group of young people, like the Those Who Wander *cartography*, who experienced multiple episodes of sofa-surfing over an extended period but lacked a sense of directionality to their *flows*. Instead, these young people adopted various *cartographies*, often simultaneously, in response to their complicated and frequently changing needs. These young people were grouped, highlighting erratic and non-linear movements that sofa-surfing can create.

Overall, this identification of various patterned *flows* through sofa surfing resulted in the following five *flows*:

- **Secure, Wandering-Intimacy to Supported;**
- **Overstaying, Collapse to Supported;**
- **Long-Term To Secure;**
- **Holding Too Tightly To Home;**
- **and the Uprooted Flow.**

In the main, these *flows* are unique consequences of my biographical approach to researching sofa surfers' experiences. While McLoughlin (2011) indicated that young people often try to stay with a host as long as possible, such as with Secure, Wandering-Intimacy to Supported; Overstaying, Collapse to Supported; and Holding Too Tightly To Home, she did not map how particular experiences of sofa-surfing affect and interact with subsequent sofa-surfing circumstances. Similarly, while past geographies have avoided depicting linear descending pathways or careers towards street homelessness

(May *et al.,* 2007), I also explore how specific constellations of experiences and circumstances drive *flows* through cartographies across time.

The final aspect of *flow* analyses required embedding the respective young people's *futures* into each *flow*. First, people's *flows* provided a comprehensive long-term socio-economic contextual understanding of their sofa-surfers' experience. This understanding then helped me categorise people's *futures* using Devadason's (2008) typology. This typology required me to explore the alignment between my participant's more-than-homeless future orientations and their *flows* (socio-economic contexts) across time and consider its feasibility (see p. 55-57). Finally, by assigning a level of feasibility, I evaluated how different sofa-surfing *flows* affected young people's capacity to produce more-than-homeless futures. Altogether, this combination of host space and mobility-focused higher-order coding, mapping connections between cartographies across time, and embedding *futures* into these contexts to monitor feasibility is the analytical process that produced the results below.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, this section has outlined how I ethically collected and analysed data on young people to form the results chapters below. Firstly, the study inclusion criteria required young people between 16 and 25 who have sofa-surfed for five days or more in the last two years. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I also took a pragmatic approach to both finding organisations willing to gatekeep and in the sampling of participants. This resulted in inviting 564 TSOs to participate via email, six who later agreed to gatekeep and 42 interviews with young people who had sofa surfed. Finally, as a known hard-to-reach group, I accepted any young person who fit the study inclusion criteria and provided informed consent.

This chapter then focused on how I conducted an ethical, safe, and confidential investigation using semi-structured interviews. Ethicality and confidentiality protocols informed gatekeepers to identify suitable participants, seeking separate informed consent from minors (16-17) and young adults (16-24), four methods to prevent psychological harm and the careful storage and anonymisation of data. I also noted how my position as a male of a working-class background aided most interviews but may have negatively impacted my discussions with some women. Finally, I outlined how my in-person and Zoom-based semi-structured interview effectively captured the sofa-surfing experiences of hard-to-reach groups. The interview questions encouraged the young people to map sofa-surfing spaces and mobilities, their effects and relationship to identities and their impact on imagined *futures*.

Finally, a pragmatic thematic analysis led to the production of six *cartographies* and five *futures* and *flows*. This analysis process consisted of three sections. Firstly, the *cartographies* emerged via the thematic coding that deconstructed each narrative. This coding took inspiration from McCoy and Hug (2016) and May (2003) to generate higher-order codes about types of host space or mobilities. I then explored their relationships with other spaces, mobilities, meanings, identities, activities, and experiences within these space or mobility-related codes. This produced the six *cartographies*: Seeking Home, Seeking Intimacy, Overstaying, Those Who Wander, Short-Term Sofa-Surfing, and Exiting Long-Term Homelessness. Secondly, I mapped the use of *cartographies* across multiple episodes of homelessness, leading to five *flows*: Secure, Wandering-Intimacy, to Secure; Overstaying, Collapse to Secure, Secure to Secure, Holding Tightly To Home, and Uprooted Flow. Finally, using a four-point typology (Devadason, 2008), I consider the interactions between flow and the feasibility of young people's more-than-homeless *futures*.

Overall, this chapter offers a sound methodology to ethically capture and analyse the experiences of young people who sofa-surf. Specifically, I outlined the method and how I produced my analysis of the *cartographies*, *flows* and *future*. These were made in careful relationship with past studies and themes arising from the data to answer my key aim:

> **To examine the different geographical experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing by young people**

And the research questions:

1. How do different *cartographies*, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?
2. What patterns emerge in young people's *flows* through *cartographies* across time?
3. How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless *future* identities?
4. How can theories of *cartography* inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

Below, to fully meet this aim and answer the research questions, I present my six *cartographies* of sofa surfing, *five* flows and their effects on *future* feasibility.

Chapter 7
Seeking Home

Introduction:

This section explores the *cartography* of Seeking Home—the most prolific *cartography* among young people who sofa-surf. Proceeding an exit from their family or childhood home, those Seeking a Home, like those in Fitzpatrick (1998), pursue (re)connection with many family members, estranged parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. Sometimes, these family members have not been seen in several years. However, in most cases, they are close family who live locally. By turning to extended family, young people who adopt this *cartography* seek to develop and create identities in spaces beyond the family home, maintain dependency on guardians, and participate in something that approximates to family life. Thus, while they pursue independence from the family home, they still desire familiar, non-homeless, identities. Essentially, they want to remain or build strong connections with family; they seek to be known, recognised, with a stable identity, cared for, loved, and under familial protection and guidance.

Pursuing familial or familial-like space leads to various key spatial experiences, mobilities and associated identities. For example, localised, long-distance, distant moves away from home and painful returns to home. Also, reciprocal acts of care, connectedness, and clarity of rules within these spaces make those Seeking Home feel secure and safe. Nonetheless, I identify the spatial-related risks of overdependency on extended family hosts, such as misuse of their willingness to provide care and the potential for spatial stagnation, as young people lack the resources necessary to improve their housing security. Finally, I outline how family-related identities lead to unexpected

arrangement breakdowns and create potential harm. Overall, the section paints a complex but critical representation of the appeal, benefits and risks of young people seeking refuge with extended family members.

Moving Toward and Near Family Space:

Those Seeking Home either choose to leave because of difficulties at home or find themselves periodically asked to leave their childhood home before leaving for good. For example, Harry began participating in crime and stated that his single mother and two brothers found his criminality overwhelming. Jamie, aged 18, was asked to leave after the police investigated him for distributing illicit images of a family friend who was 15 years old. Christopher, the eldest of six, felt home life was a large cause of stress and 'other shit', which encouraged him to sofa-surf. Finally, Alex states that while his adoptive parents provided an excellent upbringing, confusion and curiosity about his origin created arguments and stimulated periods of sofa-surfing and rough sleeping.

A Quick Supported Exit:

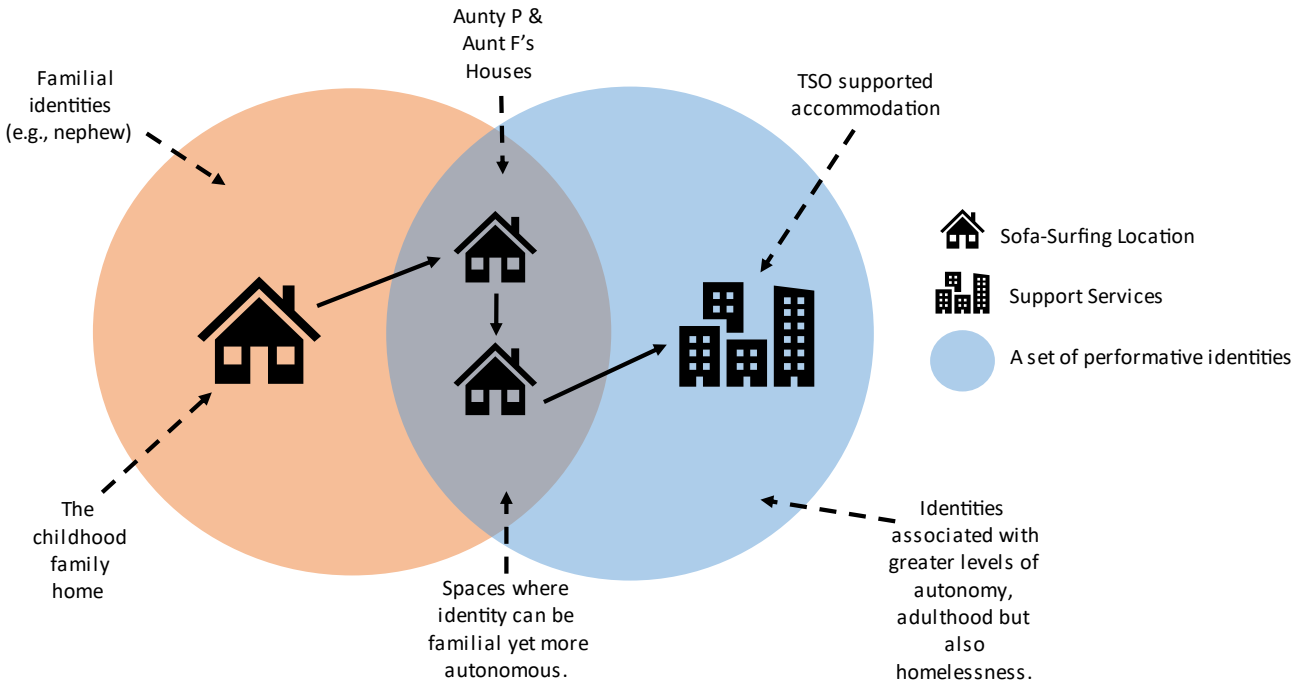

Figure 8. A diagram visualising Jamie's experience of the Seeking Home *cartography* as he moves from his mother's home to independent TSO accommodation.

Nonetheless, as depicted in Figure 8, young people can move from the family home and its associated identities (seen in the orange circle) into a local, supportive host. These familial hosts can provide young people with non-homeless familial identities, caring relationships, and mobilities towards exiting sofa-surfing (see the houses where the orange and blue circles overlap).

> *"Because it was a one-bed flat, she could not have me. Then I had to go to my [Aunty P's]. However, she has three kids, so because of the Police investigation, they didn't want me to stay there… So that's when my [Aunty F] found [the homeless service], and that's how I ended up here…. You know, my [Aunty F] does everything for me. She's been more of a mother to me in those few months than my mom has ".*

(Jamie, Wiltshire)

For Jamie, after being unable to stay with Aunty P because of his police investigation, he moved into a supportive short-term arrangement with Aunty F. Aunty F played an instrumental role in providing his guardianship after his Mum had refused. For example, she allowed him to stay in her small flat and helped him access a self-contained apartment through a homeless charity. Interestingly, without any commercial benefits in return, Kantian Hospital ethics would regard her adoption of the mother role as a rare act of duty (McNulty, 2007). Nonetheless, Jamie reciprocated these dutiful acts of care via his friendship, offering emotional involvement, sharing interests in astrology and crystals, and watching films (Bowlby, 2011). In this sense, those Seeking Home can inhabit spaces where they encounter highly supportive family members (McLoughlin, 2011). These temporal families of choice (Donovan *et al.,* 2003) offer opportunities to unconsciously perform a non-homeless identity, such as son/mother (Butler, 2002), find friendships and help young people exit from sofa-surfing.

Localised In & Out:

However, for many young people, these leaps towards greater independence were interjected with returns to their family home. Alex briefly stayed with friends or slept rough, and Will stayed briefly with friends, returning to the family home periodically. Still, for these young men Seeking Home, this cycling experience could be considered an adventurous in-between period where local parents showed temporal grace. These young men, unshackled by the responsibilities and expectations of adulthood, also felt freer than they did than being at the family home. Alex states:

"You're not officially an adult. So, it's sort of, don't get me wrong; I love the freedom and stuff. The fact that, you know, I love the independence part of it. Because I had no one to rely on… Have you seen films and stuff? …when they go off, and, you know, they're doing their own thing."

(Alex, Warwickshire)

Will relied on other family members to sofa-surf during unstable periods in the family and home life:

"Yeah, I only had one or two nights on the streets; most of it was sofa-surfing, and like I'd be staying somewhere for a few weeks, then somewhere else, and then I'd go back to my Mums for a bit, maybe... obviously, [my uncle] smoked weed, so I could go downstairs and smoke a joint with him."

(Will, West Yorkshire)

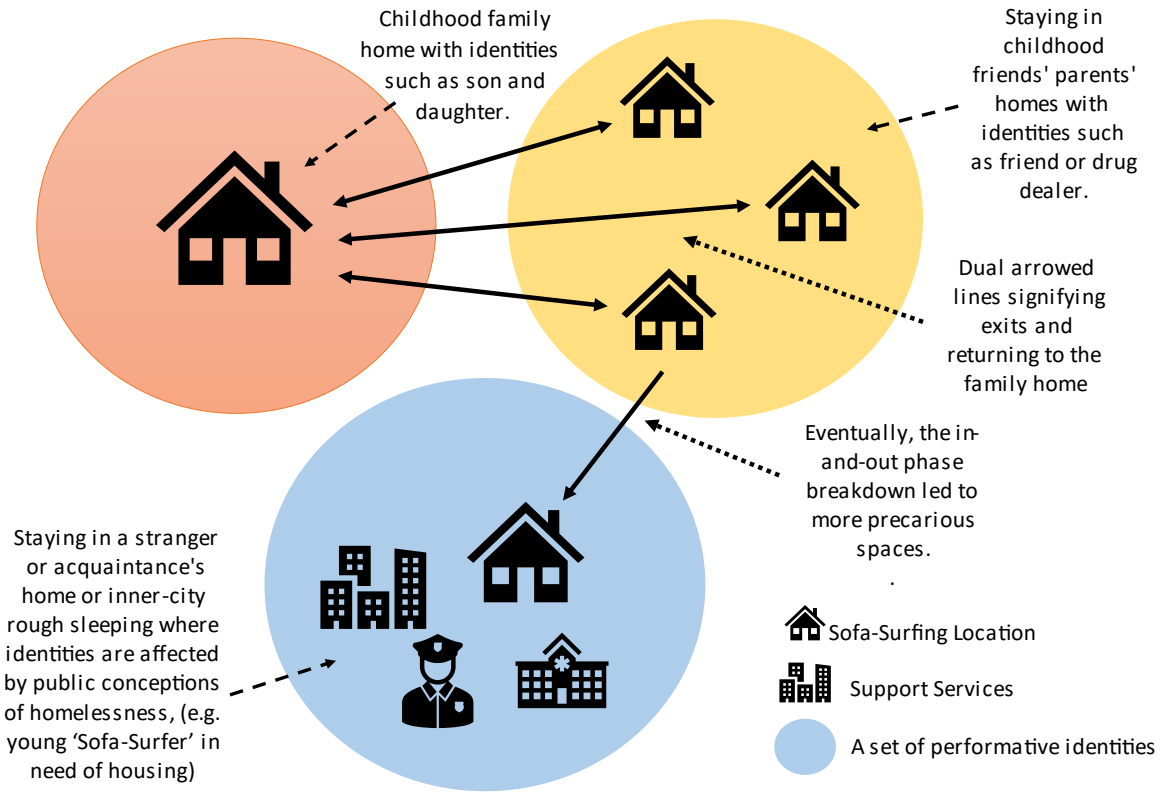

Figure 9. A visualisation of young people Seeking Home during an in-and-out phase followed by a move into more precarious homeless spaces.

Thus, signified in Figure 9, via the arrows between the orange and yellow circles, localised exits and returns to the family home allowed young people to find temporary relief from these spaces and find new spaces to explore, display and exhibit new social identities (Malone, 2002; Ahmets, 2013). For example, Alex's cyclical movements from home towards a friend's parent's host space felt like a coming-of-age tale. Similarly, Will's movements reflected his desire for relaxation in his uncle's house. From a performative perspective, these host spaces allowed them to embody the non-homeless identity of 'Adventurer' or 'Nephew' and identities unacceptable in their own home, such as being a 'Stoner' (see the yellow circle in Figure 9). In this sense, Seeking Home mobilities facilitate the normal desire for adolescents to increase autonomy (Ahmet, 2013). By inhabiting these spaces, Will and Alex could also perform identities that distanced them from a stigmatised notion of homelessness (May *et al.,* 2007). However, one may question the caring nature of these spaces, given that an uncle facilitating cannabis use is unlikely to support an effective adulthood transition.

Moreover, while young people perceive these tenuous and short-term host spaces positively, they must continually return to an unhelpful and uncaring family home. Ideally, the family home provides relational warmth, security, and deep emotional ties (Sommerville, 1992). Such spaces provide most young people the emotional nourishment needed after failure to carve out space and adult identity in the wider social domain (Tuan, 2001; Casey, 2001). However, these young people's returning home leads to repeated disappointment, neglect, and conflict (Brickell, 2012), and eventually, they decide they no longer wish to return.

Concerningly, as depicted in Figure 9 via the arrow from the yellow to the blue circle, after repeated returns and exits from home, young people exhaust the possible

opportunities for accessing friends' parents' homes, and their housing circumstances, albeit temporarily, worsen (Chamberlain & MacKenzie, 2006). As Jared states:

"As I've got older, sort of like 16/17, I was going around people's houses, that my older friend he sold the drug to these people."

In this sense, these young people temporarily move into spaces where they are more readily recognised as strangers or homeless. These are urban spaces further away from the childhood home, where the hosts are far more relationally distant and less supportive.

Thus, in answering research question 1:

"How do different cartographies, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?"

Among those in the Seeking Home cartography, some embody mobilities that remain near the family home, whether via i) moving through and into a supportive nearby family space or ii) cycling in and out of parental space and local friends' parents. These mobilities lead to varied outcomes and experiences. For those in group one, staying with family members can create a fast exit from homelessness supported via reciprocal caring relationships and non-homeless identities.

In group two, young people do not find a supportive host; instead, they have multiple opportunities to adopt and develop identities in hosts' homes. However, these hosts lack long-term care or a sense of duty, thus ensuring disappointing and unsupported returns home. Consequently, these young people's housing circumstances eventually, albeit temporarily, worsen. In this sense, dependency on familial space or attempts to stay near it may facilitate non-homeless performative identities and an exit or a worsening in young people's sofa-surfing circumstances.

Long Distance Leaps/Returns:

A third type of mobility for those Seeking Home involves young people moving to live with family members a long distance away. For example, after falling out with her mother and believing her father was deceased, Elissa had to move in with her grandparents. These grandparents offered stable and supportive accommodation for several years. However, after realising her father was alive and feeling prevented from spending time with him, she left her grandparents' home and attempted to move in with him. Yet, soon after moving in, he began a romantic relationship with her friend, aged 15. This created a highly emotionally charged and complicated environment:

> *"I was taken into hospital because he turned around and asked me to kill myself, and so I took, I drunk a chemical out the kitchen cabinet, and then he pinned me up there, so he was asked to leave, and then social services came round in the morning…."*
>
> *(Elissa, Devon)*

And later, in our conversation:

> *"I had no phone because my dad took it all off me, and when I was up there, my bank card and that, so my mates and I got drunk that night; I had a little alcohol problem then. Because of that, I drank a bottle of vodka daily up my dad's."*
>
> *(Elissa, Devon)*

Elissa's father's relationship with her best friend was a source of great confusion as she could not understand why he would date someone when they 'had children older than her'. The experience led to Elisa's painful disillusionment in her belief that the man she had just moved in with could act like a father. This sofa-surfing arrangement had a

seriously negative impact on Elisa, namely suicidal ideation, self-harm, and problems with alcohol. She also could no longer return to her grandmother's home and eventually moved out and sought security via a Seeking Intimacy *cartography* (see Chapter 8).

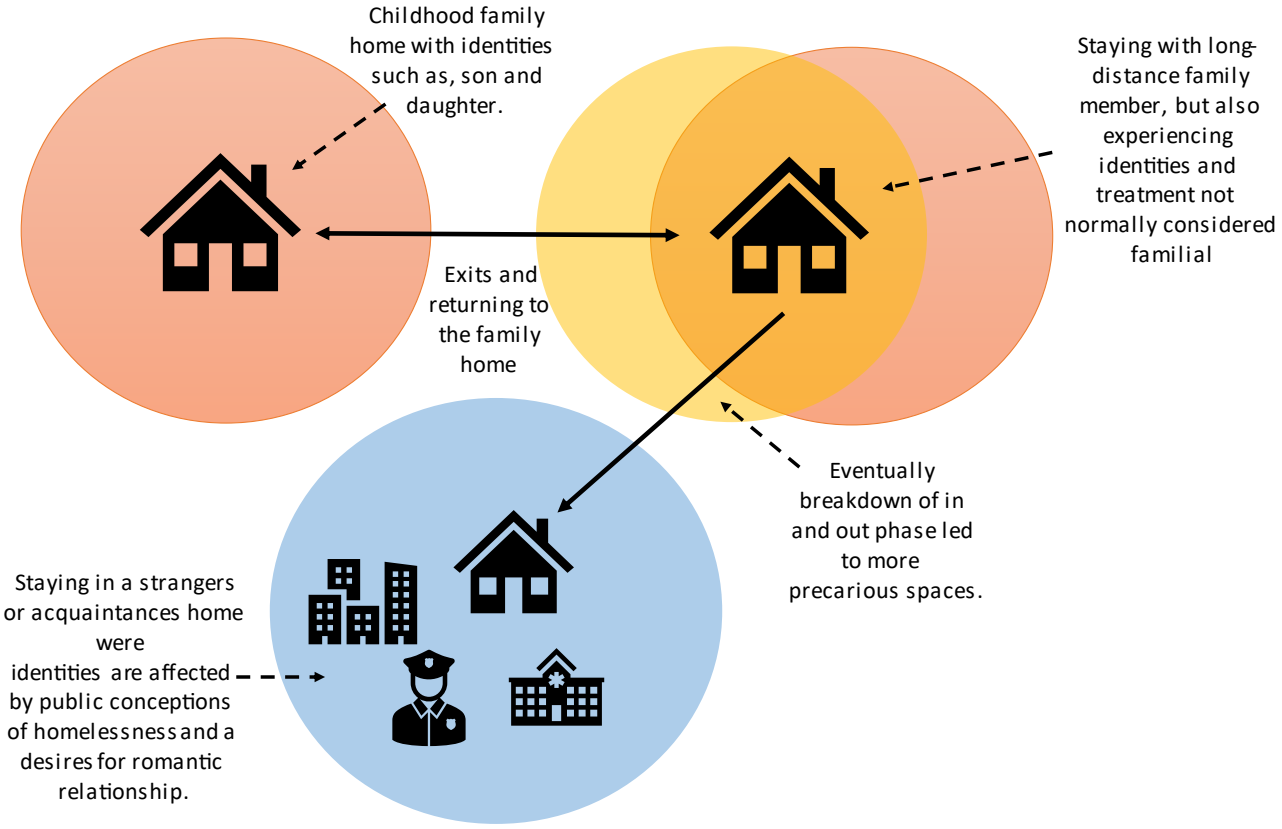

Figure 10. A visualisation of young making long-distance moves to distant family members and its consequences.

Thus, as illustrated in Figure 10 via the double-sided arrow between the orange and the orange and yellow overlapping circles, those whose *cartographies* Seek Home may adopt long-distance mobilities to pursue familial home spaces because of a perceived ideal of security, relational warmth, emotional ties and bestowed identities, in this case, father and daughter (Sommerville, 1992; Tuan, 2001). However, as Bowlby (2011) illustrated, young people often expect parents to be more willing to provide financial support for young people than their peers. However, these mobilities do not guarantee a sense of home, security, and care. I illustrate this breakdown of 'home' in Figure 10 by overlapping the orange and yellow circles. This overlap indicates that these

home spaces incorporate varied non-familial performance because acts of domestic abuse and violence leave the young person feeling homeless at 'home' (Brickell, 2012; Sommerville, 1992).

Again, then, in answering research question 1:

> How do different *cartographies*, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?

I find that the discourse of the ideal home and young people's pursuit and failure to find such space may discipline young people in a Seeking Home *cartography* into experiences of unworthiness. For example, young people who repeatedly fail to adopt and pursue (unconsciously) mobilities and spaces whereby they can perform identities associated with parent/child may internalise these experiences. Consequently, they no longer believe they deserve or can trust people who should offer security, relational warmth, and deep emotional ties (Butler, 2002; Cloke *et al.,* 2008). Importantly, Jolley (2020) warns us how these past spaces of repeated failure are the memories through which the potentiality of homeless lives becomes contained.

Nonetheless, some young people Seek Home via 'boomerang'-ing back to familial spaces in the wake of housing and employment crises (Tomaszczyka & Worth, 2020). Joseph moved away from his crowded three-bedroom house family home where he, his parents and three other siblings lived and moved to Devon to attend university and start a psychology course. However, at university, his long-distance relationship began to fail; he felt very isolated, lost motivation to complete the course, and ultimately dropped out. He then stayed in his friend's student house for two months and eventually

moved back to London to stay with his grandmother, who stated he could stay as long as necessary:

> *"My nan [also] understood the situation at home in it. So I didn't have to explain to her why I wasn't going back to my parents' house. And she was just like, 'Yep, cool. Come back'. I said, 'Look, I said I don't think I will be leaving very quickly."*
>
> *(Joseph, London)*

Thus, some young people who have moved from the family home may begin *cartographies* of Seeking Home via boomeranging after failing to develop an adult identity in the wider social domain (Ahmet, 2013). This experience is not uncommon as it takes young people up to 14 years to find a stable and well-paid job (Wyn & Andres, 2011), and young people have become increasingly dependent on parental gifts and loans to help them afford housing deposits (Heath & Calvert, 2013) and thus, increasing numbers of young people 'boomerang' back home after failing to find a secure place to live in the housing market (Tomaszczyka & Worth, 2018). Importantly, for young people like Joseph, who have parents who are financially and spatially strained (Hall, 2019b), a return home actually means returning to homelessness. Fortunately, his grandmother was happy to support him until he found a new, higher-paid job and better-quality housing.

In reflection on the mobilities of Seeking Home, young people move between, toward and near spaces of familiarity with varied experiences and outcomes. Firstly, some young people adopt proximate movements that lead to finding helper host spaces with reciprocal caring, a sense of home and child/parent identities that aid exits from

homelessness (McLoughlin, 2011; Bowlby, 2011). However, other young people cannot find caring helper hosts outside or within the home; this leads to 'in-and-out' mobility, eventually worsening temporal housing circumstances (Chamberlain & MacKenzie, 2006). Others, driven by ideals of home, adopt long-distance mobilities towards familial spaces and find extended family members willing to provide a secure place to stay while they find secure work and better accommodation. Still, for others, this return home may lead to emotional and physical abuse.

Much Better, But Not Forever:

In the following section, I explore the *cartographic* characteristics (space, mobility, identity) and the potential benefits of young people sofa-surfing with a member of their extended family for a prolonged period. Specifically, the effective parental-type performance offered by a grandparent host aids young people in finding secure housing. However, I emphasise that even these supportive host spaces are limited by the caring capacities of the hosts themselves or the young people's desire for autonomy that may feel infringed upon in spaces with extended family members. Consequently, while these spaces are much better than rough sleeping, they are not forever.

Firstly, John resided at his grandparents' one-bed bungalows after his relationship with his child's mother broke down. During this time, their grandfather attempted to financially support John's desire to access rental accommodation by gifting him money from his army pension (Heath & Calvert, 2013). This space also brokered opportunities for John to perform as a father in a local community. His neighbours bought his son a quad bike, and together, they helped his son fix it. Such experiences indicate the typical acts of financial care parents provide their children (Bowlby, 2011).

Also, this space afforded John a non-homeless identity, a father in his community. Despite the lack of space, I believe John felt he had a secure, albeit temporary, home environment (Sommerville, 1992). In this sense, grandparents' home spaces can help fulfil a young person's need for guardianship and facilitate their potential as parents:

> *Timothy: Like a flower, yes; at this point, I was a flower, slowly rising. Because at my grandfather's house, he taught me things I had never been taught.*
>
> *Interviewer: Okay, interesting. Go into that a little bit.*
>
> *Timothy: Like manners, for example, because I was crap at manners, or how you speak to people and that there are certain things you shouldn't say in infront of people*
>
> *(Timothy, Devon)*

Similarly, Timothy lived on a mattress on the floor at his grandfather's house for about six months, and he regarded this as a high point across multiple episodes of sofa-surfing. In contrast to his mother's home, the grandfather's house was clean, tidy and had a sense of order. Timothy also found that his grandfather acted as a male role model that he could imitate. Through imitation, Timothy showed respect and emotional reciprocity to his grandfather. Reciprocity is an essential indicator of caring relationships; thus, Timothy did not provide the financial value demanded by the Kantian ethic of commercial benefit. Instead, he cared, giving with his emotions and actions (Bowlby, 2011; McLoughlin, 2011). As such, grandparent hosts may also act as role models, and through imitation, young people learn new modes of being in non-homeless spaces and grow through relations of care.

However, in both cases, these positive and formative spaces did not provide a long-term solution because the host grandparents caring capacities were reduced by

poor health and differences in host/guest routines (Bowlby, 2011). For John, his grandfather's dementia created confusion and upset when John used the bathroom or shower. However, support from his grandfather eventually ensured he moved into a TSO-supported shared housing project. Timothy moved back into his mother's after finding his grandfather's home too strict. Namely, his grandfather would become angry if he made too much noise or played video games at night. Problematically, while he was freer to make noise, it was a far less pleasant place to live:

> *"I was on the sofa… in the morning [when] I couldn't sleep, I had to go into my mum's room. The number of men she'd returned with late at night, it's not very nice to sleep there."*
>
> (Timothy, Devon)

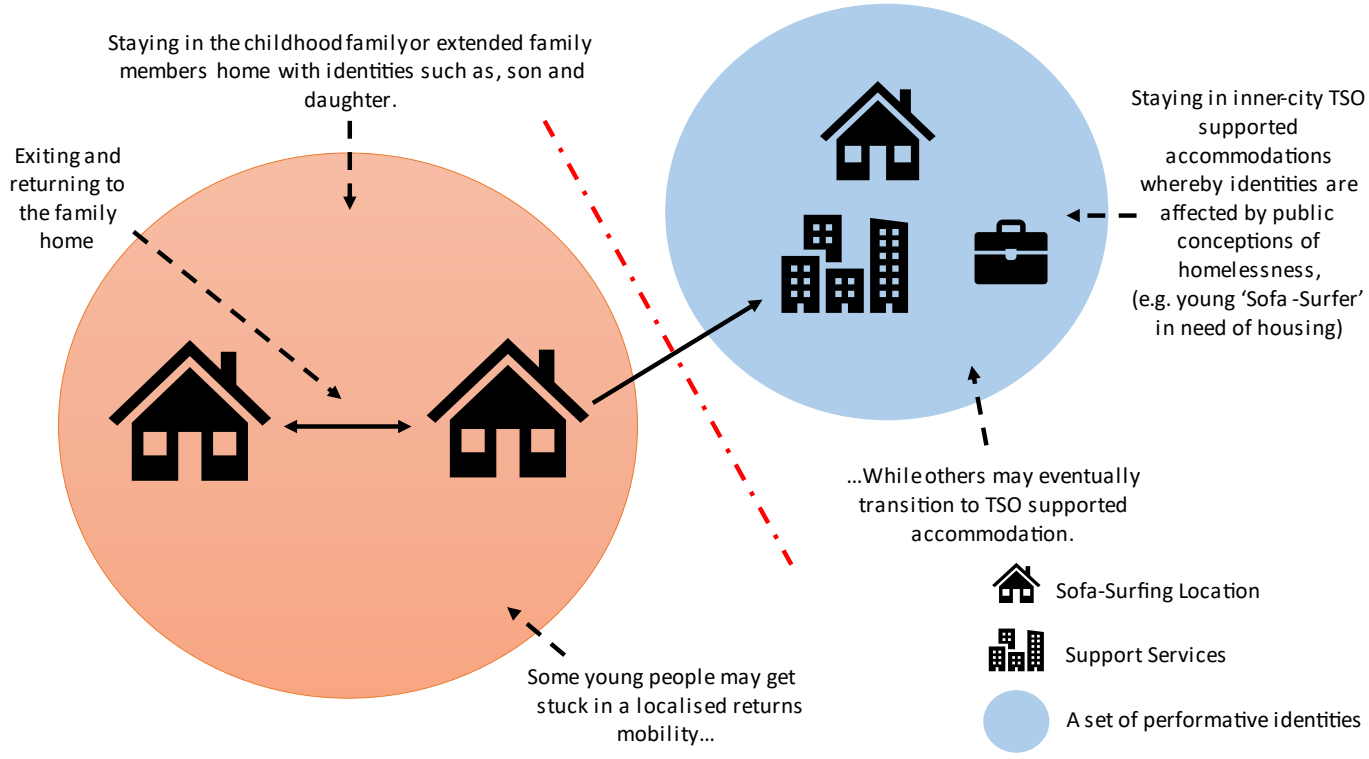

Figure 11. A visualisation of young people Seeking Home mobilities between familial spaces and how it can lead to TSO accommodation or localised in-and-out mobilities.

In answering research question 1, for those in a Seeking Home *cartography*, staying with extended family members, particularly grandparents, often offered young

people caring spaces that provide essential support, non-homeless identities, avoidance of stigma and perhaps a sense of home. As illustrated in the red circle in Figure 11 above, these hosts willingly adopted parental-type performances and thus afforded young people non-homeless identities of dependency (Butler, 2002). For example, John's grandfather offered financial support, access to a local community, space to raise their children, and a role model to imitate. In return, young people attempt to align their attention, imitative capabilities, and behaviours, in acts of reciprocation, to their hosts' desires and rules.

However, effective reciprocation is not easy in these spaces when care capacities are constrained by extended family members' poor health and differences in people's routines (Bowlby, 2011). Thus, as illustrated in Figure 11, whereby some move into the blue circle and access TSO-support, these secure and helpful arrangements can lead towards mobility and a bridge towards accessing accommodation. However, as illustrated in Figure 11, and in Timothy's case, some young people may get stuck in a cycle of dependency on familial spaces, eventually leading to worsening circumstances.

Diminishing the Familial Capacity to Care:

As stated above, parents and family members often offer hospitality and provide caring relationships because of their sense of duty. Nonetheless, while most hosts do not expect commercial benefits (McNulty, 2007), those in Seeking Home may be expected to reciprocate, respect, and follow the rules of the family member (Bowlby, 2011). However, suppose a dutiful host lacks the resources to care effectively, provide the guest with clear rules and maintain the authority to enforce them. In that case, young guests may exploit their family members' space. Thus, I explore a young person's overzealous use of space, which leads to the active breakdown of a host's, perhaps

fragile, sense of home and a worsening in the young person's sofa-surfing housing circumstances.

Flynn sofa-surfed briefly with his cousin, but in grieving his mother's recent death, he grew jealous of their family unit, wanted to leave, and decided instead to sleep rough. In Flynn's mind, his mother had been murdered, and the man who did it escaped justice. Unable to manage these highly traumatic events, Flynn states he turned to heavy drugs to cope with the pain. Having been sleeping rough, his younger brother said he could stay at his house if he contributed towards the rent; Flynn willingly accepted this offer, yet he neither paid his brother nor worked towards building a caring reciprocal relationship. Consequently, Flynn's brother repeatedly attempted, yet failed, to get him to leave:

> *"He isn't getting the better of me. He's the youngest… I used to disrespect him so much that I used to bring my mates around and party. He couldn't say shit because he couldn't come up to us. He'd be sitting in the corner of the room, [saying] 'This is my house!'… [I'd reply] 'Yeah? You let it happen!"*
>
> *(Flynn, Warwickshire)*

Flynn misuses his brother's initial goodwill to allow him to stay in his house by attempting to situate himself as the powerful older brother in control of space. He did this by encouraging his friends to come over, have parties, and 'walk all over' his brother, thus proving he was the oldest and most powerful sibling. This 'might is right' moral use of his brother's space allowed Flynn to perform, quite deliberately, an identity of strength and control while he also felt powerless due to the unjust death of his mother and his growing addictions. This reflects a previous study whereby a young person who had recently exited homelessness, feeling lonely, regularly invited his neighbour to his

flat to play on his PlayStation (Barker, 2014). However, they exploited him for food and alcohol and stole his PlayStation.

In this sense, young people can take control of vulnerable familial host spaces, which may otherwise be potentially secure and supportive, especially if past experiences of powerlessness tempt the guest towards exerting their power over someone more vulnerable than them. Importantly, unlike Elissa, who felt homeless living with her father, these hosts may also feel homeless in their homes (Sommerville, 1992). Eventually, after refusing to pay his rent, Flynn's brother lost the house, and they both became homeless.

Similarly, Libby provides an interesting insight into caring and dutiful hosts, allowing young people to create rules for themselves. However, without any reciprocation in care, these hosts' caring capacity declines, leading to a worsened housing situation for the guests. For context, Libby and her mother often have violent conflicts with each other; her mother was also suicidal and misused her pain medication. Similarly, Libby had already begun using large quantities of class-A drugs and would even beg for money in the city centre. Consequently, at 14, the social services decided that if the mother were to keep the younger brother, she must give up parental rights to Libby. Libby's aunt and grandmother offered her a caring and supportive place to stay:

> *"I was living with my aunty, with my gran…. I can share everyone's beds, you know what I mean, my aunty and that I'd say, 'I'm not sleeping on the sofa. You know what I mean, so it's quite good."*
>
> *(Libby, Devon)*

Interestingly, Libby could be quite demanding about using spaces, requiring her aunties and grandmother to share their beds. However, her aunties and grandmother's compliance suggest that Libby's family wanted to afford her a family member's identity.

This is further confirmed by past literature indicating that a normal guest would rarely be allowed to sleep in familial spaces (Bowlby, 2011). They hoped this willingness and desire to make their young niece/granddaughter feel at home, safe and secure would discourage her desire to go to the city centre, beg and use drugs. However, this extension of hospitality and care remained challenged by Libby's continued (and, for the family, distressing) desire for the autonomy to find places to use drugs, arguably a part of an attempt to forge identities in the wider social domain (Ahmet, 2013):

> *"[My family would] call the police on me every time I was in a town like knew I where I was, they'd just call the police… they just all like kicked off at me, like saying I was a smackhead, and like always getting pissed and that… and like doing drugs!"*
>
> ***(Libby, Devon)***

In this sense, concerned for their niece and granddaughter and unable to protect her by making their home spaces more inviting, they attempted to ban her from going to the city centre and called the police on her to get her brought home. However, Libby, troubled by her addiction, continued refusing the care and support of her family and instead opted to use drugs and beg on the street. Sadly, in these spaces, Libby was 'groomed' by older men. In her opinion, things 'just went to shit'. She experienced a highly complicated in-and-out trajectory until attending a substance rehabilitation clinic when she was 17. In this sense, Libby's familial host caring capacity became depleted as repeated attempts to care failed.

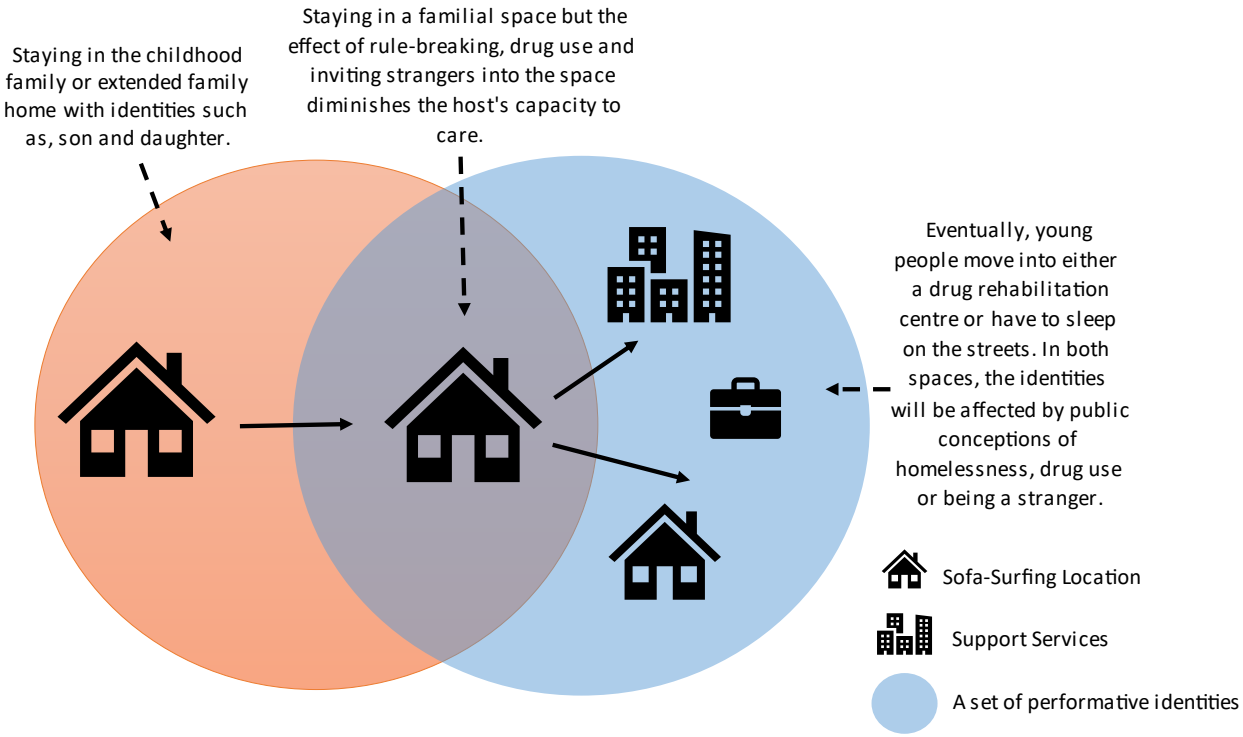

Figure 12. A visualisation of young people staying in familial space with a depleting capacity to care and provide hospitality.

In reflection, to answer research question 1, when Seeking Home, family members often feel a duty to care for and shelter their young people. This is illustrated in Figure 12 by the house in the orange circle, where identities are typically familial. However, the overlap of the orange and blue circles indicates an intrusion of otherness into familial identities because young people may manipulate a host's responsibility, forging identities of control that leave them feeling homeless at home (Barker, 2014; Sommerville, 1992). Secondly, hosts may make concessions on space to make their vulnerable young people feel at home and thus stay away from danger. Nonetheless, continued acts of defiance in the face of what the familial host feels is a best-interest decision leave them to conclude they cannot care as their guest do not reciprocate (Bowlby, 2011).

Consequently, as illustrated by the arrows pointing to the blue circle of Figure 12, young people engaged in these practices experienced a marked decline in their housing circumstances. In particular, they eventually had to move into urban spaces

where they would be readily identified as homeless. In this sense, reciprocal care must be present for a Seeking Home *cartography* to remain supportive and functional. However, factors such as resources within the host space, mental and physical health, the guests' desire for autonomy, the experience of trauma, the use of drugs, and the need for control all affect the potentiality of caring relations and, thus, the potentiality of a Seeking Home supported homeless exit.

A Lack of Duty:

McLoughlin (2011) argued that hosts of young people sofa-surfing only offer a tenuous place to live unless they hold a strong sense of duty or the guest pays for their right to remain. So far, except for Elissa, whose father failed to provide care, I find those whose *cartographies* Seek Home find familial hosts with a sense of duty that affords, even if finance, space, rules and health act as constraints, identities, and opportunities, to create caring reciprocity and a sense of home. I have also suggested that if young people reciprocate through imitation, rule acceptance, friendship, and emotional involvement, these Seeking Home spaces offer good opportunities to connect with the local community and charities and access housing. Nonetheless, I now explore how young people's expectations of duty can create a false sense of security. The young people below enter familial spaces with a less visible yet reduced capacity to care. This leads to high-risk sofa-surfing and other homeless spaces because they do not expect family members to evict or leave them without support.

After his father's death, Adrian's family began to fall apart, and many of his brothers and sisters stopped talking to each other. Eventually, his relationship with his stepfather became violent, and his mother told him he needed to leave. Under these circumstances, he reached out to a brother who surprisingly said, '*Come down to*

Plymouth; you are not homeless'. This opportunity thus offered Adrian a space to reconnect with family, something Adrian felt to be important after his father's death, but also to protect his identity from the stigma of homelessness (Parsell, 2011) and be a brother instead. He said it was a positive experience for around two months before his older brother disappeared one day, leaving Adrian destitute:

> *"He just got up and left and took all his stuff… we had submitted a missing person report; the police found him in Somerset somewhere. And I was like, "What, what's he doing over there?". Then they turned to me and said, 'he doesn't want to be seen or contacted'… [His ex-girlfriend] said, "I'm moving in with my grandparents. You can't stay here.".*
>
> *(Adrian, Plymouth)*

Adrian expected that the brotherly relationship warranted prewarning before being left destitute. Otherwise put, he felt their familial relationship granted greater reciprocity of care (Bowlby, 2011). Instead, unaware of the reduced capacity of care created by instability in his brother's romantic relationship, he was left shocked and feeling betrayed, unsure how best to deal with his situation. In this city where his brother left him, Adrian had no social networks to facilitate sofa-surfing and thus temporarily turned to rough sleeping. This shift in spatial inhabitation from a family home to sleeping rough in the city centre forced a change in identification from non-homelessness to identities associated with street homelessness (May *et al*., 2007), and for Adrian, recovery from this decline took several years of engaging in the Those Who Wander *cartography* (see Chapter 9).

Finally, Cameron's family refused to provide a sense of home as he transitioned towards adulthood and expected him to take responsibility for his shelter at 17:

"I've been all over the place. Yeah. So, I was living with my mom. My mom didn't want me. When I moved in with my dad, we had problems. Then, I moved in with my grandma. And she said she wanted our house back to herself. And she would only do that by kicking me out…. she wanted me to stand on my own two feet… I wasn't ready to leave…"

(Cameron, 19, Devon)

Cameron moved through various familial spaces. His family collectively concluded that offering no shelter and a sense of home would encourage him to be independent. For example, his grandmother did not enjoy sharing her small house with Cameron and thus decided not to offer a secure space of warmth and deep social connection (Sommerville, 1992). Instead, while the council, notified of his homelessness, organised emergency TSO accommodation, she offered care only by allowing him to return after a night of rough sleeping for food and a wash. In this sense, a familial lack of duty may be considered on their part as a 'tough love' approach, whereby they restrict the provision of care in the hope of encouraging positive change (Milliken, 2007). Finally, while this approach did help Cameron get housed quickly, lacking consistent familial support, Cameron proceeded to spend £5,000 in compensation from a bike accident on alcohol and cocaine.

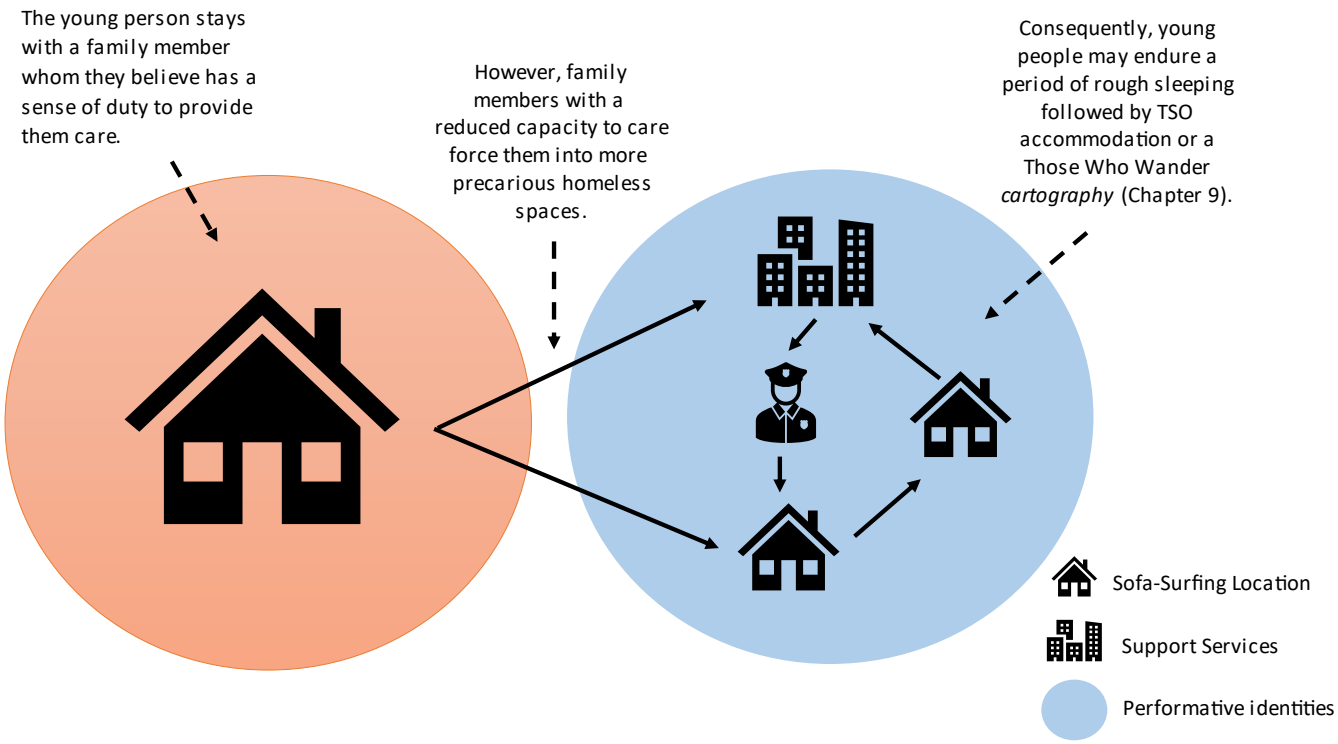

Figure 13. A visualisation of young people who find a lack of duty in familial host spaces.

Overall, I identify the risk of misguided faith when depending on family spaces for those in a Seeking Home *cartography*. For example, people's belief in a family member's sense of duty to care left Adrian unprepared when the space broke down, which led to the adoption of stigmatised homeless identities and longer-term complex *cartographic* uses of space and mobility (see Chapter 9). Figure 13 exemplifies this shift via the arrow from the orange to the blue circle. On the other hand, familial hosts do not provide the care associated with the ideals of home, such as spatial security, emotional depth, and warmth (Sommerville, 1992), and instead offer a tough love approach towards promoting independence. Again, this is exemplified by the shift from the red to the blue circle in Figure 13. Nonetheless, the hosts' romantic relationships and property size seemingly affected their capacity for caring (Bowlby, 2011).

In this sense, most whose *cartographies* Seek Home reflect a pursuit of space that offers non-homeless identities, caring relations, and a sense of home, yet young people and TSOs alike should recognise the risk of an unexpected breakdown due to a

host romantic relationship, unexpected approaches to caring and love, and small house sizes. Acknowledging this finding, TSO and statutory support should also assist young people in becoming more prepared for a possible breakdown (see Chapter 12).

Conclusion:

In answering research question 1:

> How do different *cartographies*, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?

I have identified the *cartography* of those who Seek Home. This *cartography* is defined by people who prioritise or stay near familial hosts. This *cartography* produces three key types: mobility, identity and outcome. For example, young people move quickly into a dutiful and caring familial host that quickly access TSO accommodation. Secondly, young people who leave home to create autonomous adult identities but repeatedly return as their needs for security and safety are unmet by their hosts. Finally, a desire for a sense of home leads young people to make long-distance leaps towards familial spaces. This leap can lead young people into long-term supportive spaces, facilitating a homeless exit or spaces of neglect and emotional abuse. Overall, the spaces of Seeking Home *cartography* create varied mobilities. Their outcome depends on whether host/guest capacities for reciprocal care facilitate the potential of exiting homelessness.

Secondly, I explored the potential benefits and limitations of Seeking Home spaces. Firstly, I stated that, compared to rough sleeping and other *cartographies* of sofa-surfing (see Chapters 8-10), Seeking Home spaces can be safe and supportive. For example, hosts in people's extended families provided financial support, small yet

relatively secure spaces to stay, connections to the local community, non-homeless identity (e.g., grandson and father) and access to TSO accommodation. Nonetheless, I emphasise that this support is *temporary* because while young people reciprocated care through imitation and following their host's home rules, the health, age and vulnerability of hosts, house size, and young people's long-term willingness to follow the rules reduce this capacity for care and reciprocation. Thus, while John's Seeking Home space supported him in accessing TSO accommodation, Timothy, as explored above (see p. 105), continued a process of localised in and out mobilities.

Finally, I explored in greater detail the limitations of Seeking Home spaces and their relationship with more precarious Seeking Home mobilities and other *cartographies*. For example, young people Seeking Home can diminish their familial host's capacity to care, adopting non-reciprocal performances of control over host space or refusing to abide by rules created by hosts. Alternatively, underlying expectations of home-like security and duty of care leave young people unprepared for host abandonment or a tough-love approach toward facilitating housing independence. Such circumstances caused, respectively, periods of rough sleeping, long-term localised in-and-out mobilities, a Those Who Wander *cartography* (see Chapter 9) and quick, yet questionable, access to TSO accommodation.

In summary, and returning to the research question 1: How do different cartographies, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing? I have found that the *cartography* of those who Seek Home means those who pursue or return to familial spaces. These spatial preferences create associated mappable themes of experience associated with the expectation and often provision of care. Those Seeking Home also

have localised and occasionally long-distance mobilities and often experience a complex dialogue between desires for familial and autonomous adult identities. Finally, outcomes often vary depending on the familial host's socio-economic factors (e.g., house size), instability in their romantic relationships and house rules, which may conflict with the guest's expectations or desires for autonomy. This conflict then affected people's capacity to reciprocate care and led to varied inter- and intra-*cartographic* outcomes.

Chapter 8
Using Intimacy and Overstaying

Introduction:

This chapter explores the *cartographies* of Seeking Intimacy and Overstaying. These *cartographies* focus on two variations in a sofa-surfer's desired and practised relationship with a non-familial host, which affects the mappable relationships of space, identity and mobilities. Briefly, Seeking Intimacy here is not necessarily restricted to romance but rather the complex interplay of physical and embodied intimacy, emotional intimacy, and intimate knowledge (Morgan, 2009). Young people who Seek Intimacy with their hosts may use social media to relocate frequently, form brief and novel romantic bonds, or move in with a partner out of necessity. I also explore the intimate familial-like relationships young people create while sofa-surfing that offer temporal feelings of home via acts of care and togetherness (Bowlby, 2011; Jarvis, 2019). I will also attempt to explain the complexities regarding how these spaces can be maintained and how preconceptions of home and duty, like those Seeking Home, may lead to arrangements ending unexpectedly.

Secondly, this study identifies that people often *Overstay* their welcome when sofa-surfing. This *cartography's* uniqueness is that a young person experiences high levels of care, immobility, or access to non-homeless identities and would prefer to stay long-term with the host. However, over time, perhaps even suddenly, it becomes clear that they are no longer wanted and need to leave. Alternatively, hosts can attempt to prevent mobilities beyond their homes by ascribing guilt and low self-worth identities to the guests. Thus, below, I shall first explore the *cartographic* experiences of those Seeking Intimacy, followed by those Overstaying.

Seeking Intimacy

Social Media, Strangers and Sofa-Surfing:

Young people who sofa-surf often use social media to befriend strangers or acquaintances and find places to stay informally. I discovered that this utilisation of social media leads to unique types of mobilities, space and performative identities. Darius states that sending women a proposal via Facebook Messenger to spend an evening together and drink alcohol was the easiest way to avoid sleeping on the streets. It also likely met Darius' less conscious need for connection, intimacy, validation, and friendship:

> *"[I'd] go on Facebook, so I'm messaging birds: 'What are you doing tonight? What are you doing?... Are you having a drink? Cop a drink, and BAM, they've fallen asleep. BAM, I've got a roof over my head. Then worry about tomorrow. It costs a lot of money to do that!"*
>
> *(Darius, South Yorkshire).*

Above, Darius describes asking girls in his local town whether he could stay and offering to bring alcohol and offer payments in kind. He then explains how he often remained at these women's houses until he got tired of them. In this account, he suggests that he controlled how long each arrangement lasted, and if he had wished, perhaps a longer-term relationship could have developed. Nonetheless, he ensured these situations remained transactional by providing a commercial benefit (free alcohol) in return for shelter and short-term companionship (McNulty, 2007). For Darius, this pursuit of temporary physical intimacy, not emotional nor intimate knowledge, was the best way to stave off the risks of rough sleeping (Morgan, 2009). However, this attempt

to meet a need for care, shelter, and non-homeless identity via short-term physical intimacy highlights a simultaneous avoidance of strategies to cultivate 'togetherness', such as skilful dialogue, embracing necessary conflict, and building a shared vision (Jarvis, 2019), that could also have enabled new emotional intimacy and knowledge and facilitated a supportive and reciprocal caring relationship (Morgan, 2009; Bowlby, 2011).

Somewhat different from West Yorkshire, Emma would move long distances for short periods and stay with strangers she met through Snapchat. At 14, Emma found living with her mother unbearable, so she moved into her grandparents' home. However, she noted how she often felt she never interacted with anyone because her grandparents worked very long hours and were rarely around to provide company. This loneliness encouraged Emma to reach out and forge relationships with people online, particularly men in their later teens, and stay with them. This helped her escape the loneliness she experienced while living at her grandparents' home, albeit briefly:

> *"The furthest I went to was Coventry… I had them on Snapchat, and they said, 'You could stay with me…."*
>
> *(Emma, West Yorkshire)*

However, later in the interview, she also spoke about how these experiences had eventually led her to be referred to a child exploitation service:

> *"While I was going missing [from my aunties], I got referred to a [local charity], which was just a charity for young girls that were going through, like, child exploitation and stuff like that. We did all the work behind it. And then she was kind of just my support person. And she'd ring me up every week."*
>
> *(Emma, West Yorkshire)*

Driven to escape the loneliness of Seeking Home-related space, Emma willingly travelled long distances and put herself into highly risky situations to develop meaningful interpersonal connections. However, these situations were regarded, in retrospect, as child exploitation. Yet, to emphasise how difficult home life was for Emma, she maintains that these places were preferable to living with her mother:

> *"The people I just did not get along with, but I got along with them better than my mum; that is why I stayed so long."*
>
> *(Emma, West Yorkshire)*

This points to the depth and risks people will go to develop caring relationships that facilitate feelings of togetherness and intimacy (Jarvis, 2019; Morgan, 2009), particularly when young people feel painfully disconnected from a sense of home and lacking in the sense of belonging, physical security and emotional connection it should provide (Sommerville, 1992). Emma risked her safety in pursuit of emotional and intimate knowledge and relationships of care with others, taking brave mobilities into new spaces. Unfortunately, this desire for connectedness to people was misused. She states that they often tried to get her drunk when she stayed and, beyond that, did not wish to disclose any more information. In this sense, vulnerable young people without a sense of home may adopt long-distance mobilities to seek host relationships founded on emotional reciprocity and intimacy but instead find host hospitality founded on a commercial benefit, namely sex (McNulty, 2007; Hallet, 2016).

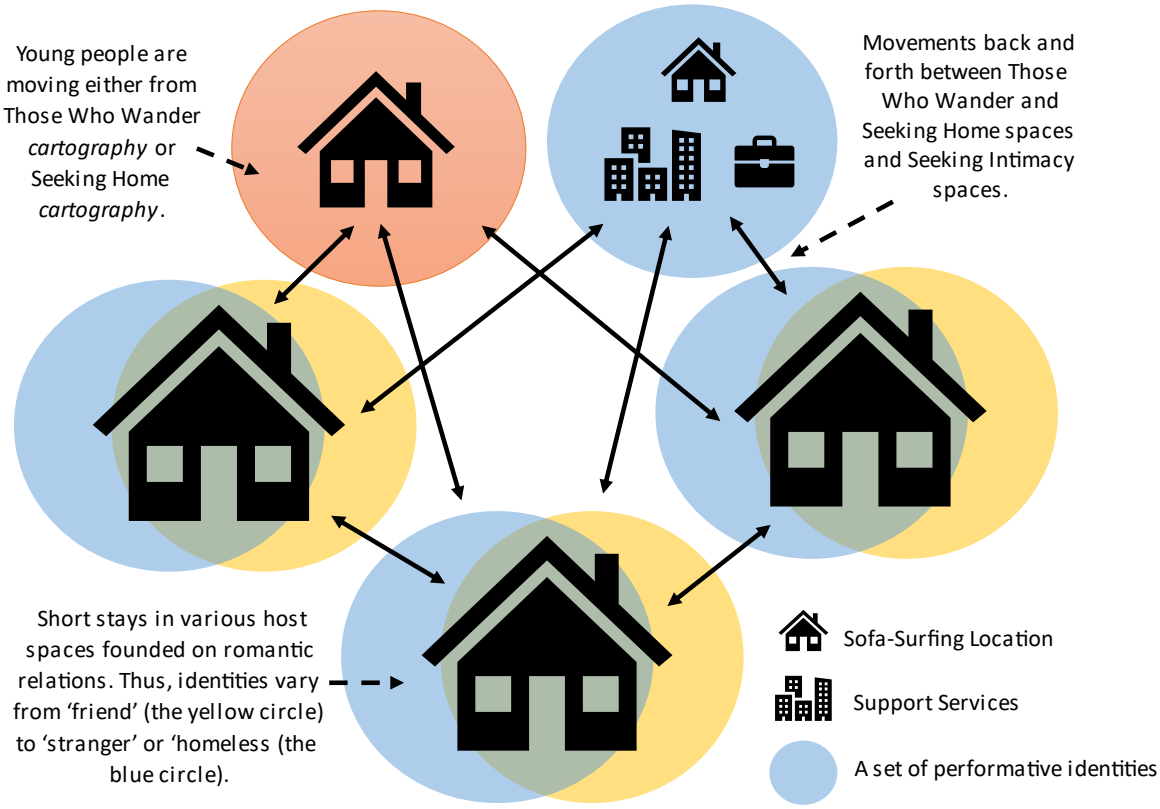

Figure 14. A visualises young people's use of short-term romantic relationships while sofa-surfing.

In answering research question one, young people experiencing homelessness can adopt a Seeking Intimacy *cartography* whereby they use social media to find spaces to rest temporarily or hope for a longer-term feeling of togetherness and intimacy (Jarvis, 2019; Morgan, 2009). However, while using social media to find formal spaces to live has become normal (Parkinson *et al.,* 2021), these informal arrangements, ultimately founded on a transactional relationship between host/guest (McNulty, 2007), often only generated unstable or exploitative spaces, frequent mobilities between arrangements (whether local or long-distance) and temporal access to non-homeless identities. These frequent mobilities into unsafe environments are illustrated in Figure 14 via the arrows to the various houses in the blue and yellow overlapping circles.

For some young people, these hospitality ethics, mobilities and identities may be preferable, as they would rather avoid emotional intimacy and the expectation of

reciprocal caring. However, other young people who had initially hoped their hosts would accept mutual emotional caring and intimacy instead felt exploited when they felt forced to offer sexual payments-in-kind. As such, TSO should be aware that those Seeking Intimacy may be avoiding relationships of emotional depth, and thus perhaps difficult to support, or antipodally at risk of exploitation because they pursue said relational type and maybe need to offer a meaningful alternative. In summary, the Seeking Home *cartography* creates uniquely chaotic mobilities in strangers' home spaces that may prevent engagement with support and lead to exploitation.

Seeking or Utilising Long-Term Partnerships:

Young people also felt they had no other option but to depend upon existing intimate (and romantic) relationships to avoid rough sleeping and formalised services. Often, these spaces were a nodal point of shelter alongside another *cartography*. For example, Finley, while employing a Those Who Wander *cartography* (see Chapter 9), spent his nights squatting in different empty local houses but also used his girlfriend's parent's house as a place of respite where he could clean his clothes and shower. This, he states, made the experience of squatting more bearable.

Similarly, during his Short-Term Sofa-Surfing (see Chapter 10), Ahmed's girlfriend would only allow him to stay on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays when her parents were on a night shift. However, he always had to ensure he was out of the house by morning because the parents would not consent to him staying:

> *"Whenever her parents would go on a night shift, she [my girlfriend] would say 'come over'."*
>
> *(Ahmed, South Yorkshire)*

Thus, while Ahmed had three regular days where he could access a space, bound together by shared intimacy, with his girlfriend, for the other four days a week, he would have to find other places to sleep opportunistically. Nonetheless, his other hosts, namely friends' parents, also became suspicious of his need to 'sleepover'. For Ahmed, this suspicion forced him to sleep rough as he wanted to keep his homeless circumstances hidden. Fortunately, he was found by a team of voluntary sector workers looking for people sleeping on the streets, who quickly helped him access temporary accommodation.

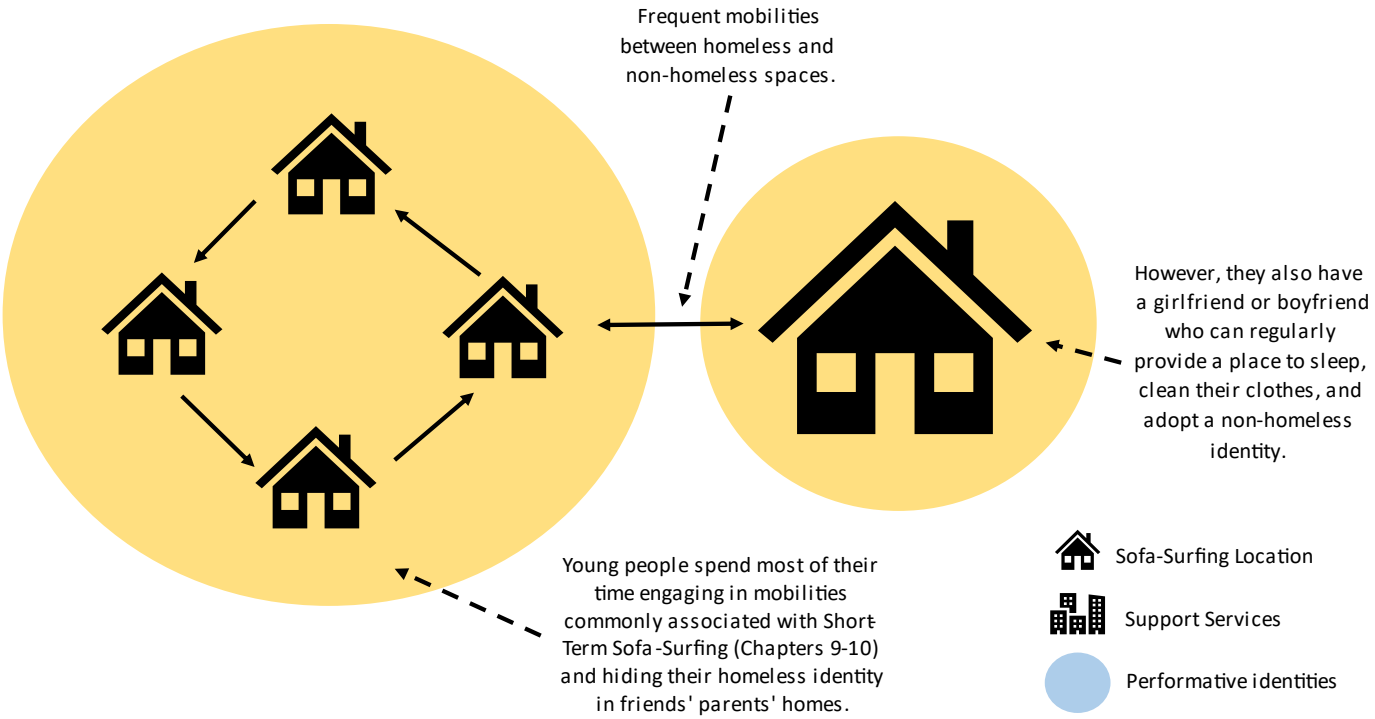

Figure 15. A visualisation of young people's movements between friendly spaces and romantic spaces.

Thus, as illustrated in Figure 15, young people may move routinely between friends' parents' houses, signified by the houses in the large yellow circle and their romantic partners' spaces. Importantly, in both spaces, they are considered non-homeless. First, by hiding their homelessness from the parental hosts, these guests ensure temporal access to micro-home-like spaces. Second, they are attracted to their romantic partner's space and offer brief places to access food, shelter, and other non-

homeless identities: boyfriend, girlfriend, and partner. This reflects Cloke *et al.'s* (2008) study, which recognised how spaces of, in this case, hidden homelessness act as nodal points for other purposes such as friendship, food, and shelter. Also, they find moments of home, for example, emotional warmth and bestow non-homeless identities and physical security through intimate relationships (Morgan, 2009; Jolley, 2020).

However, in hiding their homelessness from their hosts, for example, by pretending to have a sleepover, young people experience the reduced potential of hosts providing support and encouraging short-term stays (McCoy & Hug, 2016). In this sense, a young person's romantic partner offers a reliable yet short-term node of home-like intimacy. However, this home-like intimacy is embedded among other *cartographies* characterised by short-term or long-term unpredictable mobilities and less caring host spaces (e.g., Those Who Wander and Short-Term Sofa-Surfing). Consequently, and indicated by the lack of arrows pointing towards support services in Figure 15, these spaces do not offer support that facilitates an exit from homelessness.

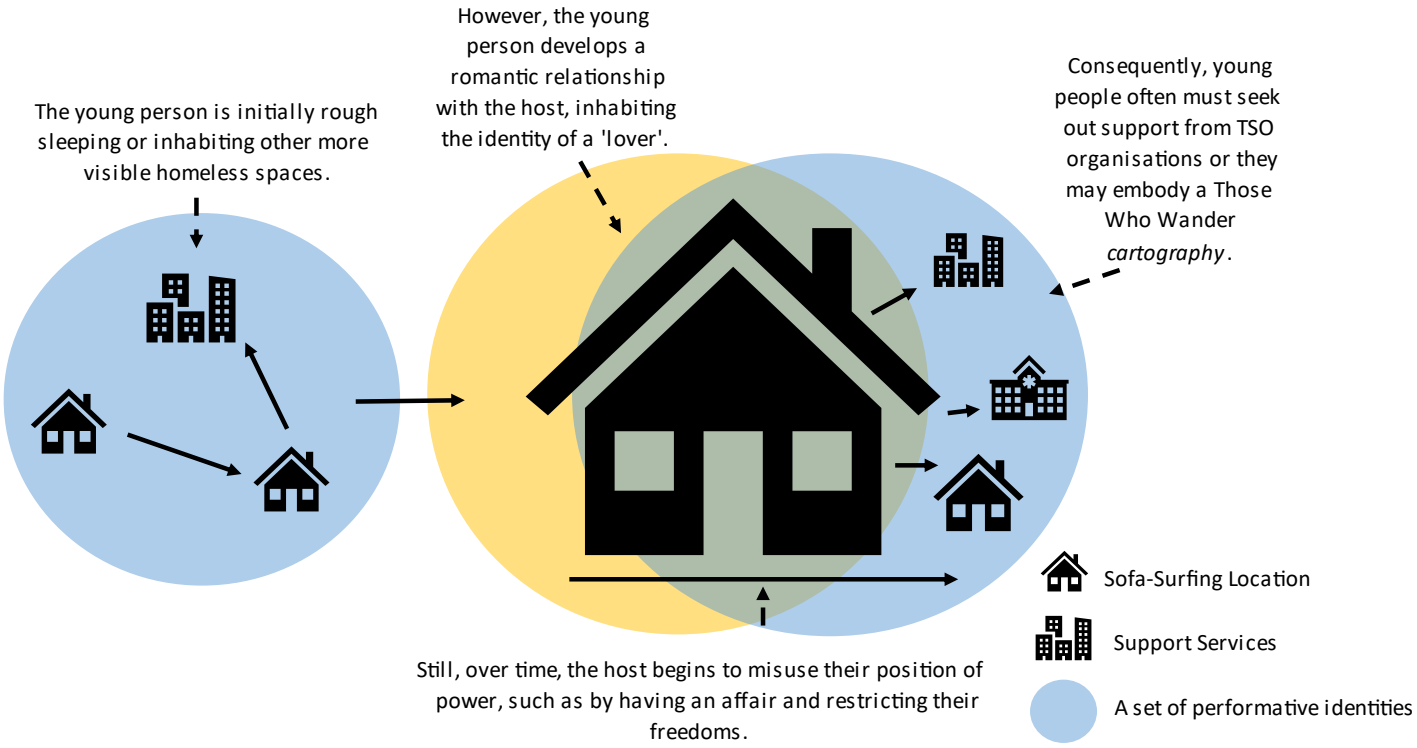

Figure 16. A visualisation of young people depending on a long-term romantic relationship to avoid rough sleeping.

Alternatively, a *cartographic* approach that Seeks Intimacy may lead to dependency on long-term exploitative romantic relationships to avoid rough sleeping. This is depicted in Figure 16 by the transfer from the blue circle to the blue and yellow circle overlapping, which signifies a process whereby the performative identities move from something approximating a friend or lover to an unworthy guest and homeless. For example, Shane highlights the temptation to enter relationships with someone who could provide shelter when one has been sleeping rough. However, his girlfriend's capacity to make him homeless created a power imbalance between the partners, leading to exploitative and harmful relationships:

"So once again, I became homeless. I then fell into a relationship about six months later. It was like I was with her to get a roof over my head… I was with her for a year… I would do everything for her. I would cook, I would clean. And

although that seems like the perfectly normal thing for any caring boyfriend to do, it was that she would never let me out."

(Shane, Wiltshire)

Shane depicts a situation where he consciously attempted to perform a 'good boyfriend' role, completing a large proportion of the domestic work to ensure harmony in their domestic space and maintain his girlfriend's hospitality (Goffman, 2002). Thus, young people may pursue intimate spaces, such as physical, knowledge and emotional (Morgan, 2009), while avoiding rough sleeping. However, this may lead to spaces lacking caring relationships and prioritising a Kantian hospitality ethic. As Shane states, he was consistently accused of having relationships with other women, even though his girlfriend rarely allowed him to leave the house.

Eventually, as depicted in Figure 16 by the arrows pointing towards TSO services in the blue circle, it became clear she was unfaithful and forced him to leave. Thus, rather than a host/guest relationship founded on emotional reciprocity and intimate caring, such as cultivating shared interests and understanding each other's needs and desires (Bowlby, 2011), Shane describes tenuous hospitality founded on transactional 'good boyfriend' payments in kind (McNulty, 2007) still subject to end whenever the host decides. In answering research question 1, young people Seeking Intimacy may desire shelter and affection but then enter long-term relationships that provide uncaring spaces founded on tenuous Kantian hospitality.

The Creation of Kin-Like Bonds:

Finally, like Hall (2019b), I recognise that young people whose *cartographies* Seek Intimacy with their hosts cannot be constrained to the 'romantic' because they also develop familial-like relationships with their peers. By this, I mean young people attempt

to create home-like spaces by building emotional depth and through acts of togetherness with friends and strangers (Sommerville, 1992; Jarvis, 2019). For example, Jenna was adopted at a young age, and her consistent use of cannabis caused her adoptive father to ask her to move out. Proceeding from this exit, she recounts how TSO and statutory services repeatedly failed to provide her younger brother with a stable place to live. This leads to service fatigue - a mistrust of the services' capacity to provide effective support - which encourages young people to sofa-surf, squat, and rough sleep (Mayock & Parker, 2020).

Consequently, Jenna gave up on services that could help her exit homelessness and attempted to build a makeshift family, united partly due to their common sufferings. This family, consisting of Jenna, her boyfriend and two other young men, lived together in a disabled couple's flat:

> Jenna: *That's where we stayed for ages – a good couple of months. It was like we were all family, the people who remained in the rooms: me [and the others].*
>
> Interviewer: *A supportive friend group at the time?*
>
> Jenna: *It was nice for all of us to be together.*
>
> Interviewer: *What was the setup where you all slept?*
>
> Jenna: *There was a double bed that [my boyfriend and I] stayed on, a double bed that Phil stayed on, and [the other one slept] on the floor without anything.*

Jenna shares her experience of residing with her friends in a flat belonging to vulnerable hosts, a disabled couple, for a few months. They developed a strong camaraderie during this time, almost like a family. In her narrative, she also mentions that all of them, including the hosts, used to consume marijuana together. The people

sofa-surfing worked together to help keep the flat tidy and pool finances to help the hosts pay rent. Thus, while it was unpleasant and cramped to live in, all played a small part in keeping the space bearable, providing financial benefits to the hosts and sharing leisure time, and this provided a sense of familial-like connectedness she had felt deprived of.

Similarly, Jarvis (2019) found that marginalised people and hosts developed a togetherness by congregating and supporting each other through courageous acts of care. Consequently, these young people developed a temporal sense of home, with emotional depth, belonging, security, and reciprocal caring relationships (May, 2000). Nonetheless, this space did not help her exit homelessness; these relations, combined with service fatigue, only made her immediate circumstances more comfortable, and after this arrangement ended unexpectedly, Jenna would a Those Who Wander *cartography* (Chapter 9).

Alternatively, Nate formed an intimate platonic relationship with a lady he called Aunty. Nate describes how the relationship with his mother felt irredeemable after being arrested for arson in his family flat. Consequently, he began staying with 'Aunty', a lady he had not known prior, and this relationship lasted for several years:

> *"She is not an aunty, a close friend of the family, but I call her 'Aunty' out of respect. So, this is like a random stranger on the street that I know well. So, it is nice of her to take me under her wing."*
>
> *(Nate, Devon)*

Moreover, Nate gives an account that further illustrates why she continued to deserve such an identity when the arrangement finally came to an end:

"So those two nights on the park bench. So, I did stay on the phone with Aunty. I was on the phone, and she found the number for [the homeless team]. It was like, three, four o'clock in the morning. This was my second night of being homeless. She told me to ring this number, and it was the homeless team, and they got me a B&B."

(Nate, Devon)

Specifically, after feeling rejected and excluded from his family home, Aunty provided Nate with a secure place to stay for two years. He describes a space offering a depth of emotional connection, smoking cannabis, and the non-homeless identity of 'nephew', thus a familial member of the house worthy of care. Also, even after having to leave her house due to concerns forwarded by the council about its safety, she remained emotionally involved in Nate's life. As stated, while Nate had to sleep rough for two nights, Aunty talked to him on the phone throughout the night. As such, although Aunt's care became constrained by her housing quality and thus no longer able to provide shelter, she remained helpful, offering an important caring relationship for Nate and signposting him when he needed it most (Bowlby, 2011). In this sense, even when a non-familial 'helpers' hospitality ends, they may still treat their sofa-surfing young person as a part of their family of choice (Donovan *et al.,* 2003) and hold a sense of duty that assists young people in rehousing.

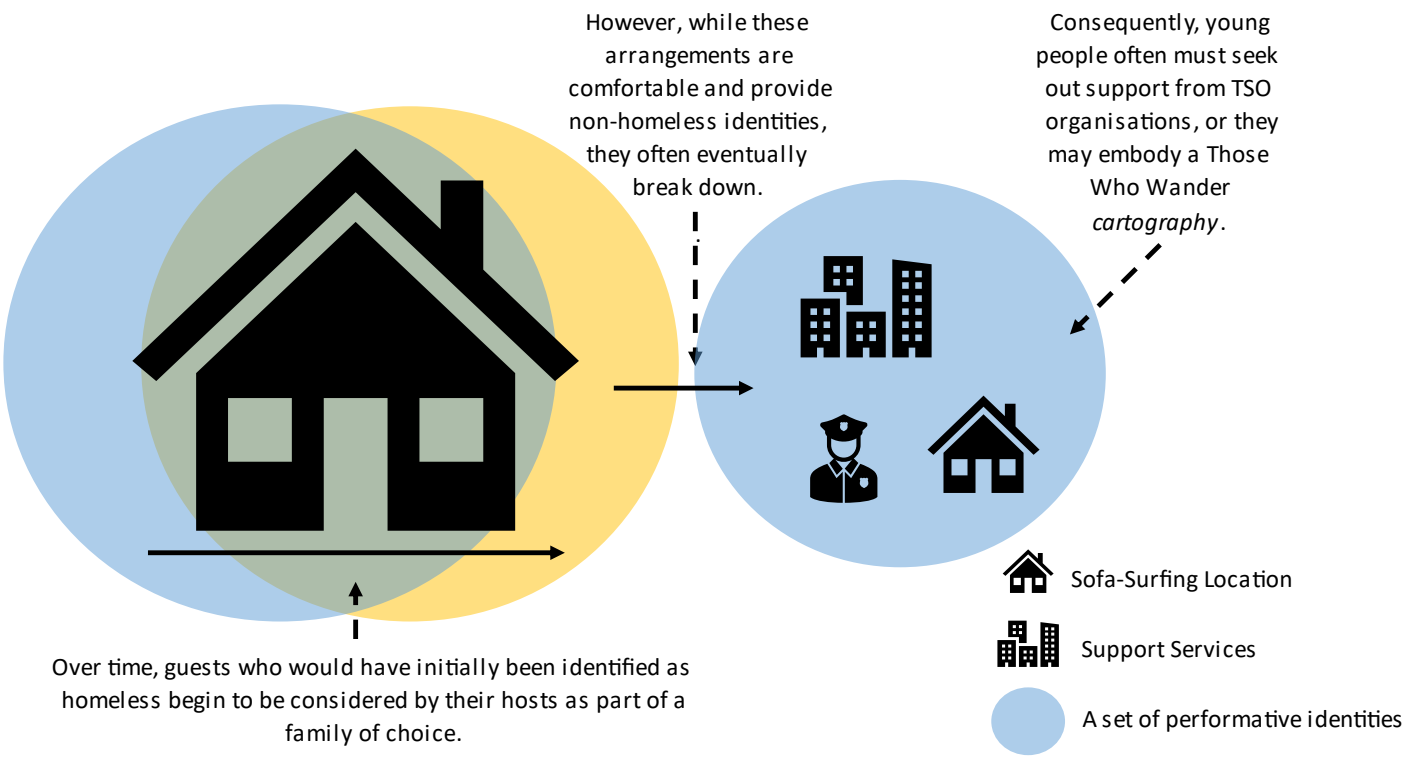

Figure 17. The development of close bonds between host and guest before the arrangement breaks down.

Overall, young people Seeking Intimacy avoid rough sleeping by cultivating togetherness with peers (Jarvis, 2019) or a familial-like relationship that provides a sense of home (Donovan *et al.,* 2003) and, in some cases, can support young people towards finding more independent accommodation. This process is exemplified in Figure 17 by the overlapping blue and yellow circles, whereby the blue indicates identities associated with being a stranger and the yellow a friend. For Jenna, fatigued by service failure and deprived of emotional depth and a sense of belonging, peer togetherness generated via young sofa-surfers mutually supporting each other (Jarvis, 2019) provided her with a desirable insight into the home, feeling she belonged, was safe and cared for (Sommerville, 1992). For Nate, 'Aunty' provided shelter until her housing quality reduced her capacity to care.

Nonetheless, as illustrated in Figure 17 via the arrow between the yellow and blue circles, these arrangements eventually break down. Namely, while these families

of choice may withhold a sense of duty beyond mere hosting, facilitating the emotional support and even access to information needed to get housed, they do not offer an effective long-term solution to people experiencing homelessness, and as in Jenna's case, may lead to a worsening of circumstances.

Reflections:

Reflecting on research question 1:

How do different *cartographies*, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?

Those Seeking Intimacy embody a *cartography* of three types of intimate relationships: predicting risk, mobility, and outcome. Each remains an attractive option amidst housing uncertainty, as pursuing intimacy *could* provide a depth of knowledge, emotions and physical touch (Morgan, 2009) that would provide an escape from the homeless identity and, instead, feelings of togetherness, reciprocal care and home. However, each bears its unique mobilities, risks and complications. For example, some rely on social media and adopt chaotic, unsettled mobilities to stay with strangers; others, relatively immobile, depend on a long-term partner. However, these arrangements founded on Kantian hospitality lack consistent long-term caring relations; thus, a decline in housing circumstances is highly likely.

Moreover, young people may secretly utilise their partner's parents' space, which affords moments of intimacy, care and non-homeless identity embedded with the chaotic mobilities of Those Who Wander and Short-Term Sofa-Surfing *cartographies* (see Chapters 9-10). Finally, people build familial-like bonds, providing a period of immobility, security, and a sense of home. However, these spaces cannot always afford

a route towards more independent accommodation, and even in Nate's case, the process of being supported into accommodation by his 'Aunty' was messy, and Jenna's led to worsening circumstances. As such, those whose *cartographies* Seek Intimacy may have both stable and unpredictable mobilities; these spaces, like those Seeking Home, may provide physical intimacy, relief from the homeless identity, togetherness and a sense of home. However, this desire for intimacy and shelter can create power imbalances between host and guest, highly transactional hospitality that exploits the young person's sofa-surfing or unpreparedness for breakdown, leading to worsening circumstances.

Overstaying

Security:

Like the other *cartographies* of those Seeking Home or Intimacy, the spaces of those Overstaying offer desirable identities and relationships. Each young person in the section below stayed with a friend or neighbour for an extended period. However, while these spaces often felt secure and cared for, something eventually led to their breakdown. For example, Vicky stayed with her friend, their twin, and their mother after a conflict with her mother and an assault from her brother. Vicky states that the family was supportive despite the physical conditions of the home not being conducive to making the arrangement long-term:

> *"…They do not have a very big home. It is like this very small maisonette, and they do not like to have a lounge or anything. There was no spare room for me, so I was sharing a room with twins, but they were accommodating me like… they got all my stuff there, they made into a nice place for me, and I had all my stuff and…."*

(Vicky, Plymouth)

Here, we see that Vicky's friend and their family made an important effort to care for and accommodate Vicky and make her feel she had a 'nice' place to be– letting her have her bed and drawers (Bowlby, 2011). Like other *cartographies*, staying with a friend also ensures she can avoid widespread identification as homeless (May *et al.,* 2007). Nonetheless, the home was very short of space with no living room, and for Vicky, the only space she had to relax was a shared bedroom space with one of the twins. Consequently, as privacy can be a key aspect of feeling at home, and because she or the twins had very little, both parties began to feel somewhat homeless at home (Sommerville, 1992; McLoughlin, 2011)

In Abbie's family environment, she frequently conflicted with her mother, adversely affecting her youngest sister, who bit herself when distressed. After leaving home, Abby chose to stay with a family she had gone abroad with when she was younger. This family lived in a large house she described as a 'mansion' and had similar Jamaican descent:

> *I'd say 70% good, yeah. I'd say the other 30% because we were best friends, knew each other, and argued a bit. It was like because the family knew me well, as well… but they have practically got a detached mansion if you know what I mean…. I've been in that house from being a kid to year 7. And the family know me very well; I have been on holiday with the family...*
>
> *(Abby, South Yorkshire)*

Once more, Abby's choice to move in with close family friends of a similar background reflects a recurrent pattern: sofa-surfers, like other homeless groups, often opt for spaces that allow them to adopt preferable identities (May *et al.,* 2007). Abby

felt at home with another local Jamaican family. Also, being best friends with her host means she would not be considered primarily homeless. Instead, a shared past and various common interests allowed her to inhabit alternative identities (Jolley, 2020), such as a worthy friend or daughter-like identity. In contrast to Vicky, the spacious home also meant she could make herself scarce when required. However, by being well-known to and identifying with the family, Abby consistently became entangled in the more negative aspects of home life, such as their arguments (Brickell, 2012).

Finally, after a prolonged difficulty in their relationship surrounding his suspected drug misuse, Riley moved out of his mother's and into the bedroom of a friend who lived in a shared house. He and his friend got along well, and living together was a welcome change from a difficult home life – *"It is pretty much just like living with your best mate."*:

> *"He was working at the time, and I was working in a shop; we both had a decent income because my work was during the day, and he was at night."*
>
> *(Riley, Devon)*

Thus, Riley found his friend's space a good alternative to living primarily with his parents. In this space, he could live and work alongside his best friend while avoiding spending too much time together because of their different work patterns. Bowlby (2011) states that these mutually beneficial routines can be critical to improving care relationships. At the time, Riley also had a girlfriend and a job and attended college; thus, this space offered a base of operations from which Riley could sustain access to his non-homeless identity. In this sense, like many other young people sofa-surfing, Riley did not identify as homeless (McCoy & Hug, 2016). Instead, his primary identity was that of a young working man, merely breaking tenancy rules to make life more affordable.

In this sense, those whose *cartographies* tend towards Overstaying with non-familial hosts also reflect an initial experience much like those found in the more beneficial spaces of Seeking Home or Intimacy, namely spatial security, settled mobilities, reciprocal caring relationships, non-homeless identities, a sense of home, and guardianship. These benefits or perceived benefits, in turn, encourage the Overstaying *cartography*, a process whereby young people overstay their welcome or become 'trapped'. Thus, as suggested in the title of this section, an over-dependence on these spaces may lead, like those Seeking Home and Intimacy, to unpreparedness for arrangements ending or entrapment when a host becomes exploitative. In the sections below, I detail three reasons young people can overstay their welcome.

Ineffective Communication:

A lack of effective communication is a key reason the Overstaying *cartography* spaces eventually break down. This is because a host often offers hospitality and care but hopes these needs remain short-term. However, young people may begin to feel very secure or fear moving out, and hosts may also fear making the young person homeless, and thus, the young person stays longer than the host expected. This can make hosts tense and dissatisfied around the guest's sofa-surfing. For example, Vicky states that while the family was supportive, without much-needed space between herself and the twin with whom she shared a room, the relationship became increasingly tense after six months:

> *"I couldn't work out what the tension was about. I would try and ask, but it wasn't going anywhere. So, all I know is that maybe it was just too much, and we were around each other too much… it just got quite tense… I'd been there for*

about six months, I was like, 'I think it would be better if I left because I didn't want to ruin any relationship completely'." (Vicky, Devon)

Similarly, Abby failed to recognise the risk of not sustaining or developing alternative places to stay. Arguably, Abby had defaulted on the assumption that she could stay as long as she wanted because, despite the hosts initially stating that the arrangement was temporary, they did not raise any further desire for her to leave. However, with the advent of the COVID-19 lockdown restrictions, the hosts felt they had a fair reason to ask Abby to leave. The unexpectedness of being asked to leave just two days into the lockdown shocked Abby; she was deeply embarrassed and ashamed that she had to turn to a homeless charity for support – she had to go to the 'lowest of the low':

"I think it was like two days into the first lockdown - 'You are not supposed to be staying here anyway because it was supposed to be temporary while you were finding a place. So really and truly, we need you to move because Lauren's at high risk'… I understood where they were coming from… However, it just put a different kind of responsibility on me; I had to sacrifice everything - go to the lowest of the low."

(Abby, South Yorkshire)

In both accounts, neither of the women referred to any in-depth discussion with their hosts and friends regarding how long they could stay or any clear actions that indicated to their hosts that they were trying to find somewhere else to live, for example, reaching out to the council, TSOs or asking other friends for places to stay. In this sense, for hosts, these arrangements no longer appeared temporary. As Jarvis (2019) states, difficult conversations with the potential for conflict are essential to

creating spaces of togetherness in non-normative homes. Thus, with no indication from guests that they planned to leave or a discussion about their intentions, these prolonged periods increased tensions in the home and reduced care capacities (Hall, 2019).

Consequently, these young people experienced the transition from spaces founded on the ethics of caring towards a Kantian ethic of hospitality. McNulty (2007) argued that when people no longer provide a commercial benefit, they are reidentified as unworthy outsiders. In Vicky's case, the identity of a 'friend' was replaced with unwanted guests; the tension eventually forced her to leave. In Abby's case, she transitioned from a family friend to a potential health hazard, giving the host the reason they needed to ask her to leave (McLoughlin, 2011). In this sense, familial performances in non-familial homes, which might suggest to a host that the young person will remain indefinitely, may unexpectedly lead to a depletion of the host's capacity to care and thus the assignment of identities of unworthiness onto young people. Consequently, outlining support mechanisms that encourage open dialogue between host and guest could prevent incorrect perceptions of permanence and, thus, unexpected shifts towards spatial temporality (see p. 235).

Getting Caught:

> *"…his landlord came up, saw that most of my stuff was there, I was living there, and kicked off at [him], so I had to go back to council."*
>
> *(Riley, Devon)*

As previously described, Riley illegally shared a room with his friend, who rented a large double room in a shared house. Eventually, however, he got caught by the landlord, who asked him to leave immediately. After leaving, he also dropped out of

college, a local institution that could provide pastoral support, counsellors and career services. Thus, this spatial breakdown led to losing a space that provided relative stability in his day-to-day routines and connectedness to spaces of education, employment, and friends that helped prevent identification with the homeless identity. Instead, he had to accept his homeless identity and submit a homeless application to the statutory services for them to help him find a place to live (May et al. 2007). Unfortunately, the council placed him in three poor-quality house shares, where he could not spend time with his pregnant girlfriend and had his belongings stolen (McMordie, 2021; Parsell, 2016). Consequently, Riley embarked on a long-term Those Who Wander *cartography* between squatting, sofa-surfing with friends, rough-sleeping, selling drugs and holding illegal raves (see Chapter 9).

Being Trapped:

Lucy had a large family in a small house. This overcrowding contributed to conflict between herself and her mother, which the social services were aware of. Eventually, Lucy decided she could no longer bear living at home. However, a girl she knew from college and her mother allowed her to stay. Importantly, due to a lack of access to immediate supportive housing, this arrangement was semi-coordinated by the Prince's Trust and had social services' approval and awareness. Unlike others whose *cartography* was Overstaying, she never felt comfortable or secure in this arrangement. Instead, she overstayed because she was waiting for statutory services, who were aware of her situation, to provide accommodation. Thus, she feared being forced onto the streets if she did not please the host:

Interviewer: How long were you staying at [this friend] for?

Lucy: I think it was about 2-3 months.

Interviewer: *… Could you explain why it was horrible?*

Lucy: *Like, If I got money from something, she expected me to get all the food in, and I would be the one expected to do everything and not anybody else. I would get blackmailed if I did not get this, and then they would kick me out, so I had to do things.*

Here, Lucy describes exclusionary and uncaring hospitality founded only on her capacity to provide commercial uses to the host (McNulty, 2007) and fear that she would be forced to sleep rough. For example, they expected her to perform as a cleaner of their 'very dirty' house and contribute financially by spending any money she received on food for the house (Peters, 2012). In return, she received shelter with strict restrictions, such as not allowing her to clean her pyjamas or bathe too frequently. In this sense, the hosts refused to provide reciprocal caring beyond mere shelter, making it clear she was an outsider only made worthy through hard work and sublimation (Bowlby, 2011; McNulty, 2007). Additionally, fears of rough sleeping and the stigma of 'homelessness' also kept her from leaving (Butler, 2002; Cloke *et al.,* 2008). In this sense, those in the Overstaying *cartography* may also experience spatial entrapment whereby they desire the security of spaces of mistreatment due to fear of worsened conditions beyond them.

Nonetheless, after two months of powerlessness and hosts without care, like McLoughlin's (2013) young sofa surfers, Lucy decided to sleep rough rather than continue exposing herself to the hosts' mistreatment. Fortunately, a friend quickly realised she had been forced onto the streets and arranged to provide temporary accommodation with her mother. Unlike her past hosts, her mother was also a helper host (McLoughlin, 2011). Working for the NHS, she proactively advocated for Lucy,

calling the council daily and telling them she needed immediate housing. Due to this pressure, Lucy moved into an inner-city young people's homeless hostel. Lucy stated that this hostel has helped her develop caring and close relationships with peers and set her on a supported trajectory towards more independent accommodation.

Reflections:

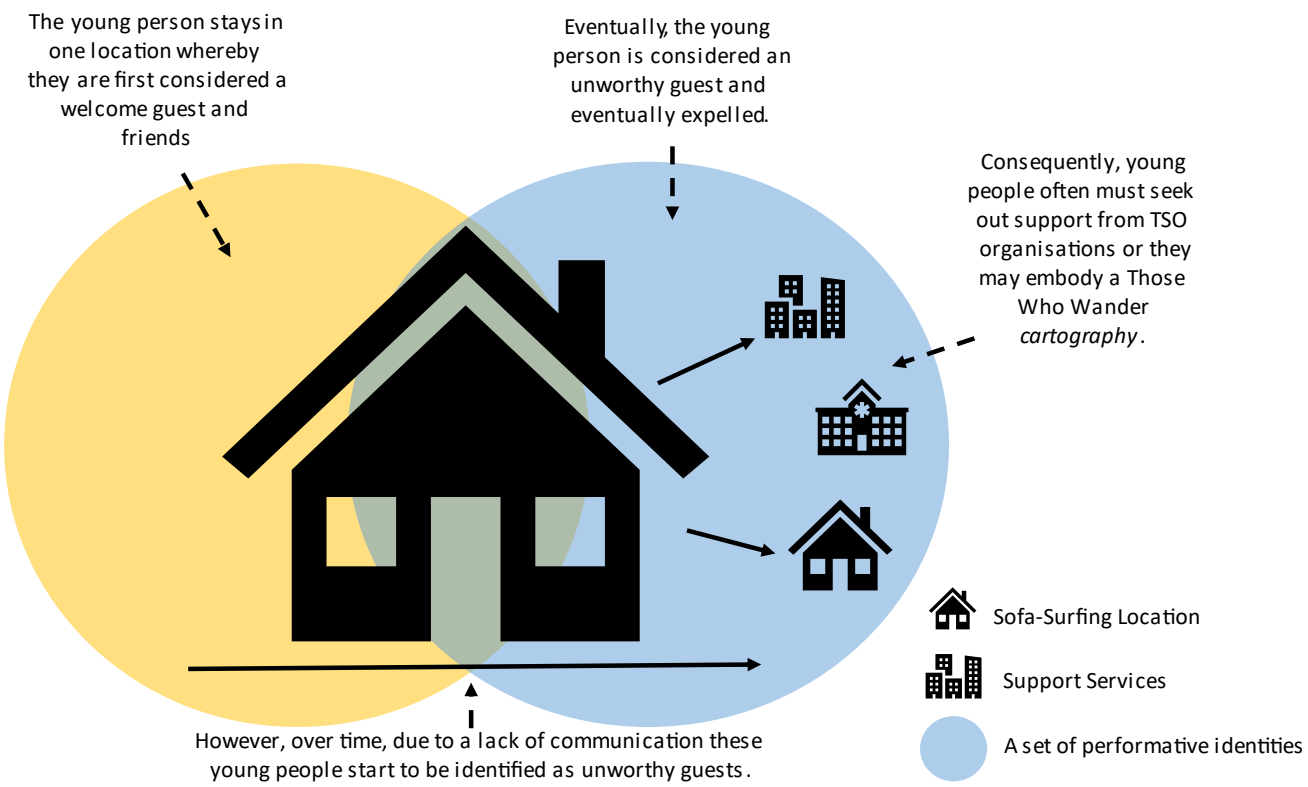

Figure 18. The process of those in the Overstaying *cartography* which eventually leads towards visibly homeless spaces.

Due to the security of spaces, many young people are tempted into the *cartographies* of Overstaying. In the main, similarly to those who Seek Intimacy or Home, the host spaces found within the Overstaying *cartography* afford non-homeless performances; for example, their hiddenness shields them from a stigmatised homeless identity (May *et al.,* 2007), and with the care of hosts, young people feel like a worthy 'friend' and continue to engage in full-time work and education. This leads to the sofa-surfers deciding that they would prefer to stay in that location to create a level of spatial fixity for a longer period. These experiences are signified in Figure 18 (above) by the yellow circle, which indicates that young people are inhabiting spaces where they are primarily identified as friends. However, without preparing to move out of the host's

home or a host or guest discussing an appropriate leaving date, this attempt at spatial fixity runs a high risk of creating an unexpected spatial breakdown.

Alternatively, Overstaying may be caused by the failure of support services to intervene in an exploitative and exclusionary sofa-surfing space, underpinned by Kantian hospitality, combined with a young person's fear of sleeping rough (Massey, 2004; McNulty, 2007). This combination creates an immobility that keeps people stuck in an exploitative host space.

Still, as illustrated by the overlap between the yellow and blue circles in Figure 18, which signifies a process whereby young people become unworthy guests, these arrangements eventually break down. For example, the host's capacity to care reduces as young people fail to broaden support networks via other hosts and TSO or statutory support or due to a lack of good communication, which is essential for feelings of togetherness (Jarvis, 2019). This reduced capacity leads to spatial breakdown. Thus, future research could explore the hosts' sofa-surfing experiences to understand better the micropolitics that led to the breakdown of these otherwise supportive spaces.

Conclusions:

This chapter explored two *cartographies* associated with non-familial spaces. By doing this, I answer research question 1:

> How do different cartographies, as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?

Firstly, the spaces, mobilities and identities of those in a Seeking Intimacy *cartography* differed depending on the intimate relationships they accessed or prioritised. Those using social media to locate hosts had chaotic mobilities between spaces founded on Kantian hospitality; these spaces provided physical intimacy but

ensured temporality by preventing emotional depth and intimate knowledge. Others used partner-parent houses as secretive yet helpful nodes among broader chaotic mobilities of the Those Who Wander (Chapter 9) or Short-Term Sofa-Surfing (Chapter 10). Still, others attempted to create a sense of home via longer-term stable spaces with partner hosts. Yet, these individuals were at higher risk of transactional hospitality inducing exploitative performances (e.g., doing all the housework) to maintain worthiness. Finally, others sought temporal experiences of 'home' by pursuing guardian/dependent relations with strangers or familial-like togetherness with peers.

The second *cartography* young people adopt is 'Overstaying'. Because of the security and non-homeless identities provided, young people attempt to maintain spatial fixity, not making a clear effort to try and find more independent accommodation. However, this reduces the care capacity of hosts, who struggle to communicate effectively, creating a tense home atmosphere until the spaces break down. Alternatively, young people overstay because they become trapped by fear of rough sleeping. Importantly, these two cartographies are not mutually exclusive; they overlap. For example, Nate prioritised creating kin-like bonds and was also Overstaying.

This chapter elucidates the thematic usage of space, mobility, and identity associated with pursuing *cartographies* such as Seeking Intimacy and secure home-like spaces in Overstaying. However, via mapping these different *cartographies*, I am also beginning to develop a better understanding of how the geographies of sofa-surfing inform my understanding of *cartography*, thus answering research question 4:

> How can theories of cartography inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

More specifically, in reflection on the notion of *cartography* itself, I find young people's *cartographies* driven by deep subconscious motivations for home, togetherness, physical intimacy, and care. These motivations affect spatial preference and combine with young people's access to spaces. These spaces varied in their ethics of hospitality (caring or commercial), enable, preclude and demand (un)desirable performances and identities (e.g., a nephew, a friend, a lover or an unworthy health risk and cleaner) and finally, encourage varied forms of (im)mobility (chaotic, stable, routinised) and the potential for improvement in their housing circumstances. Nonetheless, in the following chapter, I explore *cartographies* primarily shaped by mobility, not spatial preference.

Chapter 9
Those Who Wander.

Introduction:

In this chapter, I explore the *cartographies* of Those Who Wander. In my perspective, the spaces, relationships and mobilities of those wandering reflect a broad lack of direction regarding physical mobility between immediate spaces and a lack of a long-term trajectory towards a more-than-homeless future identity. As explored in Chapter 5, people's past and present socioeconomic circumstances and the presence of role models or supportive institutions within a locality affect their capacity to imagine and pursue more-than-homeless future identities (Jolley, 2020; Hardgrove *et al*., 2015). This is because well-articulated, more-than-homeless lots afford self-regulatory behaviours in the present and thus also affect young people's spatial preferences, mobilities and identities (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

Again, exploring 'more-than-homeless identities' refers to elucidating the multiplicity of young people's identities that, specifically in this thesis, transcend the immediate experiences and resources associated with a young person's *cartography* and instead locate themselves in imagined future spaces (Jolley, 2020). Thus, without a well-articulated, more-than-homeless future, young people may partially or wholly embody the *cartography* of Those Who Wander, whereby sofa-surfing mobilities and spatial experiences reflect a lack of direction.

The pasts of Those Who Wander often include familial abandonment, grief, drug use, relationship breakdown, unemployment, long-term housing instability, and a lack of strong and supportive friendships. However, because these young people have mistrusting perceptions of others, like those Seeking Intimacy with the host via social

media, they may avoid building relationships with emotional intimacy and intimate knowledge (Morgan, 2009) and avoid courageous acts of care that may inspire togetherness (Jarvis, 2019) and reciprocity. Instead, these resources are spent moving sporadically between friends, family, strangers, and the streets (Mackie, 2018; Mcloughlin, 2013) and embodying various identities, dreams, and aspirations as they move.

Consequently, Those Who Wander move into marginal urban spaces, adopting criminality, rough sleeping and squatting, over institutional care, and may even begin to identify these marginal spaces as 'homes' (Mayock *et al.,* 2013; May, 2000). Thus, this chapter highlights a dialogue between a desire to avoid physical, emotional and intimate knowledge and how this impacts the spaces, performances, mobilities and more-than-homeless identities of young people who wander (Jolley, 2020). This includes varied wandering mobilities, such as long-term and opportunistic movements, between the streets, squats, sofa-surfing with friends and strangers, and informal employment (Jackson, 2012). These experiences can create a paradoxical acceptance and rebuttal of the longer-term homeless lifestyles and their associated identities. Finally, this disorientation may lead to longer-term homeless lifestyles that scholars may regard as chronic homelessness (Willse, 2010).

Long-term Opportunistic Movements

One key aspect of the Those Who Wander *cartography* is the opportunistic mobility between home spaces. Thus, their mobilities largely lack structure and routine, and the host(s) cannot provide a longer-term stay. For example, after becoming disillusioned with the poor conditions of the hostel spaces, Lewis decided he would sofa-surf with friends. By sofa-surfing, Lewis felt separate from the lifestyles and danger of

others in the homeless shelter. However, this separation required Lewis to move bi-weekly for over a year and a half:

> *"Stayed everywhere I could, mate. There is not a place I didn't go to. And at the end of the day, you're literally in survival mode… the timeline, I won't even remember it."*
>
> *(Lewis, West Yorkshire)*

Lewis struggled to recount the longevity or sequencing of the different places he stayed during these homeless 'homed' experiences; these chaotic movements, lasting a year and a half, were only interrupted by a friend's father, who let him camp in his garden for several months. This frequent movement was because while his hosts would work to make him feel comfortable in their spaces, he stated, 'You do not want to make yourself at home!'. For example, he disliked using people's showers or asking for food. Consequently, he perceived himself as impeding the family home and their capacity to feel at home and relax:

> *"You feel like you need to move on… And it was like, it was more to do with the Mums if that makes sense? And you know, you don't want to impede on someone else's family."*
>
> *(Lewis, West Yorkshire)*

Lewis's understanding of home, implicit within his account, was associated with Tuan's (1980) notion of rootedness. This was reflected in a less conscious relationship with home, where he can occupy space without concern and not worry about using the showers or having something to eat. For Lewis, to adopt such relations in the broader family's home space would be an undesirable imposition. Thus, unlike many in the Seeking Home, Overstaying or Seeking Intimacy *cartographies*, often motivated by

beliefs that the host could offer care, support and guardian/dependent identities, he felt that a host's hospitality depended solely on frequent movement. In this sense, in contrast to those Overstaying, he avoided any longer-term dependency on host space, fearing that his presence in a bounded 'home' would lead to feelings of burden (McCoy & Hug, 2016) and for his hosts, being homeless at home (Sommerville, 1992),

Nonetheless, the unpredictable nature of Lewis' mobilities stops him from feeling settled or connected to his hosts, and this is also exhausting:

> *"I mean, it was no help at all. It was the stress. It was so tiring. Do you know it was the most tiring thing I've ever done? Every night, I worry about where I'm going to sleep and where I'm going. How am I going to eat? How I'm going to drink?"*
>
> *(Lewis, West Yorkshire)*

Like young people experiencing homelessness in Jackson's (2012) study, Lewis felt exhausted because adopting mobilities to meet his basic needs consumed most of his actions and thoughts. Also, like Jolly (2020), I find here an expression of the entrapping effect the homeless experiences can have on people. Namely, Lewis felt his situation was reducing the totality of his being into a more primitive form, mere survival. For example, with his ability to act in space focused on mitigating risks associated with shelter, food, and rest concerns (McLoughlin, 2013), Lewis felt precluded from moving towards a life he desired, one with housing security and privacy. Consequently, he developed a jaded view of people and the world around him. He states:

> *'That is society, mate, no one cares, no workers, no system... It's extremely bleak.'.*

(Lewis, West Yorkshire)

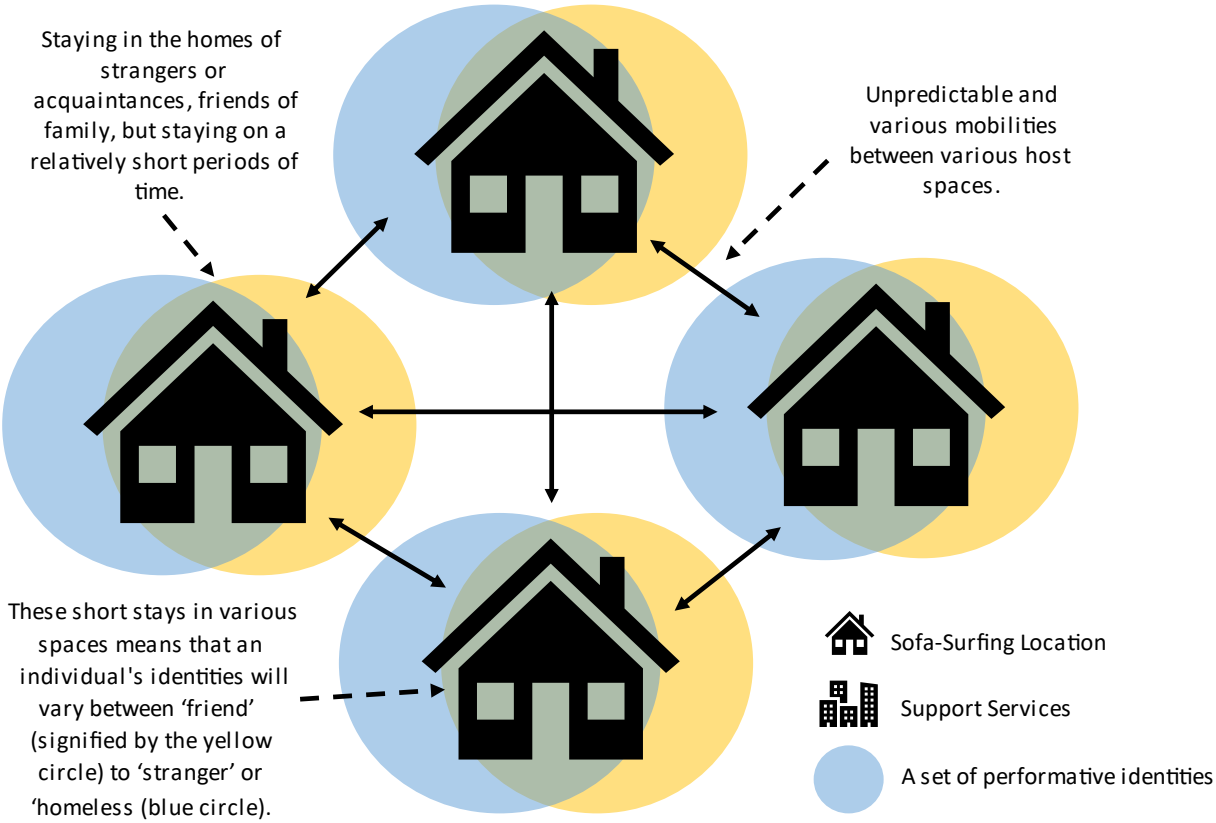

Figure 19. An illustration depicting the mobilities of Those Who Wander and their relationship with homeless and non-homeless identities.

In reflection on the *cartography* of Those Who Wander, in acknowledging Lewis' experiences, I find an extended period of directionless movement between hosts and the avoidance of intimacy, care and reciprocation due to a heightened sense of burdening their hosts. This movement is illustrated in Figure 19 by the double arrows between various houses in blue and yellow overlapping circles. Consequently, due to these mobilities, Lewis struggled to adopt more stable, non-homeless identities and increasingly felt like a more stigmatised homeless person (May *et al.,* 2007).

Additionally, as indicated in Figure 19, by overlapping the blue and yellow circles (blue signifying spaces where people are identified as strangers or homeless and yellow as friends), Lewis' identities fluctuated between friend, a friend of a parent's child or homeless. This contrasts with the *cartographies* of those Overstaying, Seeking Intimacy

or Seeking Home who less consistently considered how their presence may impact their hosts and thus sustained non-homeless identities for a longer period.

Interestingly, attachment theorists suggest that, formed by various complex childhood experiences, young people have three key attachment types: secure, anxious, and avoidant. Those with an anxious attachment style tend to prioritise intimacy and physical closeness and desire reassurance. However, avoidants use physical and emotional distance strategies and value their independence greatly (Levine & Heller, 2011). Thus, young people's attachment style may greatly affect their *cartographies* of sofa-surfing, namely those whose Seeking Home, Seeking Intimacy or Overstaying *cartographies* may be more anxiously attached as they desire more physical and emotional closeness and security. At the same time, Those Who Wander prefer to maintain their sense of independence and use mobility and spaces as distancing strategies. Nonetheless, future research must fully explore and provide evidence for this idea.

Surviving without Support Services:

Those Who Wander may also be unaware of the support services available. Additionally, with a greater emphasis on autonomy and developing identities in the wider social domain (Ahmet, 2013), they find themselves attracted to more illegal forms of employment to survive. For example, like Adrian, Jared depended on one older drug-dealing friend to find places to stay. However, these periods of relying on this friend varied, allowing him to remain relatively close to his family while finding illegal means of financially supporting himself:

"As I've got older, sort of like 16/17, I was going around people's houses, that my older friend - he sold the drug to these people - He'd be like look there's a

sofa there… he kind of help organise places for you to stay at… it was just a couple people having a session, for instance, getting a bit cocaine and drink a bit."

(Jared, Wiltshire)

Similarly, with chaotic and frequent movements between different people's houses, Richard also worked hard with travellers to avoid services and stay self-reliant. However, he also explains how the type of work that was expected of him worsened over time:

"Gypsy work…. [I] had an old couple, they wanted the gutter clearing out every two weeks… thing is with that, though, is you start doing things you don't want to. And you'll start doing things to people. Right, stuff you don't want to…"

(Rich, Yorkshire)

For Jared and Rich to survive away from home without formal support, they became increasingly involved in a criminal subculture. Importantly, by association, Jared began selling cocaine and eventually saw someone get stabbed. Rich states that casual work with traveller communities can become violent; thus, he found this work highly unpleasant. However, in both cases, their casual work helped them, for a time, remain independent, relatively close to their family, and appear unneedy. However, neither Jared nor Rich experienced an improvement in the stability of his housing arrangements during this time. These experiences are illustrated in Figure 20 below.

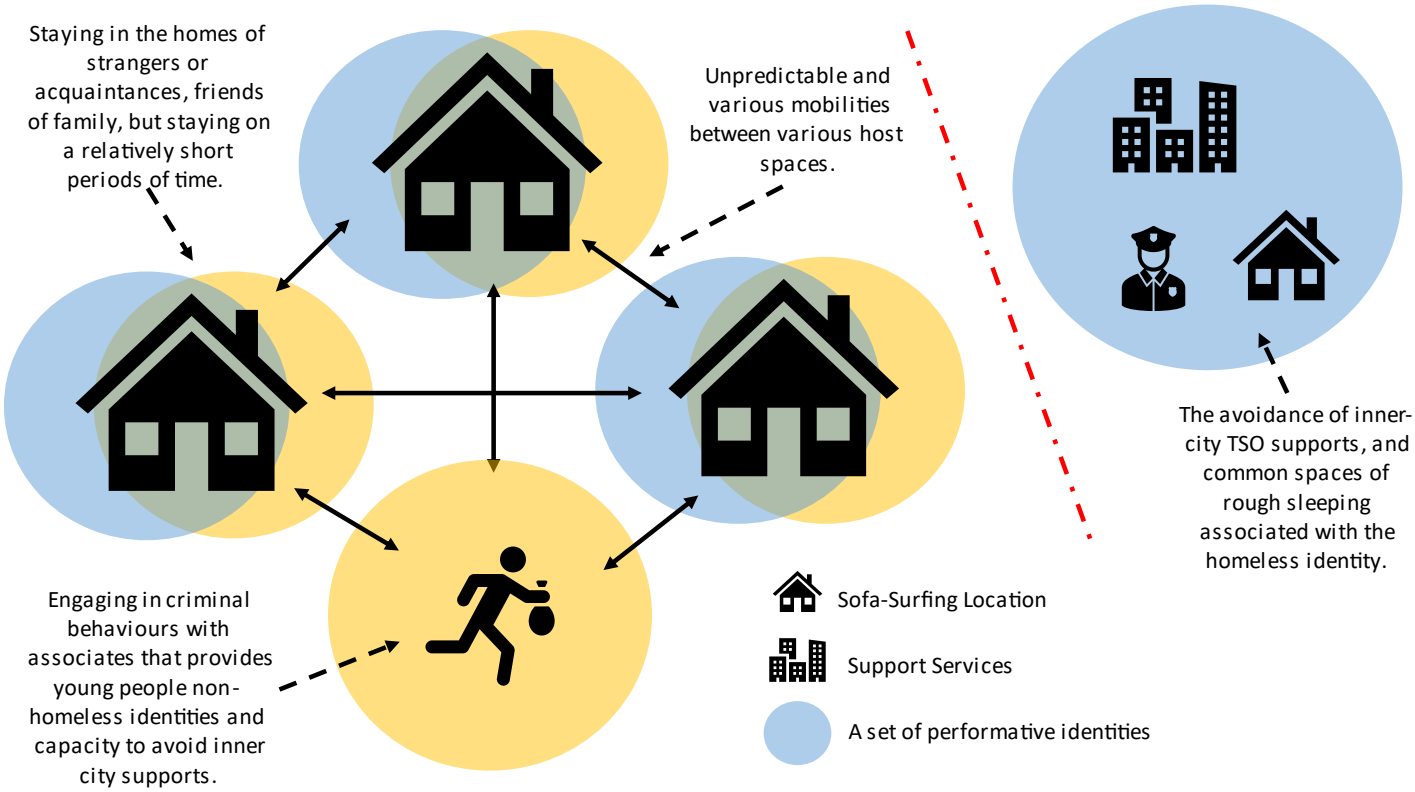

Figure 20. An illustration of Those Who Wanders mobility, engagement with crime and avoidance of TSO and statutory services.

In reflection, these young people reject the types of *cartography* that pursue intimacy, care and togetherness with hosts. Instead, as illustrated in the mobilities between various circles in Figure 20, these young people adopt less predictable mobilities through non-familial spaces, seeking opportunities to also perform as strong, assertive and hardworking (Parsell, 2011). Also, as seen in Figure 20, due to the lack of black arrows pointing towards the blue circle where TSO supports are located, they avoid inhabiting third-sector service spaces where performing identities of docility and subservience are often required to appear worthy and deserving (Cloke *et al.,* 2008).

However, inhabiting areas with few options for legitimate work, these underlying preferences for independence and strength also encourage these young people to develop negative cultural capital (Barker, 2012). Negative cultural capital here means adopting sets of performances and mobilities that provide social status associated with

criminality and yet also reduce a young person's capacity to achieve a normative conception of adulthood: getting a job, buying a home, and having an intimate and secure relationship (Leccardi, 2008). This is illustrated in Figure 20 by young people's preference to move into the yellow circle, which signifies identities and behaviours associated with crime and non-homeless identities.

Incorporating Marginal Urban Spaces:

As explored, Those Who Wander's mobilities avoid direct contact with familial space and prevent close, caring relationships with hosts. Interestingly, at the extreme, Those Who Wander may eventually attempt to avoid hosts altogether, over time deciding to incorporate marginal urban spaces, such as a church shed, shop doorways, and abandoned houses, into their broader networks of host space. For example, Alex spent his adolescent years in a Seeking Home *cartography* (see Chapter 7), where he enjoyed rough periods. He then overstayed his welcome with a close friend and adopted a Seeking Intimacy *cartography* (Chapter 8), moving two hours north to Lincolnshire to live with his girlfriend's parents. However, he returned to rough sleeping after splitting up with his girlfriend:

> ***Alex:*** *Nothing could go wrong if I were alone in the streets.*
>
> ***Interviewer:*** *How long would these stints be?*
>
> ***Alex:*** *So, when I was younger, that essential sort of, like, three, four months. And then, when I was in Lincoln, I think the longest was six months.*
>
> *(Alex, Warwickshire)*

Alex explores how rough sleeping has always been a potential solution to problems arising from his housing insecurity. As a younger man, when he became tired of staying with friends, he described it as an essential choice to find relief from depending on others. Also, after spending time in the Seeking Intimacy *cartography*, which led to a breakup with his ex-girlfriend, rough sleeping became a means of reobtaining control over his environment. Interestingly, this control is usually associated with feelings of home (Sommerville, 1992). Thus, rough sleeping provided Alex with a retreat where he could stop upsetting or annoying those he loved.

Interestingly then, in opposition to those Overstaying, I see for Alex that only when the closeness of staying with people in a sofa-surfing arrangement ends did he maintain a sense of control over his environmental safety. Thus, many young people's sofa-surfing circumstances are driven by an instinct for a home where they can be cared for (McLoughlin, 2013; Bowlby, 2011). However, when relationships become complex or show signs of failure, there is a need for greater relational distance and a reassertion of independence. This paradoxical approach to housing, mobility and survival creates complicated, long-term wandering homelessness.

Similarly, after a period of sofa-surfing, Finley sought to supplement their dependency on hosts via squatting in abandoned houses. Finley found that sofa-surfing in people's homes, whether friends or strangers, had a strong negative impact on his mental health and emotional stability (Albanese *et al.,* 2019). Instead, he found solace in also staying in places where he remained unidentified by others:

Finley: *Obviously, it's like random people - and me with my anxiety and social anxiety. I couldn't do it. So, when all my placements broke down, I got kicked out. As you know, I was going and sleeping anywhere.*

Interviewer: *And how many places, how many different sofa surfing arrangements were you set up in? Between your mom's home and resettling in [third sector provided accommodation]?*

Finley: *About 30/40… it was like a couch that someone had left behind in the house while they moved and things like before people moved in… most of them were already broken into. So, I like to sneak in and go to sleep.*

Again, unlike those Seeking Intimacy, Seeking Home or Overstaying, those with a Those Who Wander *cartography* experience a greater impact on their mental health when sharing space with hosts. For Finley, being in a host's home left him feeling unsafe. Consequently, experiencing emotional instability, he likely avoided the acts of care that may have increased feelings of togetherness (Jarvis, 2019), facilitated performative identities that imply a carer/cared-for relationship (e.g., aunty/nephew), and facilitated an exit from homelessness.

Instead, Finley's experience was highly mobile, moving between the occasional host space and 30 to 40 other abandoned buildings he preferred to squat in. In these unused, hidden and repurposed temporary forms of shelter, he avoided any public identification. As May *et al.* (2007) and Langegger and Koester (2016) illustrate, homeless people choose spaces and mobilities that help them avoid being publicly identified as and stigmatised by homelessness. This is understandable, given that avoiding this identity can protect young people from feelings of hopelessness and low self-worth (Jolley, 2020; Farrugia, 2011).

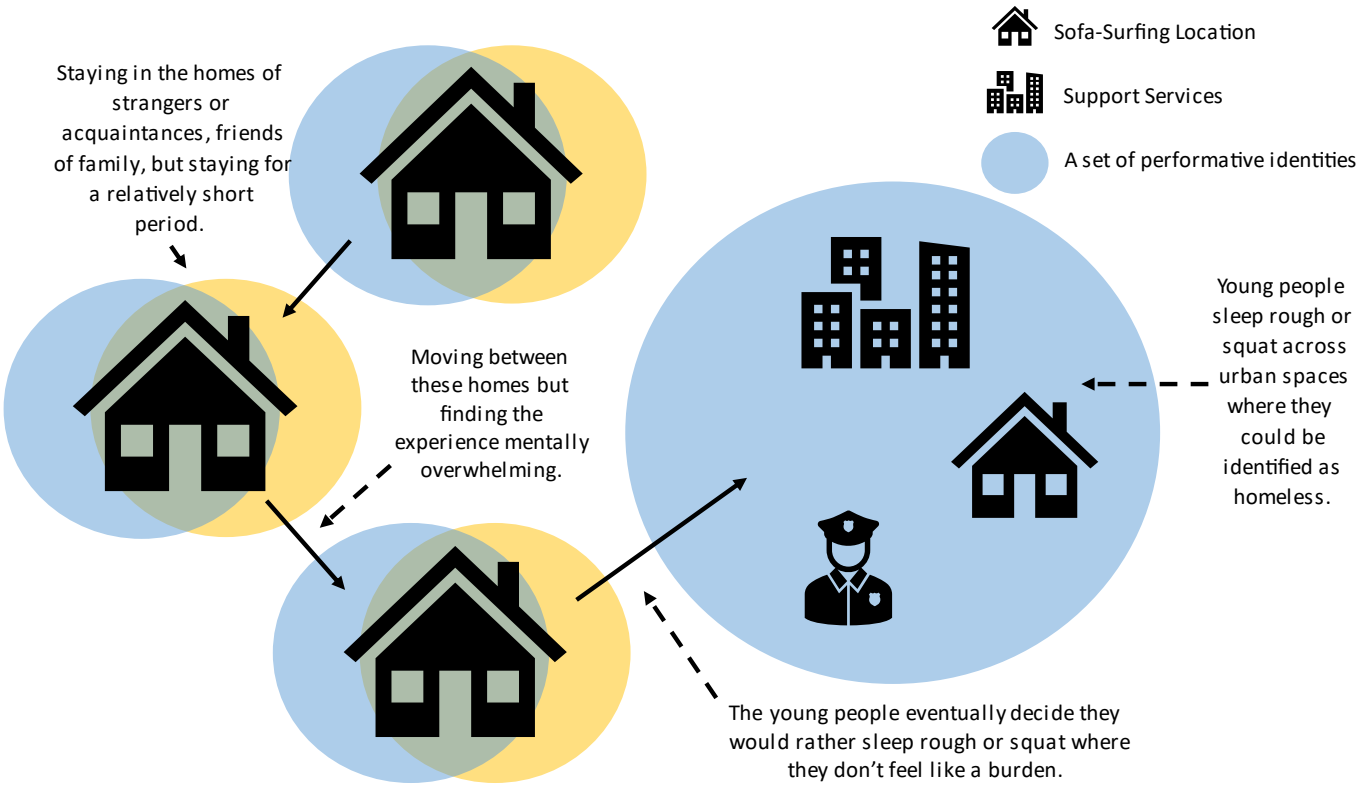

Figure 21. An illustration of Those Who Wander who develop a preference for residing in more marginal urban spaces associated with rough sleeping.

Reflecting on McLoughin's (2013) findings, I report that young people with a Those Who Wander *cartography* move from host spaces to public spaces with a perceivably higher risk of physical harm (e.g., rough sleeping and squatting) if it increases their sense of peace and mental well-being. This is illustrated in Figure 21 by the arrows eventually leading into the middle of the large blue circle, which signifies marginal urban space. As illustrated in Figure 21, young people whose *cartographies* are Those Who Wander become tired and untrusting of insufficient host capacities to care for and provide shelter (Mayock & Parker, 2020). Instead, they feel safer when their spaces and mobilities create periods of emotional and physical distance from others, even if this means rough sleeping or squatting (May, 2000).

Interestingly, in answering research question 4:

How can theories of *cartography* inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

I find Those Who Wander mobilities, spaces and identities provide relief from the complexities of the host/guest relationship. These complexities emerge from a concoction of burdensome feelings of intruding on someone else's home, Kantian hospitality ethics, where hosts seek commercial benefits and conditionality (see McLoughlin 2011), and varied capacities for cultivating reciprocal host/guest caring (Bowlby, 2011). In this sense, the geographies of sofa-surfing reveal that *cartographies* are sometimes shaped by a desire to avoid the complexities of sofa-surfing itself.

Additionally, by exploring the *cartographies* of sofa-surfing, I can map adaptations in mobilities that integrate peripheral non-sofa-surfing spaces into the young person's day-to-day management of both shelter and their needs for emotional safety and wellbeing (Cloke *et al.,* 2008). By doing this, I can explore the meaning associated with these adaptions; namely, I find that young people's pursuit of safety not only drives a desire for home and closeness with others but, in certain circumstances, also the avoidance of the intimacy of host home spaces.

Precluded from Long-term Planning:

Another key aspect of Those Who Wander is how the directionless bouncing between charity-provided shelters, rough sleeping, and host homes precludes young people from making long-term and enacting strategic life decisions (McLoughlin, 2013). After being blacklisted from TSO support, Adrian spent a year and a half sofa-surfing with friends and strangers and sleeping rough as a last resort.

> ***Adrian:*** *They won't house me again at the [local housing charity]. Because I lost my anger and began smashing the freezer…*
>
> ***Kieran:*** *How many [TSO] houses did you have?*
>
> ***Adrian:*** *Two. One for trashing the place and the other for the same thing.*

(Adrian, Devon)

Provided with TSO accommodation twice, these situations fell through because Adrian caused damage to the properties. Notably, after the second time he was evicted, he was blacklisted from further support from a local charity that provided access to privately rented housing for people experiencing homelessness. Consequently, to avoid rough sleeping, Adrian had to begin sofa-surfing.

Importantly, while Adrian and his host shared brief periods of reciprocal caring, his preference for mobility precluded him from the capacity to make long-term strategic decisions about his life. For example, Adrian supported his hosts by giving money, helping with chores, and tidying the place, and in return, he states that a host never stole anything from him, and a few people even offered him money.

> *"Sometimes, they'd ask for a little bit of money. I'd help, like doing dishes and ensuring the house is tidy... I've been brought up in the right way to respect people…."*
>
> *(Adrian, Devon)*

In this sense, he worked to produce a temporal yet reciprocal caring relationship with his hosts, like the people sofa-surfing in Peters (2012), via reciprocal payments to please his hosts. Also, by not performing in a dishevelled, ill and uncaring way, Adrian sustained identities that contributed to the upkeep of the host's home.

However, at the same time, Adrian, fearing the homeless identity and acutely aware of the tenuousness of his sofa-surfing circumstances, focused on ensuring his spatial security by continually identifying new places to stay, particularly with other young and vulnerable hosts or strangers, and developing back up plans if an arrangement fell through. Before he left a host home in the morning, he would:

"…always make sure that I can get [back] in, or if I can't get in, I've got somewhere else to go. I always have backup plans… staying on the streets wasn't working for me, man…"

(Adrian, Devon)

As such, Adrian assumed most hosts, vulnerable and socio-economically disadvantaged, would lack the capacity to care and thus feared the possibility of mere transactional hospitality (i.e., providing a payment-in-kind, yet still being at risk of unexpected eviction) (Bowlby, 2011; McLoughlin, 2011). Consequently, Adrian bounced between five or six arrangements weekly.

Nonetheless, such mobilities are costly. Adrian explicitly attends to the impact of moving between 5-6 different places a week by noting how a more settled arrangement gave him the mental space to orientate himself to a more-than-homeless future:

"Now I do not have to worry about finding somewhere to stay all the time, and it gives me more time to get things done… I've had enough of being sat around and doing nothing. I want a job; I want to get somewhere in life."

(Adrian, Devon)

Interestingly, while Adrian regards his embodiment of the Those Who Wander *cartography* as a period of sitting down and doing nothing, he had undoubtedly done plenty - such as finding hosts, building friendships, and robbing shops if needed. Thus, posing the question, what does he mean by nothing? Inhabiting a settled space and enjoying less mobility, Adrian began reflecting upon his sofa-surfing and homeless experiences and considering his future and what he wanted long-term. He is dissatisfied with the results that the Those Who Wander *cartography* produced. Like the broader homeless population, Those Who Wander sofa-surfing precluded him from the time,

energy, and resources to plan and enact longer-term strategic decisions for the future, for example, a pathway to secure employment, a job and family (McLoughlin, 2013; Stonehouse *et al.,* 2020; Mayock & Parker, 2020). Thus, Adrian's 'nothing' is more accurately a disorientated set of actions misdirected away from a secure job, a family or shelter.

In reflection, despite experiencing temporal moments of reciprocated host care, being blacklisted from TSO support and being acutely aware of the tenuousness of host space, Adrian spent extended periods in a complex network of housing circumstances. In this network, he spent his mental and physical capacities finding new sofa-surfing hosts and avoiding rough sleeping. However, this expenditure prevents the capacity for long-term strategic planning. This left Adrian feeling like he had done 'nothing' with his time. Importantly, as previously stated, the capacity to generate a well-articulated, more-than-homeless future identity is important for enabling the motivation necessary to achieve it (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

Contemplating/Attempting Suicide:

Finally, prevalent among Those Who Wander was a question of whether life was any longer worth living. More broadly, this section also reflects the poor mental health that results from and leads to homelessness. This contemplation of suicide does not reflect a specific kind of wandering-like experience and mobility. Rather, the perceptive lack of opportunities to pursue more-than-homeless *future* identities and severed connection with loved ones and society led people into anguish in Those Who Wander-related spaces:

> *"[Sofa-Surfing has] affected my mental health badly, with my depression. Very bad with my depression. My anxiety has been bad. I got arrested about two*

weeks ago under the Mental Health Act. I tried to kill myself. I ain't being funny, but I'd just reached the point where I'd had enough... [But] that woman bless her! She didn't have to do that for someone. Bless her…"

(Adrian, Devon)

For example, Adrian had reached a point where it had all become too much for him. He describes a process where the difficulty of his housing circumstances over many years had been 'building up and building up'. In this sense, as Jolley (2020) found, homelessness had created a past with such emotional weight that he struggled to withstand it. Thus, one evening, overwhelmed, he took himself to a bridge overlooking an estuary in south Devon. As he considered jumping into the waters below, he said an old lady tried to talk him out of it, and she saved his life. He says the next thing he knew, he was being restrained by the police and threatened with a mental health order.

Similarly, Jared was sectioned after attempting suicide. Jared's experience of disconnection from his parents, subsequent dependency on a friend to find him a place to stay, and the breakdown of his relationship with his girlfriend left him feeling there was not much worth living for:

Jared: That was after I'd come out of a hospital, informal admission, in [Kent]. And that was a mental Institute. I came out of that and was straightaway homeless—nowhere to go.

Interviewer: How old are you at this point?

Jared: This was only a couple of years ago, so 20. I'd just come out of a bad relationship. I tried killing myself.

Alternatively, Lewis also felt overwhelmed by his past and difficult circumstances. However, Lewis also reconciled himself by blaming the homeless system as the cause of his poor life circumstances:

> *"You seriously question whether you want to go on. I feel like that's just the system; it doesn't want you to go on, if that makes sense. I've met many homeless people, and every single one of them just wants to kill themselves. And that's all the system makes you feel, and it's a cruel world."*
>
> *(Lewis, Devon)*

Lewis' disdain for services reflects an opposing view to most other young people, who, like Farrugia (2011), expressed individualised responsibility for their homelessness. Instead, rather than accepting, internalising, or believing that homelessness is self-caused, Lewis takes a revanchist view that systematic injustice causes homelessness. A machine seeks to annihilate him (Mitchell, 1997). This self-affirmation likely helped protect his sense of self, which could otherwise be consumed by the hopelessness associated with the homeless identity (Jolley, 2020). Simply, unlike others, Lewis sustains a moral perception of the self by blaming the homeless system for his poor circumstances (Farrugia, 2011).

Nonetheless, for people in a Those Who Wander *cartography,* the desire to maintain short-lived and largely uncaring relationships with hosts results in complex and extended mobilities and identities, for example, repeatedly moving between the streets, becoming a 'drug dealer' and depending on other drug dealing friends to help locate sleeping spaces. However, these mobilities reduce the perceivable options within spaces to pursue a more normative, more-than-homeless future, for example, having a family in stable accommodation. In turn, overwhelmed by hopelessness (Jolley, 2020), these

young people consider whether their day-to-day suffering is better put to an early end. This sentiment is explored below quite effectively with James' decision to overdose on vast amounts of Valium, a benzodiazepine. Overdosing on Valium commonly causes comas, respiratory depression, and death:

> *"You know Valium, I popped a load of them. I popped like 30-40 of them, like a lot. And I like, well, I don't remember it, to be honest."*
>
> *(James, Devon)*

Conclusion:

Overall, this chapter Illustrated the Those Who Wander *cartography,* whose key shared characteristics were not a preference for a type of space but instead the complexity and frequency of their mobilities between spaces. I illustrated how young people's adoption of chaotic mobilities between several host households and marginal urban spaces entwined feelings of a lack of safety, desire for independence and mistrust in host space, and past failure in exiting homelessness via TSO and statutory support services.

Firstly, unlike Seeking Intimacy, Seeking Home, and Overstaying, young people with a Those Who Wander *cartography*, having failed to exit homelessness via TSO or statutorily provided pathways, turned to sofa-surfing yet felt an acute sense of burden in host homes. Also, in addition to the socio-economic factors limiting hosts' capacities of care (e.g., age, house space, health, and income), these young people experienced reduced degrees of reciprocating care due to their social anxiety and feelings of loss of control in host spaces (Bowlby, 2011).

Consequently, young people in a Those Who Wander *cartography* prefer frequent mobilities between hosts, long-term reject carer/cared for host relations, and

may incorporate marginal urban spaces. Thus, unlike the Seeking Intimacy, Seeking Home, and Overstaying *cartographies*, where young people pursue reciprocal care (Bowlby, 2011), intimacy (Morgan, 2009), togetherness (Jarvis, 2019) and a sense of home with familial/non-familial host and guest (Brickell, 2012), Those Who Wander were driven by young people's preference for emotional and relational distance; for some, this will make rough sleeping and squatting more appealing options.

Moreover, these complex mobilities reduce young people's access to long-term reciprocal caring relations and more-than-homeless future identities. I noted how young people might develop drug addictions or performances associated with criminality and drug usage to earn money and grow, albeit negative, social status (Barker, 2013; Kennelly, 2020). Also, with little desire to stay long-term and thus develop host/guest relationships with reciprocal care and intimacy, young people expend resources to move frequently between hosts. This focus precludes young people from more-than-homeless *futures* with institutions such as education, TSO, and statutory services that help them exit homelessness (McLoughlin, 2013). Consequently, struggling to escape homelessness, some of Those Who Wander contemplate or attempt suicide. Essentially, Those Who Wander risk being caught in a cycle of continually depending on relationally distant hosts with limited care capacities. This resource-intensive cycle can prevent escaping homelessness and is associated with suicidal ideation.

Mapping the thematic usage of space, mobility, and identity by Those Who Wander helps answer research questions 4 and 1. Specifically, my empirical data has informed my understanding of *cartographies* by revealing how, for some young people, independence and self-reliance trump desires for a sense of home, care, togetherness and intimacy. Instead, these young people may find psychological safety in mobility through various sofa-surfing spaces, building temporary and transactional relations of

care and hospitality. Further, I find that these chaotic mobilities lead to an inability to orientate oneself towards a better future, which leads many to contemplate or attempt suicide. Thus, Those Who Wander adopt chaotic mobilities, encounter varied host ethics of hospitality (caring or Kantian) and prefer performances and identities associated with independence and criminality, leading to long-term stagnation in their housing circumstances and suicidal ideation. Nonetheless, I explore *cartographies* associated with exiting homelessness in the following chapter.

Chapter 10
Cartographies of Exiting Homelessness

Introduction:

This section focuses on two *cartographies* that illustrate ways young people exit from sofa-surfing: those who escaped homelessness before six months (Short-Term Sofa-Surfing) and those for whom it took six months or longer (Exiting Long-term Homelessness). Those who exit homelessness relatively quickly find spaces with helpers, usually a friend or family member who directs them towards a TSO or statutory-sector services that provide housing. Alternatively, I consider the accounts of those who spent an extended period sofa-surfing. These individuals embark on an initial process of stabilisation in their housing arrangements due to the development of more settled sofa-surfing routines, caring hosts and intervening TSO/statutory sector support. However, like the Seeking Home and Overstaying *cartographies*, overdependency on hosts for shelter and care, even when accompanied by articulated a more-than-homeless *future* identity, can lead to unexpected declines in people's housing security. In the following section, I explore how both groups of young people exited homelessness.

Short-Term Sofa-Surfing

Like the Those Who Wander *cartography*, those who Short-Term Sofa-Surf experience mobility-driven *cartography* characterised by chaotic, unpredictable mobilities in host spaces that lack care; however, unlike the Those Who Wander, Short-Term Sofa-Surfing lasts for less than six months. Short-Term Sofa-Surfing is often ignited due to falling out with their parents, facing an unexpected eviction from their homes, or

the collapse of a secure(r) sofa surfing arrangement. The young people, depending on the circumstances of the hosts, predominantly seek spaces to stay and move between several friends' parents for short periods or perhaps one to two friends' houses for a short time before being resettled in secure accommodation. This *cartography* is an immediate response to the threat of rough sleeping and may even be considered a best-case scenario.

Staying with One Friend for a Short Period:

Firstly, young people sofa-surfed with one friend, and often their parents, for a short period before being assisted into a small youth housing project or larger hostel. For example, Isabel was provided a place to stay with her friend's mother for three weeks. The mother also performed as a 'helper,' providing guardianship that helped her stop taking illicit substances (McLoughlin, 2011):

> *"It was a couple of weeks… I felt supported [at my friend's house] because it was just like living back at home…. [the Mum] just talked to me, and if I wanted to go out, and like do drugs, she'd tell me to stop." (Isabel, Wiltshire)*

However, Isabel fought with her friend outside their house after being accused of sharing inappropriate photos of her, and the arrangement broke down. After leaving her friend's home, Isabel initially went to the council for housing support. Importantly, because she was under 18, the social service first attempted to mediate a route back to the family home (Pona & Crellin, 2015). Thus, she returned to the family home for a short period. It was not until she was made homeless again by her mother and spent a brief period staying with her grandmother that the council provided her with accommodation.

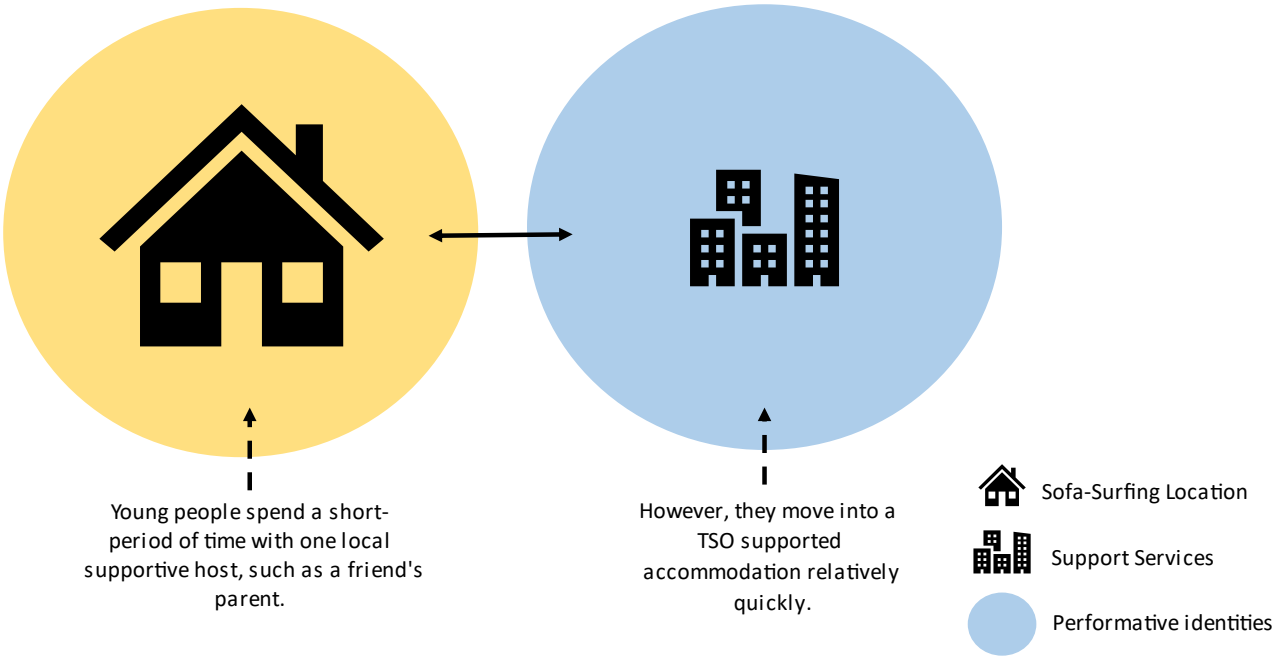

Figure 22. An illustration of young people moving from a friend's or parents' home into TSO-supported accommodation.

As signified by the yellow circle in Figure 22, young people in crisis may encounter a caring parental host offering a temporary mother/child style performative relationship that helps prevent harmful behaviours. However, the caring capacity of a parental host may be quickly diminished when conflict emerges between the host's children and the sofa-surfing guest. Nonetheless, as signified by the arrow to the blue circle in Figure 22, this quick breakdown of a once safe sofa-surfing space is mitigated via quick access to TSO-supported accommodation. Thus, Isabel's engagement with TSO and her subsequent acceptance of support when it became available meant the risks of a longer-term Those Who Wander *cartography* quickly diminished. Thus, unlike Those Who Wander, periods of directionlessness are short-lived, and importantly, engagements with TSO and statutory support yielded better outcomes.

Multiple Arrangements During a Short Period:

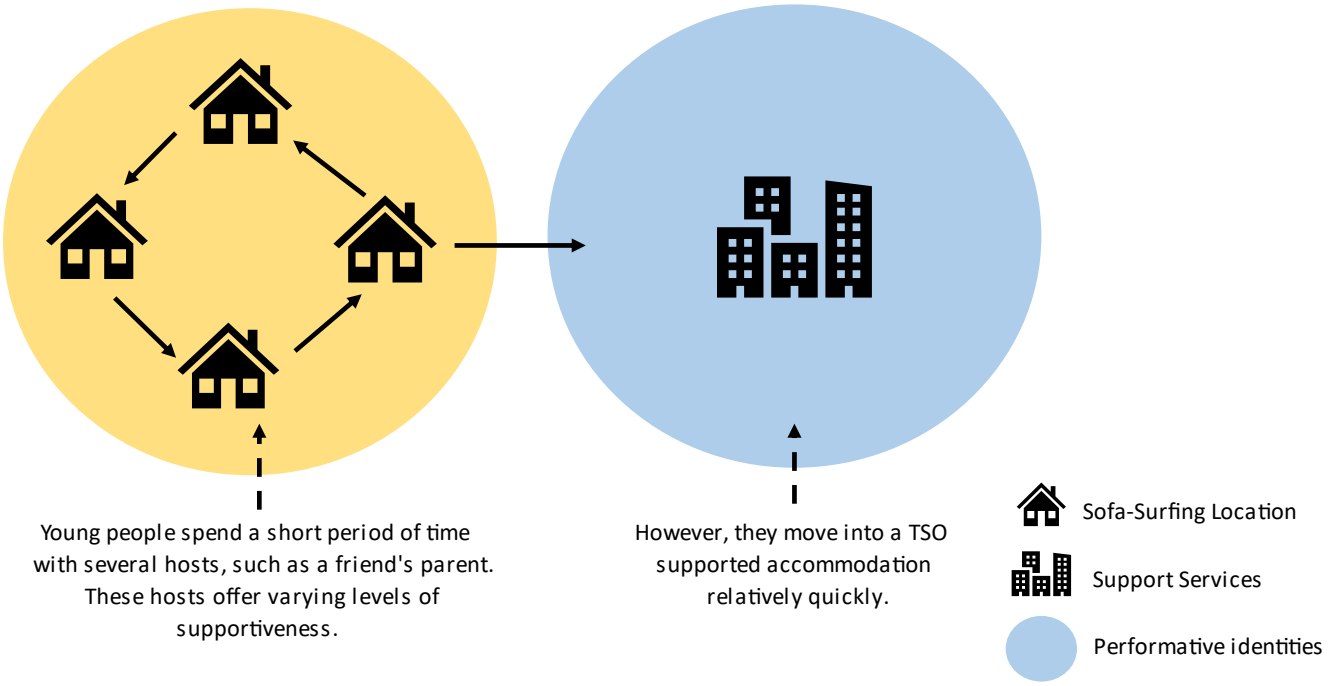

Figure 23. An illustration of young people staying in several 'friendly' spaces before moving into TSO-supported accommodation.

Alternatively, far more chaotic mobilities between several friends and friends' parents' homes shape the Short-Term Sofa-Surfing *cartography*. For example, David moved between his six different friends' or friends of friends' properties for three months. This is illustrated by the various houses and arrows depicted in the yellow circle in Figure 23. His account also clarifies the various forms of identification and deservingness encountered when he briefly moved through several host spaces while sofa-surfing. David had, before becoming homeless, delivered parcels for Amazon. However, during the Covid-19 lockdown, he was fired because he forgot to wear a face mask. At the same time, and with little notice, his landlord also evicted him, forcing him to sofa-surf with friends. Moreover, while most had sympathy for David's situation, their willingness to support him varied, with some of his friends less empathetic to the constraints on his ability to quickly find independent housing and employment:

"I was trying to get back into work, and you can't focus on that when you have to think about where you'll have to sleep and shower, and you can have a permanent place, where you are settled…. [Still] Some would take me to work when they went to work. And some were just like, you need to sort your stuff out. Some of them were easier going than others..."

(David, Yorkshire)

Like the Those Who Wander *cartography* above, David reemphasises that chaotic mobilities between spaces are exhausting and demotivating, making it difficult to plan the necessary steps to find more stable accommodation (McLoughlin, 2013). Some hosts understood these difficulties. One self-employed friend invited David to work with him, affording space and relationships that helped him feel worthy of care and access to identities, such as 'co-worker' and 'deserving' friend. However, others emphasised that it was David's responsibility to fix his homelessness. In this sense, unlike Parsell (2011), who found a homeless person's worthiness depended on their passive, meek, or entertaining performances (Cloke *et al.,* 2008), I see David's worthiness in host spaces as dependent on whether a host believes he is to blame for his homelessness (see Farrugia, 2011) or they instead recognise how structural disadvantages, unexpected circumstances caused his homelessness (see Fitzpatrick, 2005):

David: Most lived with their parents...

Interviewer: Were the parents putting pressure on them for you to leave?

David: Yeah, indirectly. Like saying, "he can't stay here forever..."

Nonetheless, even if his host offered emotional involvement and friendship, David states his dependency on a friend's parents' home ensured tenuous hospitality,

all being temporal and short-lived (McNulty, 2007). Again, as hosts, the caring capacity of friends' parents seemed reduced by the traditional cultural script around the home as a space of familiarity with clear boundaries that provide privacy from the public gaze (Easthope, 2004). Thus, intrusions into these private spaces will remain short and temporal without desirable commercial benefits to the host (McLoughlin, 2011). Still, as depicted via the arrow pointing into the blue circle in Figure 23, one of his hosts, a friend's parent, put him in touch with a local homeless charity, an option David did not know existed prior. He was then quickly placed in a large homeless hostel for young people.

Reflections:

Young people with a Short-Term Sofa-Surfing *cartography* experience relatively secure short-term arrangements or Those Who Wander-like mobilities. For those like David, with high mobility and host turnover, it seems that a host's perception of what causes homelessness (personal behaviour /structural) and the discourses that define their sense of home (traditional/non-traditional) affect their level of care in host space and its tendency towards a tenuous Kantian Hospitality (McLoughlin, 2011). Nonetheless, for those with a Short-Term Sofa-Surfing *cartography*, via engagement with the social services or an encounter with a helpful host who signposts them to a TSO or statutory service, young people quickly move into a hostel or small supported housing project. Thus, unlike the Those Who Wander *cartography*, whose attempts to utilise TSO/statutory support failed and desires for independence and self-reliance drove mobilities, the Short-Term Sofa-Surfers chaotic mobilities may be a more temporal reaction, not a longer-term preference.

Exiting after a Long-term Homelessness:

The Exiting Long-term Homelessness *cartography* documents the spaces, mobilities, and performative identities of young people exiting homelessness after a longer period of housing precarity. Young people in the Exiting Long-term Homelessness *cartography* have been homeless for at least six months and, in Adrian's case, several years. Briefly, exiting requires young people to: i) find stability in their space, mobility, and day-to-day performances, supported by a reciprocal caring relationship where hosts, community, or formal support services are provided. Then, ii) through these connections, young find a desirable, more-than-homeless future identity and begin consistently embodying it. Consequently, these people's spaces, mobilities, and more-than-homeless performances align, making them far more likely to achieve long-term housing independence and full-time employment (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015; Devadason, 2008).

Nonetheless, I also caveat this section by identifying potential circumstances that could lead to breakdown and the limitations of supported exits. Specifically, I explore the risks of only depending on a host, not a broader formal and informal support network, to exit homelessness. Also, for some young people, even after they escape homelessness, the experience of trauma and highly complicated childhoods affects their capacity to connect with wider society (see Chamberlain and Johnson, 2018).

Stabilised Spaces, Support, and Hope:

Those beginning to adopt an Exiting Long-term Homelessness *cartography* settle into a space or routine of spaces over several months, sustaining hospitality via hosts/guests providing reciprocal care (Bowlby, 2011). This reciprocal caring and stability of space then free up resources to begin exiting homelessness. Specifically, young people begin developing more-than-homeless *future* identities (Jolley, 2020;

McLoughlin, 2013) and the development of connections with localised role models or sustained engagement with institutions, such as TSO and statutory services and education (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). For example, after dropping out of university, Joseph slept on the sofa of his grandmother's one-bedroom flat in north London. He felt at home with his grandmother and found purpose in helping care for her. However, struggling with poorly paid zero-hours contracts in the hospitality sector and unable to afford a rental, he felt trapped, ashamed, and unable to build a better life.

For a while, Joseph was unsure how to make this change in his life happen. However, the spatial stability of his grandmother's flat facilitated Joseph's rekindling of a connection with a local church community he attended as a child. Joseph eventually went fishing with his old church friends and their parents. One of the parents, aware that Joseph had dropped out of university and was struggling to earn enough money to move off his grandmother's couch, offered him the opportunity to develop trade skills and become a pest controller:

> *"His Dad, Chris, has been running this company… I was unemployed. I speak to Finn a lot. And Finn mentioned it to his dad. [Then] we did a fishing trip. It was like all the lads… and Chris just asked me. 'Yo, do you want a job?' I was like, 'Yeah, sounds great. When do I start?'. He said we'll have an interview. And that was kind of it."*
>
> *(Joseph, London)*

After beginning to train as a pest controller, he states:

> *"I was gaining this sense of myself that I had not felt for years, which was like Joseph, you're good, you know? But you're good at what you do when you try; you're sick. So, what are you doing with your life?"*

(Joseph, London)

For Joseph, sleeping on his grandmother's sofa and moving between different poorly paid hospitality jobs for two years caused him to doubt whether greater financial and housing security was possible. His daily performances centred on caring for his grandmother, working as a sous chef, and smoking cannabis; he was unwilling to seek the support of the TSO organisations and did not earn enough to move out of his grandmother's one-bed flat. However, in a stable space close to people whom he knew intimately through the church, Joseph was able to find role models who facilitated access to the labour market, and this, in turn, inspired self-confidence in Joseph that he could exit homelessness. Thus, community connections, such as friends, parents, and neighbours, can provide role models for more-than-homeless *future* identities, such as pest controllers, that begin to create pathways out of homelessness (Jolley, 2020; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

Alternatively, Callum illustrated performances within host spaces that, unlike young people who were Overstaying, indicated to the host that Callum had the capacity and willingness to exit homelessness. Callum left his mother's home after they frequently argued over her demands that he reduce his working hours. However, by employing a range of strategies - performances as a waiter, caring for his friend's mental health, and mobilities that prevented overstaying, Callum made himself worthy of long-term caring hospitality. For example:

> *"[If] there's a three-hour shift to pick up…. I'd say, "Yeah, mate, I'm sorry, I've got to go to work because… I can always see my friends but can't always earn money…."*

“[Josh’s Mum] refused to take any money from me. She was like you're Blake's friend, and you helped him through a rough time mentally."

“And then at the beginning of January, [I stayed with my other friend Alex] for 4/5 days, and then it was Josh."

(Callum, Devon)

Thus, by always prioritising time for his job, Callum helped sustain a non-homeless identity as a ‘waiter’ and appeared as a worthy guest taking responsibility for his homelessness. Secondly, Josh's Mum felt Callum played an instrumental caring role that improved her son's mental health; thus, she wanted him to spend time with her son. Finally, after two months of dependency on Josh’s family, Callum decided to stay at Harry’s parent’s home four days a week to not overstay his welcome at Josh’s. In this sense, Callum's strategies indicated personal responsibility, care, and a willingness to provide hosts with space, and thus, in contrast to those in the Overstaying *cartography*, he indicated he was on a trajectory towards eventually exiting their homes.

Finally, after a prolonged Those Who Wander *cartography*, Adrian transitioned towards an Exiting Long-term Homelessness *cartography* via routinised mobilities between two hosts and proactive TSO engagement. Thus, the first important step for Adrian was his patterned sofa-surfing routine:

"[I've] worked out me staying there from Monday to Thursday. And then with other people, Friday to Sunday, and then go back for Monday… Monday to Thursday [I stay at] my potential girlfriend's uncle; the other people are my mates, his partner, and their little daughter… [they're] quite close together, a good 10 minutes…."

(Adrian, Devon)

After Adrian developed regularity mobilities between the two hosts, he notes that one of his hosts was particularly caring. Namely, the *potential* girlfriend's uncle allowed him to take showers whenever needed and always cooked him a meal. Well-fed, clean and without immediate concerns about finding the next place to stay (McLoughlin, 2013), Adrian began to turn his attention to finding a place to live. Introducing a new potential lover also contributed to his revitalised desire to get 'somewhere' in life. Adrian no longer had to enact mobilities and performances like those of more entrenched homeless people (May *et al.,* 2007). Instead, through stability and connections with others, he could begin embodying a desirable, more-than-homeless self on the horizon - to be a partner to someone he found attractive (Jolley, 2020). Thus, within just a few months of manageable mobility, Adrian consistently re-engaged with TSO services and felt he was on track to finding secure, longer-term accommodation:

> *"Having the support from someone gives me a little bit more momentum to get things done, and to be fair, it's helping. [My Support Worker] will say I have a meeting for this date and this date... 'tell me what one you want; I will be there!'."*
>
> *(Adrian, Devon)*

Overall, in developing routine mobility between two hosts and feeling motivated by a more-than-homeless *future* to be a 'boyfriend' with his own house, Adrian realised he needed help from TSO services to exit homelessness. In letting go of the Those Who Wander-associated desire for independence and beginning to follow the guidance of his support worker, Adrian felt reinvigorated and inspired that formal services could help

him find secure accommodation. Like the young people in Hardgrove *et al.'s* (2015) study, young people without families can be provided with trajectories towards a more secure financial and housing future through the support of institutions. However, unlike the study by Hardgrove *et al.* (2015), I wish to emphasise the reciprocity needed in these relationships. An institution alone cannot inspire motivation; the young person must also decide that the trajectory offered by the institution can help facilitate a desirable, more-than-homeless future identity–in Adrian's case, a lover (Jolley, 2020).

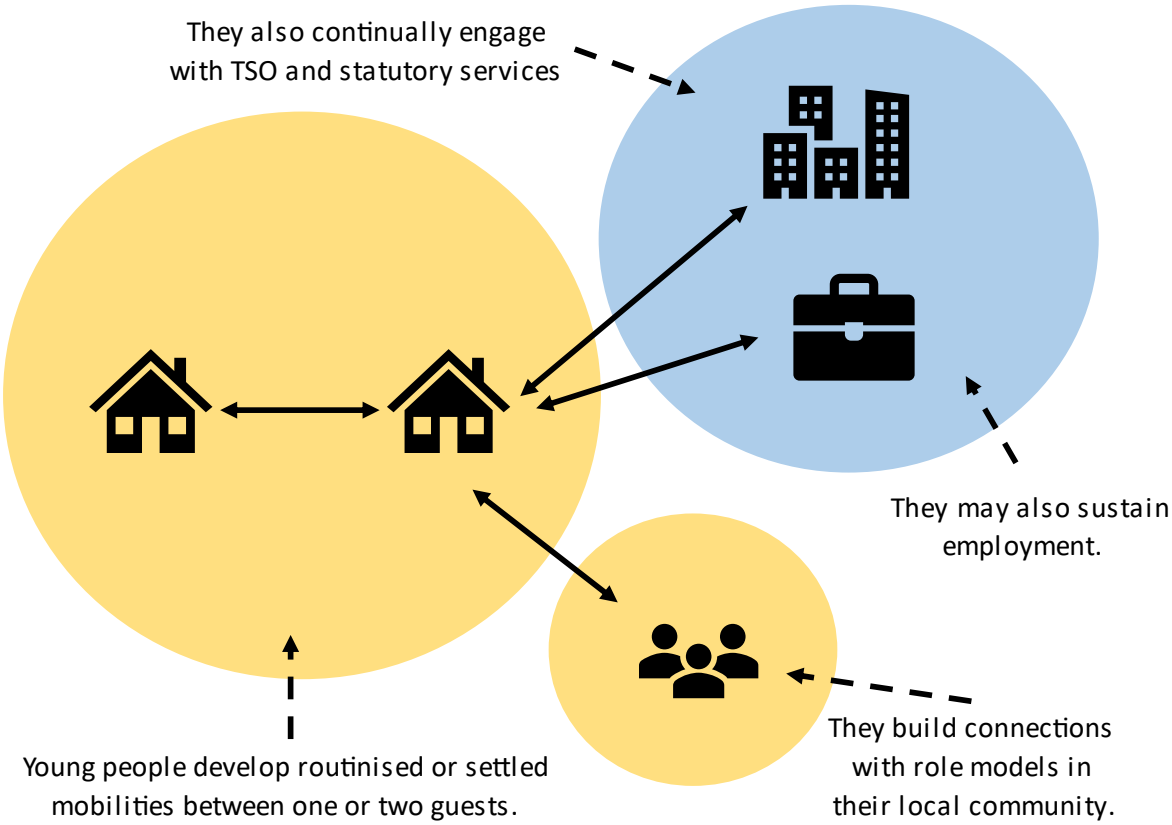

Figure 24. A mapping of the relationships and mobilities young people utilised after they Exited Long-Term Homelessness.

Overall, young people's mobilities settle with supportive hosts, as signified in Figure 24 by the double arrow between two houses in the yellow circle. Again, these hosts are helpers (McLoughlin, 2011) with resources, space, money, food, or at least the willingness to provide long-term accommodation. In response, the guest provides

reciprocal care via mobilities that provide relief from hosting and emotional involvement. Additionally, as signified by their mobilities towards the smaller yellow and the blue circle in Figure 24, guests also indicate to their hosts a capacity to move out via engagement with education, employment, and TSO or statutory services. With a stable space, young people are less concerned about the next place they need to sleep and can spend more time considering methods and means to improve their situation (McLoughlin, 2013).

Consequently, many begin to develop a more-than-homeless *future* identity that transcends the spaces in which they currently reside. These identities provide hope, pushing them towards better living circumstances (e.g., pest controller and lover) (Jolley, 2020). Importantly, in distinction to Jolley (2020), who emphasised the momentariness of these identities, these more-than-homeless identities, emerging consistently, inspire hope and help motivate people to their desired future (Schippers *et al.,* 2020; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). As will now be explored, this drastically increases the likelihood of exiting homelessness.

Nonetheless, I briefly consider how this section helps me answer research question 4:

> How can theories of *cartography* inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

Firstly, the geographies of sofa-surfing reveal there are key characteristics that lead to changes in people's *cartographies* that lead towards exiting homelessness. For example, those with Exiting Long-term Homelessness *cartography*, in contrast to the Those Who Wander *cartography*, have become more willing to build caring relationships than in the

past. Specifically, while Those Who Wander desired emotional and physical distance from people, these young people's spaces and mobilities were driven by a desire to (re)connect.

Additionally, unlike Overstaying or Seek Intimacy *cartographies*, those Exiting Long-term Homelessness maintain the capacity for reciprocal care between host and guest by adopting routinised mobility strategies that prevent overburdening their hosts. Finally, each young person made it clear through their actions that they were looking for other places to live and adopting strategies to increase their financial and housing autonomy, whether employment or consistent engagement with support services. In this sense, *cartographies* that enable an exit from homelessness reflect the effective balancing of preferences for intimate and caring relations found in Seeking Intimacy, Seeking Home, and Overstaying *cartographies*, with the preferences for mobility and the awareness of being a burden found in the Those Who Wander. In other words, an analysis of *cartographic* responses reveals that balancing these responses increases the likelihood of exiting homelessness.

Self-Regulation for the Future Self:

Once a young person has developed a stable space with reciprocal caring relations, routinised mobilities and connections that facilitate more-than-homeless *future* identities, they engage in the long-term process of behavioural self-regulation that aids the exit of homelessness. For example, Joseph received a low apprenticeship salary while learning to become a pest controller. Despite his meagre pay, he still needed to save money to get his driver's license to increase his salary. Thus, even though he had found work, he could still not afford to save for a deposit or rent. Nonetheless, he also

recognised that by developing skills as a pest controller, he would eventually obtain a regular income with a higher earning potential:

> *"It wasn't until I had a licence that I could earn enough money monthly to rent a place… [But] that is now benefiting me in an immediate effect. Like, I can earn the money I want relatively easily at this stage in my life."*
>
> *(Joseph, London)*

Thus, empowered by a role model and pathway to labour found in his local community, Joseph began routinely identifying not with his present circumstances but with his more-than-homeless *future* self (Jolley, 2020). Through behavioural self-regulation, Joseph invested his income into getting a driver's license and later began working for a local council as a pest controller with an increased salary. This salary helped him save enough money to move out of his grandmother's flat and live with his friend Finn. This echoes the work of Cebulla (2016), who found that some young people living in precarious sofa-surfing circumstances, particularly if they are working towards a long-term goal with opportunities for a higher salary and secure employment, did not identify themselves with their current experiences but instead who they were becoming – their more-than-homeless *future* selves (Jolley, 2020).

Similarly, Callum exemplified long-term planning and practised behavioural self-regulation, and this helped him access independent accommodation quickly:

> *“I was doing my budgeting… [I'm] saving for a lad’s holiday next summer, which will be super difficult to budget for... I've booked next August to save £1000… but I need to be careful because when March hits, I have to move out of [the rental] I am in now, or I can renew the contract."*

(Callum, Devon)

Above, Callum describes his temporal identification with his more-than-homeless *future* self. Namely, he saved money each month and looked forward to enjoying time with friends on a 'lads holiday' in Spain; he also recognised that to avoid homelessness, he had to save the money for a deposit on a flat he wanted. Importantly, impressed by this 'maturity', TSO support workers helped him find a room in a rented house, bypassing the staircase approach to independent housing - consisting of a transition through multiple local youth hostel projects with slowly reduced levels of support - where he was more likely to be exposed to drug use and violence (Boland, 2018; McMordie, 2021). In this sense, Callum avoided young hostel spaces that may have harmed him by adopting self-regulating behaviours to pursue a more-than-homeless future self, one with a flat and money to go on holidays (Jolley, 2020).

Finally, Adrian's consistent engagement with TSO support gave him positive feedback that he was getting closer to a more-than-homeless *future* identity of having a council flat (Jolley, 2020). This feedback helped motivate him to stay on track:

> *"So, I can have ID for once… she sorted that out for me. Also, she's giving me a weekly list of shared housing, flats and whatnot, and different residential letting agencies. And she has got me back on Devon's home choice again… I do loads of bidding on there every Wednesday… I'm just bidding on anything that comes up."*

(Adrian, Devon)

Adrian's experience exemplifies how TSO workers facilitate self-regulation of behaviours in pursuit of a more-than-homeless identity associated with housing. First,

they helped him complete and submit applications to access a legitimate ID and a bank account. This made it easier for him to apply for housing and future jobs. Secondly, they continuously updated him with new flats and houses to bid on or apply for. Consequently, by embodying the day-to-day performances and mobilities required to get his property and eventually find work, Adrian felt far more excited for the future. Only a week after the interview, his support worker informed me that he had found more permanent accommodation. In this sense, TSO services facilitated more-than-homeless identities and assisted an exit from homelessness (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

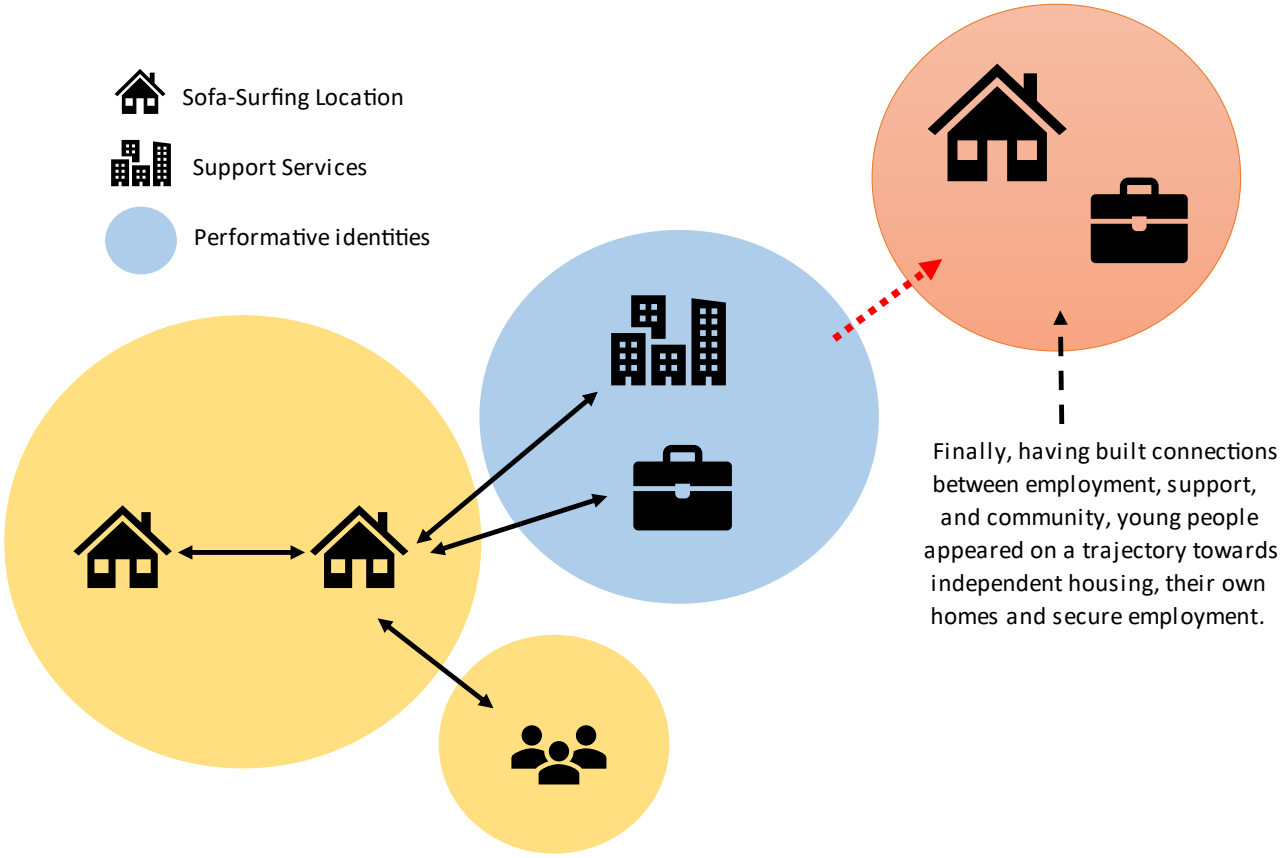

Figure 25. A mapping of the relationships and mobilities young people utilise and its relationships towards a motivating, more-than-homeless future identity.

Overall, once these young people had more routine mobilities, secure space, (re)engagement with community members, education, TSO or statutory support, they no longer felt precluded from the resources needed to make long-term strategic decisions about their lives (McLoughlin, 2013). Instead, as illustrated by the orange circle

in Figure 25, they developed feasible, more-than-homeless future identities, aligning with the resources of their support networks (Devadason, 2008; Jolley, 2020). Through identification with these future selves, young people embodied the temporal behavioural self-regulation that afforded a large increase in the potential of these future identities to become realised in the present (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). For example, envisioning a future self as a fully qualified pest controller, Joseph saved money for his driver's license, obtained a non-apprentice salary and moved out of his grandmother's flat and into a flat with his friend. Thus, as indicated by the red arrow towards the orange circle, secure sofa-surfing space and mobility and more-than-homeless future identities that align with community resources facilitate a long-term exit from homelessness.

Risks of a Long-Term Exit:

In this final section, young people can encounter barriers that prevent an exit from homelessness via the Exiting Long-term Homelessness *cartography*. For example, like Adrian, Rich began upon a trajectory to exit homelessness after an extended period in a Those Who Wander *cartography*, frequently moving between several host spaces and spending many nights in 'crack dens'. Nonetheless, Rich obtained spatial stability through a caring friend who gave him a more-than-homeless *future*. However, by only depending on this friend, Rich began Overstaying (see Chapter 8). Thus, his Exiting Long-term Homelessness *cartography* collapsed when the host faced relational difficulties:

> *"Yes, my mate, he helped me out a lot, wake me up in the morning like come get showered, up in the morning shower. They are brushing my teeth. He'd have all his clothes ironed out, outfits for the morning, and then we would go out and do some gardening work as gardening… He started putting some of my money*

away, got me a new phone… brought me back up and made me feel myself! I was leaving my hair to get right long…"

(Rich, South Yorkshire)

Thus, after spending an extended period of regularly and sporadically moving between several different arrangements, Rich settled with a caring friend who engaged in an orderly and routine lifestyle. For example, living with his friend, Rich, his friend would always already have his clothes ironed; he also used his capacity to budget to help him buy a mobile phone. Thus, Rich's friend acted as a role model for Rich and helped him develop a more-than-homeless *future* identity, where he cared for his appearance and had formal employment and daily routines (Jolley, 2020; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). As found above, these role models can motivate the self-regulation of behaviour towards actualising a more-than-homeless identity in the long term (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

However, by failing to build routinised mobilities or other community connections (e.g., TSO, statutory or education), Rich's overdependency on his host led him back into a Those Who Wander *cartography*. Specifically, his host friend and their partner's relationship broke down, and his friend then moved back in with their mother. Consequently, Rich lost his spatial security, daily routines, and employment, and with no TSO engagement, he had no choice but to return to Those Who Wander sofa-surfing. Rich would not seek help from TSO or statutory for another two and half years. Like the *cartographies* of Overstaying, Seeking Intimacy or Seeking Home, Rich lacked the preparedness and wider connections to provide a security net for when his secure sofa-surfing circumstance broke down. In this sense, even when Exiting Long-term Homelessness, young people are at risk of failure if a caring host space has limited resilience to relational changes (e.g., a host experiencing a breakup):

But I was just chucked in there. Ahh, so the initial meeting... Yeah, like, I didn't get a choice in that, like. I was in a meeting and can't even remember; there were loads of people in there, about 30 people. And my Mum wrote a letter saying I'm going to die, and they sent me to rehab.

(Libby, Devon)

Finally, even after a successful exit from sofa-surfing into secure accommodation, continued problems related to mental health and trauma can prevent young people from pursuing more-than-homeless identities. For example, as explored, Libby, in Seeking Home *cartography*, was subjected to sexual exploitation by older men and spent periods rough sleeping and then sent to rehab at 17 (see Chapter 7). In rehab, she stopped substance misuse, started boxing and realised her more-than-homeless *future* identity to become a paramedic. After leaving rehab, Libby was provided with a one-bedroom flat and continued receiving support from social services, a child welfare charity, and a drug and alcohol support service. She also started attending college to pass GCSE Maths and English, subjects needed to become a paramedic. In this sense, she had been provided with a stable space and community resources to initiate the self-regulatory behaviours needed to achieve her more-than-homeless future (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015):

"I wanted to be a paramedic… and then it got so much that I started smoking weed again. And then, when I was going to college… black people stared me up and down and up... I had black people in my class in college, and I was nervous."

However, despite having settled accommodations and more-than-homeless *futures* aligned with community support, past trauma inspired immobility in Libby, preventing appropriate behaviour self-regulation. Namely, upon returning to her hometown, scarred by memories of sexual abuse, armed violence and heavy drug use

in her local area, she continued to fear for her safety as she moved through public space. Eventually, Libby became agoraphobic, avoiding public spaces, staying close to home in an outer-city suburb, dropping out of her college courses and fearing the boxing gym.

In culmination, past traumatic experiences meant Libby struggled to pursue a more-than-homeless identity. This difficulty is recognised elsewhere, as studies note that when people undergo long-term stigmatisation or trauma due to past homelessness experiences, they struggle to reintegrate with their community, make friends or find employment even after rehousing (Chamberlain & Johnson, 2018; Gaetz *et al.,* 2013). In such instances, intensive psychological or mental health support may be required to enable such young people to experience greater levels of reintegration with society.

Conclusions:

Overall, Short-Term Sofa-Surfing *cartography* encompasses two different expressions of space, mobility, and identity with similar outcomes. This helps in answering research question 1:

> How do different *cartographies*, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?

Firstly, young people find a short-term helper, defined by parental/child-like identities, host followed by access to accommodation. Secondly, young people adopt high-frequency mobilities for one to six months between several hosts. Consequently, young people like David may experience various levels of care depending on the host's understanding of home and the causes of homelessness. Importantly, those in a Short-Term Sofa-Surfing eventually locate a TSO or statutory support service and are

successfully rehoused. This contrasts with Those Who Wander, who have multiple episodes of chaotic mobilities over time and thus may use TSO supports but eventually disengage and become homeless again. Also, in answering research question 4, these young people's experiences also emphasise that *cartographies* are non-linear - that people can cycle between different motivations and proclivities to space and mobility type.

Furthermore, in answering research question 1, I also found *cartographies* that lead to many young people exiting homelessness after a long-term period of housing precarity. An exit from homelessness for these young people consists of routinised mobilities between two or three hosts or a dependency on a caring host that is not vulnerable to homelessness or relational breakdown. After establishing the stability of space and movement, young people also engage with community members, TSO or statutory services and education. These people and institutions afford feasible, more-than-homeless future identities that motivate the regulation of behaviours to achieve this self. In contrast to those Overstaying, Seeking Intimacy or Seeking Home, whereby the arrangements may be secure but end unexpectedly, these individuals did not over-depend on one host, and with the development of wider support networks, maximised opportunities to embody their more-than-homeless *future* identities.

Nonetheless, over-reliance on a vulnerable host or past trauma can interrupt a potentially successful Exiting Long-Term Homelessness *cartography*. For people in Rich's position, improved guidance for young people sofa-surfing should include reaching out to a broader network of supportive institutions, even when things are going well, to reduce the potentiality of an unwanted breakdown (see Boland, 2018). Alternatively, once housed, it may be important to encourage and provide therapy and psychological

support for young people like Libby to work through core wounds and assist them in generating a more-than-homeless self they can work towards. In answering research question 4, these findings emphasise again that *cartographies* are always subject to change, and just because a trajectory towards a more-than-homeless *future* identity may have become plausible, no *cartography* can guarantee its fulfilment.

Overall, in mapping the *cartographies* of young people exiting people experiencing homelessness, I found differences in the thematic usage of space, mobility, and identity depending on the period of homelessness before the exit, but I also noted how young people moved from various *cartographies* into Short-Term Sofa-Surfing or Exiting Long-Term Homelessness. This analysis helps answer research questions 1 and 4. For the Short-Term Sofa-Surfing, I reveal how more complex and frequent mobilities are not always caused, like the Those Who Wander, by a desire for independence and self-reliance but rather by a short-lived attempt to avoid rough sleeping before being rehoused.

Secondly, the Exiting Long-Term Homelessness *cartography* highlights how young people move from Those Who Wander and Seeking Home towards Exiting Long-term Homelessness by integrating community, TSO, statutory support, and more-than-homeless identities to generate homeless exits (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015; Jolley, 2020). Finally, I answer research question 4 by highlighting how exploring the *cartographies* of sofa-surfing reveals the non-linear nature of these experiences and identifying the key characteristics in people's experiences that lead to non-linear changes in *cartography*. In the final analysis chapter below, I answer research questions 2 and 3 by exploring people's *flows* through *cartographies* across time and their effect on their more-than-homeless *futures*.

Chapter 11
Flows & Futures:

Introduction:

In this final results chapter, I want to explore the *flows* of those who sofa-surf. As stated in Chapter 5, *Mapping Flow* (p. 54), this thesis adopted the May *et al.* (2007) *cartographic* approach, exploring the messy episodic nature of homelessness. However, May (2000) revealed that people flowed through various types of homeless and non-homeless circumstances across time. Thus, below, I highlight how young people who sofa-surf *flow* or transition through multiple *cartographic* episodes of homelessness. These *flows* emphasise how the various *cartographies* – groupings of associated responses to sofa-surfing via spatial preferences, mobilities and performances - are intertwined in patterned and messy ways, leading to differing housing and employment outcomes.

Moreover, to answer research question 3: How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless future identities? I explore the capacity of more-than-homeless identities to motivate behavioural self-regulation (Jolley, 2020; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). Understanding the origins of people's more-than-homeless identity first requires understanding past contexts and present circumstances, as Jolley (2020) states. Additionally, various studies show that socio-economically disadvantaged young people have poor access to resources and consequently have little choice but to take 'refuge mainly in short-term projects', such as part-time work, meeting only short-term needs and desires (Leccardi, 2008; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). Thus, by mapping my young people's *flows* through various social networks and access

to resources across time, I consider the contributing factors and feasibility of the more-than-homeless *future* identities motivating change in young people (Jolley, 2020).

Flow	Cartographies included and Description.
Secure, to Wandering-Intimacy, to Supported (SWIS)	Starting in a stable Seeking Home, Seeking Intimacy, Overstaying *cartography* towards Those Who Wander or Seeking Intimacy, and then entering supported housing.
Overstaying, Collapse to Supported (OCS)	Starting with an Overstaying *cartography*, followed by a Short-Term Sofa-Surfing *cartography*.
Secure to Secure (S2S)	Starting in a stable Seeking Home or Seeking Intimacy and moving into secure TSO/Statutory supported housing.
Holding Tightly to Home (HTTH)	Young people who remain primarily in a Seeking Home *cartography* often combine with Those Who Wander.
An Uprooted Flow (UF)	Young people experience long-term complex uses of all *cartographies* (Seeking Home, Seeking Intimacy, Overstaying, Those Who Wander, and unsuccessful Short-Term Sofa-Surfing and Exiting Long-Term Homelessness)

Table 6. An introductory description of each of the sofa-surfing flows.

Thus, I discuss five key *flows* and *futures* through sofa-surfing that I have identified, their effects on people's more-than-homeless identities and their feasibility (see Table 6). The first two *flows* explore how people leave or overstay their initial secure

accommodation, descend into precarious wandering-intimacy-type *cartographies*, and re-emerge with stability primarily in supported housing. Both *flows* have variable effects on young people's *futures*. The third *flow* explores young people in secure sofa-surfing spaces who find independent long-term accommodation and have well-defined, more-than-homeless selves. Fourth and fifth, both with uncertain *futures*, are firstly a *flow* reflecting the continued desire for a home, which unfortunately leads to deterioration in housing circumstances, and secondly, a chaotic *flow*, expressed via multiple attempts to rebuild stability, influenced by complete dislocation from family. In culmination, this chapter highlights how the *cartographies* outlined in previous chapters intertwine and enable or disable people's capacity to exit homelessness.

Secure, to Wandering-Intimacy, to Supported:

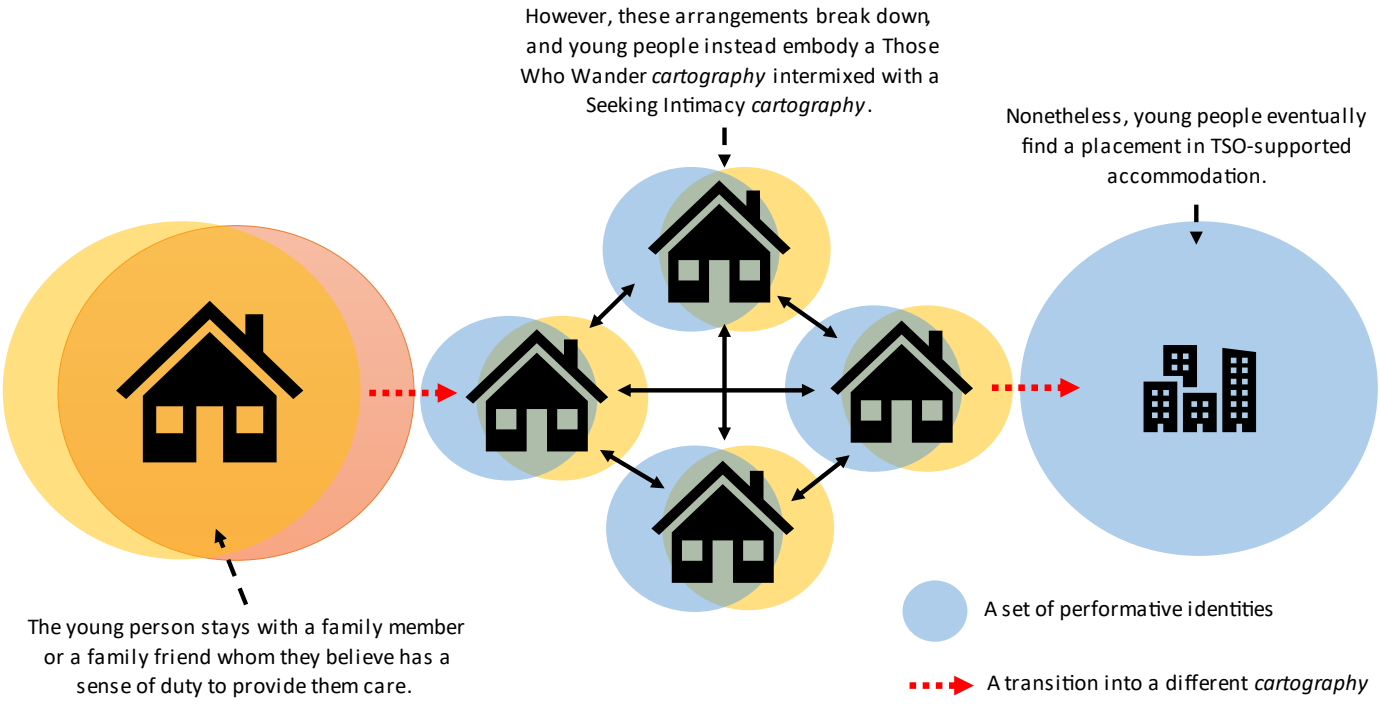

Figure 26. Young people flow from Secure to Wander-Intimacy spaces to TSO-supported accommodation.

As illustrated in Figure 26, the Secure, Wandering-Intimacy to Supported *flow* is defined as a period of relative security provided by the sofa-surfing arrangements commonly found among those Seeking Home (see Chapter 7). However, in the wake of these arrangements breaking down, indicated by the red arrow in Figure 26, the young people experience reduced safety and a loss of sense of direction, expressed in their Those Who Wander or Seeking Intimacy *cartographic* mobilities, spaces and performances (see Chapters 9-10). This *flow* finishes via placement and support in a hostel or small accommodation project (see Figure 26). However, there remains varied capacity among Third-Sector Organisations (TSOs) to create motivating, more-than-homeless future selves.

For Tommy, the home-like arrangements broke down because of relational development in the host's life. For example, Tommy had been Seeking a Home with his aunty. However, she abandoned Tommy unexpectedly while he was at school after redeveloping a relationship with his mother:

> *"No, I was just gone one day! Like came to let me know I was gone when I was at school. I had social service support at the time. They say, 'Okay, we don't know where you can stop'. So, after school, I went to a mate's house; his mom said she could put me up."*
>
> (Tommy, Warwickshire)

After being abandoned by his aunty, Tommy, like the young men in Ahmet's (2013) study, attempted to forge spaces of belonging beyond the home space. This Those Who Wander *cartography* (see Chapter 9) consisted of bouncing between a secure location at his friend's mother's house, a few other friends, and a stranger his friend's mother had put him in contact with. He also spent most of his time at the local

park and developed identities associated with these new social circles and friendships, particularly around drug use. In reflection, he initially enjoyed the dislocation from family and the newfound freedom in sofa-surfing. The various mobilities between the blue and yellow overlapping circles in the middle of Figure 26 illustrate this. Still, with ongoing support from his social worker, Tommy was eventually placed in a TSO-supported shared house with other young people his age.

Importantly, placement in TSO-supported accommodation does not always necessitate the creation of a motivating, more-than-homeless *future* self. For Tommy, TSO-provided accommodation hurt him. He describes the first TSO property as a 'party house', with his fellow housemates encouraging the misuse of illicit substances. Here, he was also threatened at knife point by an ex-resident. He was also discouraged from seeking employment because it would reduce his local housing allowance and, thus, make him unable to afford rent. Also, unlike Adrian in Chapter 10, who highlighted how continued engagement with TSO improved his likelihood of exiting homelessness, his attendance at support meetings with the TSO charity was poor:

> *"I mean, at the time, like I was, I did not want to have anything to with the [local youth homeless charity… why would you want to be around people who constantly remind you where you are?"*
>
> (Tommy, Warwickshire)

Thus, like prior studies highlighting that TSO accommodation facilitates problems with addiction and an inability to seek employment (see McMordie, 2021; McCoy & Hug, 2016), Tommy found that TSO and the statutory support system made employment unaffordable and thus prevented him from being able to afford his rental accommodation. Additionally, with a prior Those Who Wander *cartography* that often

discredits TSO support (see Chapter 9), Tommy, when he was transferred into TSO spaces, still desired to inhabit autonomous and non-homeless identities with friends and thus avoided spaces that reminded him of his homeless identity (May *et al.*, 2007).

Consequently, compared to Adrian's transfer from Those Who Wander to Exiting Long-term Homelessness (see Chapter 10), the available support was less effective at helping Tommy generate a feasible, desirable, more-than-homeless *future*. When asked about who he would like to be in 5 years, he responds:

> *"Nah, if I'm being honest? I don't; I don't know. Every time I have a plan, it just fucks off…."*
>
> (Tommy Warwickshire)

Tommy here indicates that while sofa-surfing in a Those Who Wander *cartography*, and even once housed by TSOs, he repeatedly attempted to create more-than-homeless *future* identities that were detailed and aligned with his localised resources (Devadason, 2008). Importantly, then, TSO spaces neither effectively supported these various *futures* nor could they encourage effective engagement with support. Consequently, Tommy remained precluded from the resources needed to develop effective, more-than-homeless *futures* even in TSO accommodation (McLoughlin, 2013). Concerningly, without the capacity to generate a more-than-homeless *future* identity, Tommy may struggle to experience the self-regulation necessary to exit homelessness successfully (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015) and thus may experience another episode of homelessness in the future (May, 2000).

Overall, in answering research question 2:

What patterns emerge in young people's *flows* through cartographies across time?

I have found the Secure, Wandering-Intimacy, to Supported *flow*, whereby secure Seeking Home *cartographies* break down after a relationship change. For Tommy, this relationship changed because his aunty unexpectedly withdrew her caring hospitality. Consequently, young people initially attempt to forge connections that satiate immediate needs but are unhelpful for them long-term. For example, Tommy's wandering-like mobilities helped create social connections and autonomous identity but also contributed to substance misuse. Nonetheless, Tommy was eventually rehoused with the support of a local TSO service.

Moreover, in answering research question 3:

How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless *future* identities?

I have also found that TSOs may create barriers to employment, and fear of feeling homeless in TSO support spaces reduces people's desire to access an institution that may help facilitate a feasible, more-than-homeless identity. Thus, for those with a Secure to Wandering-Intimacy to Secure *flow*, the capacity to develop a *future* depends on their relationship with a broader social network and their willingness to receive support after being housed. In this sense, past experience of the Those Who Wander *cartography* combined with poor quality TSO accommodation may prevent the development of more-than-homeless *futures*.

Overstaying, Collapse to Supported:

This *flow* explores the experiences of those who overstay, experience a collapse in their sofa-surfing arrangement, but then rehoused with support (Overstaying, Collapse to Supported *flow*). Such a *flow* begins with a prolonged stay that ends because of the host or guest's malpractice. Alternatively, young people and hosts may fail to discuss an appropriate and agreeable time for the guest to leave (Jarvis, 2019). Consequently, a host fearing that the sofa-surfing guest may stay indefinitely ends the arrangement unexpectedly or acts unpleasantly to force them to leave (see Chapter 8). These individuals then experience a brief period of high-risk homelessness, followed by TSO interventions and highly varied levels of alignment between their spatial circumstances and more-than-homeless *futures.* The variations in alignment affect the motivational capacity of these *futures* (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

As explored in the *cartographies* of Chapter 8, many young people sofa-surfing overstay their welcome in the host's home. However, after starting to rough sleep, those in the Overstaying, Collapse to Supported *flow* find a host who prevents long-term homelessness. For example, after his mother was murdered, Flynn overstayed his welcome at his brother's home (see Chapter 7). Initially unaware of TSO support, he was forced to spend two weeks on the street. Similarly, Lucy had to sleep rough to escape her host's abusive and coercive tactics (see Chapter 8). Fortunately for both, a close friend quickly helped them access TSO and statutorily supported accommodation. For example, Tina accompanied Flynn to the council's homeless support services. In this sense, young people in an Overstaying, Collapse to Secure *flow*, through the care and advocacy of close friends, may sleep rough but are quickly redirected towards the support they need (McLoughlin, 2011).

Lucy, unlike those in a Secure, Wandering-Intimacy to Secure *flow*, whereby the effects of long-term housing complexity reduced the development of more than-homeless *future* selves, her quick Overstaying, Collapse to Secure *flow* from a secure sofa-surfing space to a TSO-supported space may have assisted the development of *future* selves. For example, Lucy states that since moving into her supported accommodation project, she has forged positive friendships in the hostel that promote her self-care, such as showering. She also developed a 'precise plan': a set of achievable goals with her support worker; for example, she was looking for a temporary retail job, going to college and training as a media makeup artist, and one day, becoming a homeowner (Devadason, 2008). During the interview, she was also engaged with the Prince's Trust, providing her with life skills such as money management. In this sense, after settling in TSO accommodation, Lucy utilised the support, built friendships and developed a more-than-homeless *future* identity.

Moreover, Lucy's past of Overstaying indicates she already preferred spaces with intimacy, dependency and security; thus, unlike those in Secure to Wandering-Intimacy to Secure, she likely felt fewer negative emotions when relying on her TSO support workers to provide housing and educational guidance. Consequently, she happily worked alongside TSO workers and resources, generating a more-than-homeless *future* identity that aligned with her current spaces and thus was likely to invoke motivation and self-regulation of behaviour (Devadason, 2008; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). Thus, personal proclivities that drive the Overstaying, Collapse to Secure *flow*, namely the initial desire for Overstaying, may reflect onto the utilisation of TSO resources conducive to aligned, more-than-homeless selves.

However, like Libby in the Exiting Long-Term Homelessness *cartography*, whereby trauma reduced her capacity to maintain the wider institutional connections

with the education required to actualise her more-than-homeless *future* (see Chapter 10), Flynn's trauma also affected his ability to create a motivating, more-than-homeless *future* identity. Flynn developed a strong relationship with a local TSO worker and maintained local friendships; however, heavily burdened by his suspicion that his mother's death was not suicide but murder, he states he has used a variety of illicit class-A substances to help numb the emotional pain:

> *"Like I am not sober now; I've already smoked a joint before coming here. I've gone through so many other drugs to get through the day. It starts small - then I ended up doing crystal meth at one point because - not even that could numb what I was feeling."*
>
> *(Flynn, Warwickshire)*

Moreover, when questioned, Flynn's more-than-homeless ambition appeared vague and misaligned 'wishes' (Devadason, 2008). For example, he wanted to be a zoologist or a demolition expert, but neither of these future identities correlated with his current circumstances. He states, *"You got to study quite a lot of it. I have not investigated it personally."*. Thus, while he found these possibilities interesting, he had not begun understanding the training required to become a zoologist or demolition expert. Again, Devadason (2008) would regard this type of *future* as a misaligned and vague wish, and thus, I deduce it is unlikely to motivate Flynn to self-regulate his behaviour to achieve them (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). Thus, despite an Overstaying, Collapse to Secure *flow* indicating a greater support network and thus perhaps reflecting increased capacity to generate aligned, more-than-homeless selves, Flynn's escapism from present circumstances through illicit substances reflects his disconnection from present resources and affects the feasibility of his future hopes.

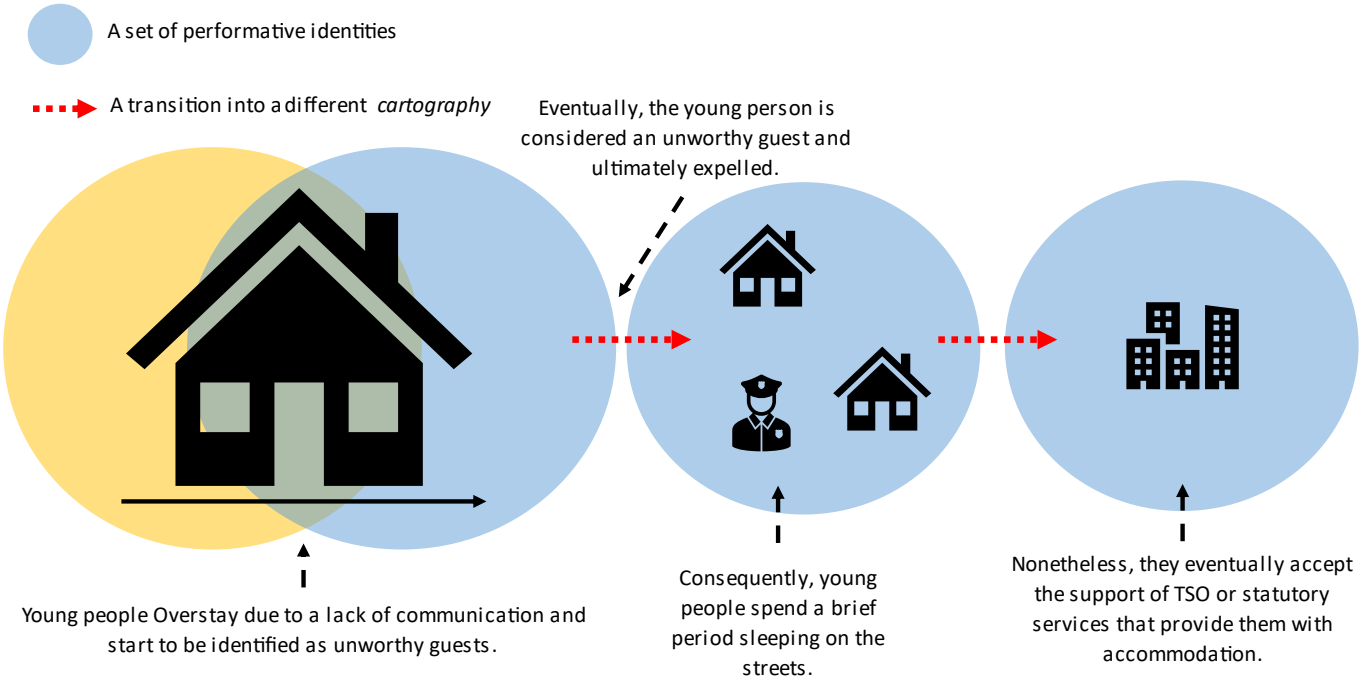

Figure 27. A representation of the flow from Overstaying, Collapse to Supported accommodation.

In summary, and firstly to answer research question 2, the Overstaying, Collapse to Secure *flow* consists of overdependency on one host or friend, which leads to a brief period of rough sleeping, mitigated via high levels of support and care from a close friend. With the assistance of these helper-type individuals (McLoughlin, 2011), the young person sofa-surfing quickly accessed TSO or statutory supported accommodation. This is illustrated in Figure 27 by the transfer from the overlapping blue and yellow circles, signifying the Overstaying *cartography*, into a blue circle, signifying typical homeless spaces, and a final transition into another blue circle where the young person is provided with TSO-supported accommodation.

Secondly, to answer research question 3, with only short-term exposure to highly precarious spaces, unlike the Secure to Wandering-Intimacy to Secure, the clarity and alignment of young people's more-than-homeless *future* with space were less affected.

For example, Lucy's goals seemed achievable and embodied the steps towards this *future*. However, if they are burdened by trauma, like Flynn, who states he is rarely sober and, when questioned on a desired future, identifies paths far-fetched and uninvestigated, such support is unlikely sufficient to ensure a motivating, more-than-homeless *future* self (Devadason, 2008; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

Secure to secure:

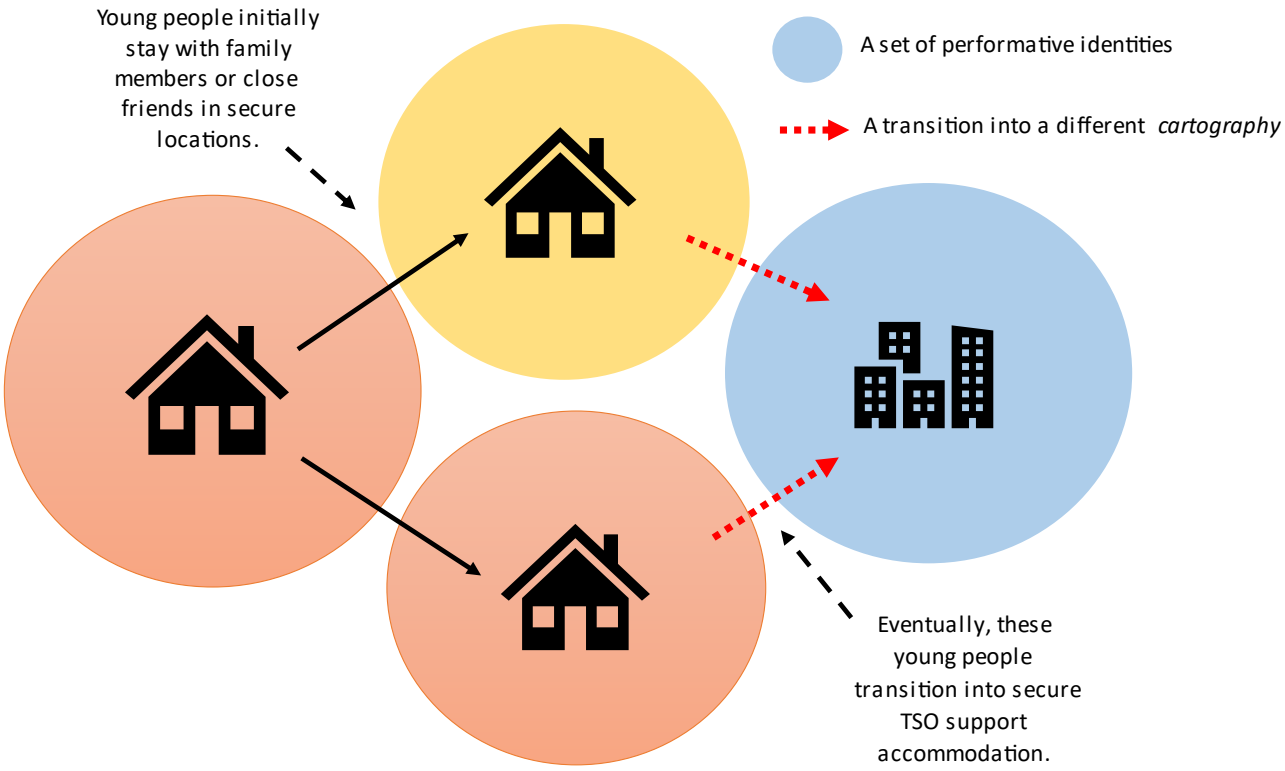

Figure 28. A representation of the Secure-To-Secure *flow*.

A Secure-To-Secure *flow* is when an individual moves from one secure location to another. This is illustrated by Figure 28 above. These environments are primarily provided by close family or friends, signified by the orange or yellow circles in Figure 27, who can provide a secure environment where one temporarily embeds oneself. For example, Calvin spent two years living in a Seeking Home *cartography*, with minimal

conflict, on his brother's sofa. He also remained employed as a carer throughout and experienced no pressure from his brother that he needed to leave.

However, because the property was council-owned, Calvin was concerned his brother would eventually get evicted for subletting. Ultimately, to protect his brother, he moved in with a colleague who helped him contact a charity that finally placed him in shared accommodation. This is illustrated in Figure 28 by the movement from the yellow circle into the blue circle where TSO-supported accommodation is located. In this sense, with a thoughtful exit from his brother's flat, followed by a brief stay with a colleague, Calvin exemplifies a successful and uneventful use of sofa-surfing to prevent rough sleeping. Such a *flow* also indicates that sofa-surfing can facilitate transitions towards housing with preferable and desired hosts.

Similarly, Daniella initially sofa-surfed at her grandmother's house after her mother failed to look after her. However, feeling like she had become agoraphobic living with her grandmother, she pushed herself out of her comfort zone. She moved from Scotland, her birthplace, to South Yorkshire to live with extended family members. She lived with her aunt and grandfather in South Yorkshire for four months. Nonetheless, while she was not pressured to leave, she eventually contacted the council because she did not get along with either of them. The council then helped her to move into a large hostel in South Yorkshire, where I conducted my interview. This is illustrated in Figure 28 by the movement from the orange circle into the blue circle where TSO-supported accommodation is located. In answering research question 2, some young people move from one secure sofa-surfing arrangement to another.

Furthermore, in answering research question 3, young people who moved from Secure-to-Secure generally had 'precise plans' - more-than-homeless *future* selves that

aligned with their spatial circumstances (Devadason, 2008). For example, Calvin wanted to advance from domiciliary care, which he had worked in for over three years, and wanted to eventually specialise in caring for people who had experienced domestic abuse; he was also saving to move into his flat with a friend and upgrade his gaming PC. Similarly, Daniella felt she was on track to get her place in around one year and strongly desired to raise a big family. She had also focused on developing a long-term and stable intimate relationship with a local man. In this sense, young people who depended on caring family members while sofa-surfing had a greater capacity to generate future identities. These identities also effectively reflected past experiences and skills, current circumstances and projected realistic goals related to their socio-economic contexts (Jolley, 2020; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). Consequently, these more-than-homeless *future* selves should promote behavioural self-regulation to exit homelessness long-term (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015; Devadason, 2020).

Holding Tightly To Home:

This *flow* explores how young people sustain a prolonged and unhelpful attachment to a Seeking Home *cartography*. This attachment damages their capacity to generate motivating, more-than-homeless *future* selves. For example, James felt guilty about leaving his suicidal mother and moving in with his father during early adolescence. At 16, after being caught using class-A illegal substances and asked to leave his father's home, he hoped to move back in with his mother more permanently. For six years, James continued to cycle through periods of staying with his mother, father, sisters, and aunties' houses. Each lasted a short while, and in between, he would return to sofa-surfing with friends and strangers:

"They [my family] typically have me for a month, then get bored of me, and then I go again..."

(James, Devon)

At the time of the interview, James had found a more stable sofa-surfing arrangement at his grandmother's. Here, he provided an informal caring role, helping with shopping and cleaning (Bowlby, 2011). However, he remained aware that he would eventually have to find somewhere else because she planned to sell the property. Overall, James' sense of guilt, drug use and long-term dependency on his family meant he had spent six years without any marked improvement in the security of his housing arrangements. In this sense, James and perhaps others like him risk holding out hope for their family's care for too long and may stagnate in poor housing circumstances, potentially for years.

Similarly, due to family conflict, Isabel would often be asked to leave and return to her family home. Specifically, she would sofa-surf with a local lady on her estate until her mother felt threatened she would lose her child benefits payments and invite her home. She also believed her mother had prevented her from making a homeless application at the council for the same reason:

"It was on and off like she was kicking me on and out and taking me back; it did not make sense. And, obviously, like she was getting money from me, so I think it was down to the money side…."

(Isabel, Wiltshire)

After being unable to reconcile her relationship with her mother and growing anxious that the lady on the estate was trying to steal money from her, she eventually moved in with her father. However, she states she woke up in the night to him touching

her breasts. She then approached the council for emergency housing support and was moved into a large homeless hostel in the town centre.

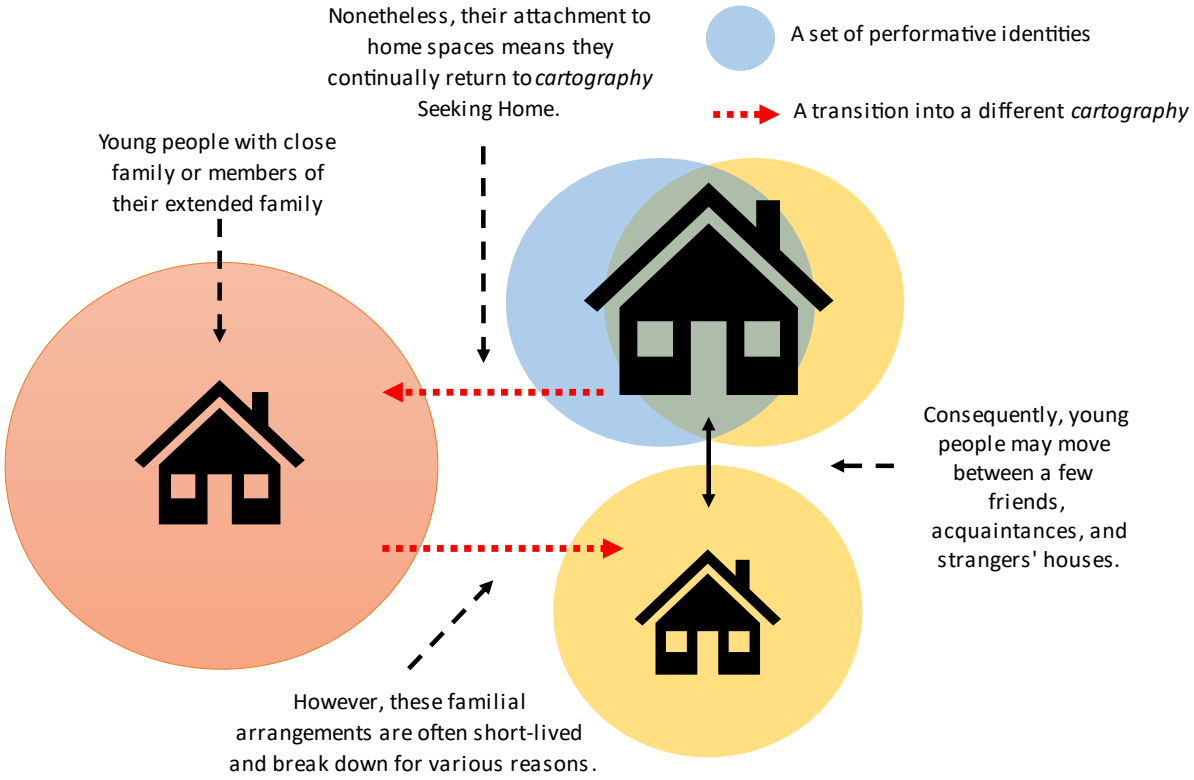

Figure 29. A representation of boomeranging back to a Seeking Home *cartography*

Thus, as illustrated in Figure 29 by the red arrows, James and Isabel, having left home at a young age, frequently seized opportunities to rekindle their sense of home, particularly through their parents' or broader family's love and shelter (Sommerville, 1992). However, family lives saturated with guilt or ill-intended parents meant that by Seeking Home (Chapter 7), instead of approaching a TSO or statutory support, prolonged their experiences of homelessness. For James, the hope of reconciling his relationship with his mother and reliance on his familial support network meant he experienced circular *flows* and little progress in his housing circumstances for six years. For Isabel, respecting her mother's ill-wished requests to return home and then dependency on her father, who abused her trust, caused a marked delay in her receiving the necessary support and accommodation from statutory services.

For both young people, the long-term negative impacts of the Holding Tightly To Home *flow* are reflected in their capacity to generate detailed, more-than-homeless *future* identities that align with their socio-economic circumstances. While recovering from his class-A substances, James still struggled with a desire to commit suicide; he felt like he would never get social housing, and the jobs he was interested in, being a chef or plumber, felt unreachable because he did not know how to drive a car or sign up for a course at the local college. As stated in Chapter 9, he also tried to overdose on Valium. In this sense, James's attachment to familial space, past drug addictions and suicidal ideation limited the more-than-homeless identities he felt were feasible. Thus, James remained unmotivated for change without a desirable, more-than-homeless *future* (Jolley, 2020; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

Moreover, like Jolley's (2020) conclusions that the homeless identity can affect self-worth, such that people feel they could never escape being homeless, Isabel similarly describes how, while she was placed in a secure and small supported accommodation and wanted to improve her fitness and start a catering business, she still felt tempted to return to rough sleeping:

> *Interviewer: Why were you thinking about staying out in the streets?*
>
> *Isabel: I feel like [the streets are] my home... you just realise to yourself that no one gives a fuck about you. No one cares about you. I had it drummed in my head that no one cares about or loves you. That's by my dad. All I seemed to be finding were parasites and shit.*
>
> *(Isabel, Wiltshire)*

In the above quote, Isabel explores how the lack of love from her parents left her feeling that she belongs in spaces where others suffer from low self-worth. However, this homeless identity and mobilities towards street life undermine her more-than-homeless *future* identity by frequently (re)placing her in a space with reduced resources (e.g., support workers). Specifically, tempted to go home, a place with other 'parasites', a word used to describe something to be contained or destroyed, Isabel's more-than-homeless *future* identity to run a business becomes misaligned or undermined with her other day-to-day desires and social contexts (Devadason, 2008). Thus, they were unlikely to motivate and promote self-regulation of her behaviour (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

In answering research question 2: What patterns emerge in young people's flows through cartographies across time? The Holding Tightly To Home *flow* reveals a proclivity towards adopting a Seeking Home *cartography* through multiple episodes of homelessness, hoping to rebuild a supportive relationship with family members. This hope invites long-term circular *flows* in and out of familial spaces, which delay or prevent effective engagement with TSO or statutory services.

Also, to answer research question 3, this holding on or out for familial space harms young people (Sommerville, 1992) and is reflected in young people's 'vague' or 'blue-sky' more-than-homeless *future* identities (Devadason, 2008). Namely, Isabel's more-than-homeless identity remained misaligned with space because of her desire to return to the streets, where she felt at home after repeated mistreatment by her mother (Jolley, 2020). In this sense, the Holding Tightly To Home *flow* may reduce the likelihood of young people adopting self-regulatory behaviours to exit homelessness because they feel it impossible to make longer-term strategic decisions about their lives or preferable

to inhabit spaces where they are precluded from the necessary resources to do so (McLoughlin, 2013).

An Uprooted Flow:

The Uprooted Flow considers the experiences of young people who have experienced the breakdown of their connections with childhood family and place. Thus, unlike the Holding Tightly To Home *flow*, they think returning to family space is impossible. Instead, they are left with little option but to adopt Those Who Wander-like mobility through multiple *cartographies* across time. For example, Jenna was adopted at a young age and then, in her teens, had a tenuous relationship with her adoptive parents because of her cannabis use. Eventually, the relationship between her and her adopted family fractured, and she experienced long-term and complicated mobilities between various statutory sector support spaces. First, she moved to a large hostel for young homeless people and was later evicted after her friend used heroin in her bathroom. She then stayed briefly with her friend and was supported by her family to move into a local B&B (see Short-Term Sofa-Surfing *cartography*, Chapter 10)

Secondly, after leaving the B&B, she then (re)engaged in Seeking Home *cartography* (see Chapter 7), where she began receiving support from her brother's social worker, who placed them both in Cornwall and then South Devon until she was caught with a stolen PlayStation in her room and separated from her brother. After this, she moved back to South Devon and started dating a man and thus engaged in the Seeking Intimacy *cartography* (see Chapter 8), and together, they sofa-surfed in various locations across Cornwall and South Devon. Eventually, he got sent to prison, and they split up. During the interview, she remained sofa-surfing in a Those Who Wander *cartography* (see Chapter 8), stating she preferred survival with minimal support from

TSO and statutory service. In this sense, like Jenna, some young people uprooted and dislocated from their families may transition and utilise various *cartographies* across multiple episodes of sofa-surfing.

Importantly, like the Holding Tightly To Home *flow*, those who experience an Uprooted Flow also share uncertain relationships with their more-than-homeless *future* identities. For example, when questioned about her *future*, Jenna struggled to identify who she wanted to become. With some guidance, she remembered wanting to return to college, finish her sports science course, and become a personal trainer. However, with minimal engagement with the TSO support workers, who could help her return to college, this more-than-homeless *future* identity seemed like a 'vague' plan, misaligned with her socio-economic circumstances (Devadason, 2008). Consequently, I believe she was less likely to be motivated to adopt self-regulatory behaviours to exit homelessness (Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015).

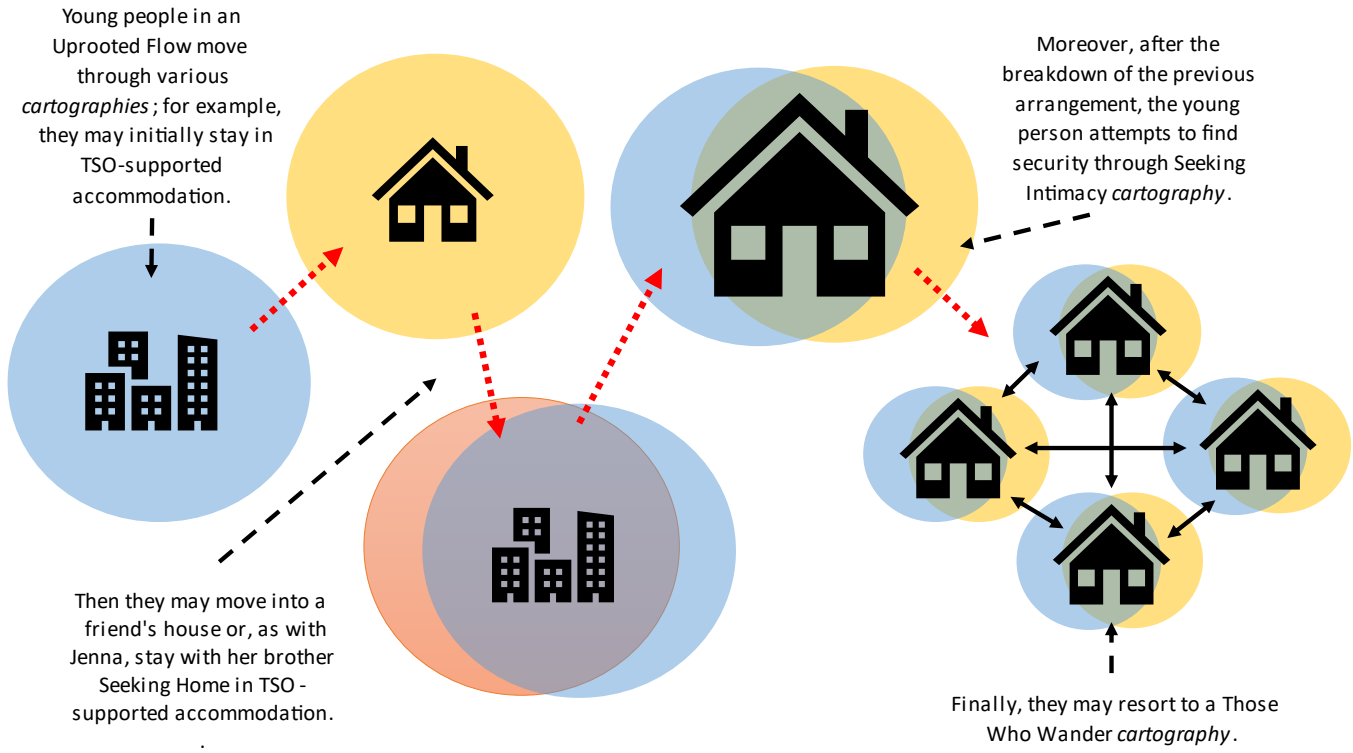

Figure 30. A representation of moving through various *cartographies* across time in a wandering-like fashion.

In Jenna's account, young people may have an Uprooted Flow through various *cartographies* when dislocated from home over several years. This movement through various *cartographies* across time is depicted in Figure 30. Tuan's (1980, p. 6) work on topophilia regarded being *rooted* in space as an unselfconscious feeling of home, unconcerned with past heritage or the future's promises. Instead, I have used the opposite word, uprooted, to describe a potential flow that arises when young people experience a total dislocation from their origin, such as a family and childhood home (McLoughlin, 2013). These long-term uprooted mobilities reflect Creswell (1997), who explored the mistreatment of the vagabond, poor wayfaring peoples of the Middle Ages who moved from settlement to settlement, being continually excluded, and thus belonged to no place. Importantly, these chaotic mobilities do not facilitate a clear, actionable, and thus motivating more-than-homeless future identity. Consequently, they are less likely to encourage a homeless exit than Secure-To-Secure; Overstaying, Collapse to Secure; or the Secure, Wandering-Intimacy to Secure *flows*.

Conclusions:

I have attempted to answer research questions 2 and 3 in this section. To do this, I explored the five key *flows* of sofa-surfers. Each *flow* captured the various *cartographic* responses depending on young people's changing circumstances and needs. For example, the Secure, Wandering-Intimacy to Secure or the Overstaying, Collapse to Secure *flows* highlighted the proclivity of some young people to over-depend on one or more hosts who they think will offer long-term support. After arrangements breakdown, young people use strategies associated with Seeking Intimacy (Chapter 8) or Those Who Wander (Chapter 9) *cartographies* to avoid the streets.

Secondly, I explored how these *flows* affected the more-than-homeless *futures* of young people. For example, those with a Those Who Wander flow had greater difficulty determining their more-than-homeless identity. However, motivating futures seemed possible across all flows if young people found a settled space, engagement with hosts and a wider network of support including friends, helpers, education, and employment). In general, rather than mandated by a history of chaotic mobility between spaces, more-than-homeless *future* identities reflected current access to spaces that, if secure and supportive, seemed to provide the resources to make longer-term strategies (McLoughlin, 2013).

Finally, in reflection on research question 4, evidence repeatedly indicates that a secure and supportive host space enables *cartographies* and *flows* which offer improved alignment of more-than-homeless *futures*. Nonetheless, a young person experiencing serious trauma during their *flow* can seemingly diminish their perceptions of what is possible or create preferences for spaces that conflict with their more-than-homeless *future* identity. Thus, I argue that the geographies of sofa-surfing reveal, then, that a transition into secure *cartography* cannot always overcome a historical lack of resources needed to create motivating, more-than-homeless futures.

Overall, this section aimed to answer three of my research questions:

What patterns emerge in young people's *flows* through *cartographies* across time?

How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless future identities?

How can theories of cartography inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

Thus, I have captured movement across time through my *cartographies* - messy spatial, mobilities and performative responses encompassing sleeping on friends' sofas. I have also argued that for more-than-homeless identities to be effective at inculcating long-term change, they must be clear and align with a young person's immediate socioeconomic circumstances (Devadason, 2008; Hardgrove et al., 2015). Finally, my theories of *cartography* have informed these findings by, like Jolly (2020), recognising the presence of identities that young people hope for that transcend homelessness.

Chapter 12
Conclusions:

Introduction:

This project has made a significant contribution to the field of geography both empirically and theoretically, utilising my *cartographies*, *flow*, and *futures* framework to explore the under-researched experiences of young people who sofa-surfer. For a reminder, my initial overarching aim was:

To examine the different geographical experiences and outcomes of sofa-surfing by young people.

Meeting this aim has required that I answer the following questions:

1. How do different *cartographies*, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?
2. What patterns emerge in young people's *flows* through *cartographies* across time?
3. How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless *future* identities?
4. How can theories of *cartography* inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

Thus, in what follows, I first reflect upon my methodology before explicitly outlining how this study has answered each of my research questions. My reflections on the methodology consider how the use of the semi-structured interviews, both face-to-face and on Zoom, informed and limited the results and how other approaches to studying sofa-surfing may provide fruitful results in the future. Secondly, in answering

question 1, I have elucidated the previously undocumented tensions between host and guest that shape the *cartographies*. These tensions are between the needs, desires and resources of sofa-surfing hosts and guests, which drive different uses of space, identity, and mobility.

Thirdly, in answering questions 2 and 4, I highlighted, for the first time in geography, how the *cartographies*, previously divided into episodes of homelessness, could be expressed through *flows* to show how they overlap and merge into each other over time. In answering research question three, I noted how people's past *flows* reflected and affected the clarity and alignment of people's more-than-homeless futures and, thus, their capacity to motivate action (Devadason, 2008; Hardgrove et al., 2015). Thus, the first section of these conclusions highlights how my empirical contributions have primarily answered research questions 1 to 3.

Moreover, to answer my research question 4, I explore how this thesis makes theoretical contributions to geography and beyond via the notions of *cartography*, *future* and *flows*. Namely, I reflect on the idea of *cartography*, how I have added to it, why it is a useful concept and how it could be built upon. In short, I believe my contributions of performative and more-than-homeless identities, *flow*, *future* and the notion of *cartography* have helped move beyond traditional forms of categorisation of homeless experiences (e.g., pathways and careers), which inadequately capture the fluidity and dynamism of youth homelessness and experiences. Finally, I think this toolkit also holds interdisciplinary promise and thus could be built upon with utilisations in youth, urban and housing studies and sociology.

For the remainder of the conclusion, I provide policy and best practice recommendations and discuss future research directions. For example, I consider how

COVID-19 may have affected the methods and outcomes of the research. Secondly, I explore how this study can inform good practices and policies, such as helping steer young people towards good hosts and away from the bad. Finally, the conclusions consider the fruitful areas of future research.

Reflections on Methodology:

This section reflects on the development of this study's methodology, and I outline the benefits and limitations of using semi-structured interviews to gather previously uncaptured experiences of young people sofa-surfing. Firstly, I had planned to get young people to complete a one-hour supported written goal-setting exercise and longitudinal interviews to see how their housing circumstances changed over time. However, as the COVID-19 lockdown restrictions reduced the fieldwork and data collection opportunities, it was impossible to undertake the repeat interviews necessary for this approach. Fieldwork was therefore restricted to single, in-depth semi-structured interviews. I collected 42 interviews with young people, encompassing many experiences.

Specifically, because of COVID-19 lockdown measures, many third-sector organisations (TSOs), which are often used as gatekeepers for the homeless population (see McMordie, 2020; Hoolachan, 2019), either stopped providing face-to-face support or at least become far less willing to allow non-essential staff workers or researchers to conduct a study on their premises. Consequently, completing one-hour-long supported writing tasks was very difficult, except in Devon, where I got three young people to engage. But in Devon, I had also volunteered at a TSO for a year, and thus, having built relationships with young people, some felt more inclined to engage with my more demanding research tasks. Longitudinal interviews also proved difficult because most

young people whom I called several months later for a follow-up interview did not answer. Overall, interviews provided a relatively easy and uncomplicated way of getting essential data from young people.

Nonetheless, in the future, I think there could be a good opportunity to implement some of these methods I could not fully facilitate in my PhD. For example, now that the lockdowns have finished and there are fewer restrictions on accessing young people who have experienced homelessness, l believe that getting young people to write out their goals would be fruitful. To do this, I recommend that researchers embed themselves in a charity to build relationships with young people before asking them to engage in demanding research tasks. Longitudinal interviews would also be very good, as my data currently captures a single snapshot of time. I recommend monthly repeat interviews to keep young people engaged in the project. Also, methods such as photovoice could yield positive results, providing images, pictures and a deeper insight into the various conditions of young people who are sofa-surfing (Wang & Burris, 1997).

1. How do different cartographies, which I understand as constellations of spaces, mobilities and identities, create varied experiences and outcomes while sofa-surfing?

Briefly, this section outlines how I answered the first research question. In what follows, I summarise what my literature review outlined as the key drivers that created varied experiences and outcomes among the sofa-surfing *cartographies*. I discovered that young people's pasts, needs and desires, combined with access to and the host's capability of meeting these needs, dictated the experience and outcomes of each *cartography*. By answering this research question, I argue that this thesis has provided a better understanding of the complexities involved in each young person's sofa-surfing journey.

In building my framework to research question 1, I speculated that sofa-surfing *cartographies* would be shaped by a temporal and compositional balancing of various identities, motivations and the availability and access to hosts. Namely, spatial choice would depend on the prior identities and experiences of the young (May et al. 2007), a desire for home and care (Sommerville, 1992; Bowlby, 2011), a performance of non-homeless identities and simultaneous avoidance of the stigmatised homeless identity (Cloke et al. 2008; May et al. 2007). Further, the longevity of arrangements would depend on the caring capacities of the host based on their socio-economic positioning and prior relationship (e.g., familial, friends), their familial structure, house size, and senses of 'home' (Bowlby, 2011; Easthope, 2004). Once living together, factors such as caring reciprocity, payments in kind (Peters, 2012), carefully curated performative identities, and willingness to partake in practises of togetherness, such as difficult conversations (Jarvis, 2018), would also play a key role in sustaining arrangements.

Answer 1: *cartographies* reflect differences in dependencies and support access:

However, while my prior theorisations remain valuable, with the collection of a strong body of empirical data on young people's experiences of sofa-surfing, I have also found that the variations in *cartographies* generally reflected a young person's experience, conflicting needs for care and autonomy and the quality of their support network. For example, tired of home due to neglect, poverty, and poor parental mental health, young people may move towards unsupportive local hosts for independence and autonomous identities but return home as they desire security and care again (Seeking Home). Alternatively, desiring independence and unable to access TSO support, they may temporally use intimacy for comfort and connection (Seeking Intimacy) yet sustain a broader *cartography* of self-reliance (Those Who Wander). In this sense, several

cartographies formed around variations in people's needs for care or autonomy and their ability to meet them in their support networks.

Nonetheless, driven by past experiences, people's *cartographies* could also express a more sustained and imbalanced pursuit of dependency. For example, forced into independence by their parents, young people may try to form a precarious 'home' with family, friends or romantic interests (e.g., Overstaying and Seeking Intimacy). These spaces were secure, initially well supported and provided non-homeless identities. However, this pursuit of home-like dependencies beyond the family led to an eventual unexpected breakdown and delayed access to secure and independent housing.

Alternatively, those with a Those Who Wander *cartography* pursued spaces that afforded self-reliance to the point of generating long-term harm. Importantly, often with histories of familial neglect and failures of support service to provide sufficient care, these individuals attempted to maintain emotional and physical distance from their hosts via frequent mobilities between host spaces (May, 2000). Often exhausting their options of host spaces, these people may also endure or prefer periods of rough sleeping and squatting and, ultimately, feel precluded from their capacity to make feasible, more-than-homeless *futures* (McLoughlin, 2013). In this sense, spatial histories generated preferences for independence that drove distancing strategies, defined by frequent movement between spaces of sofa-surfing or peripheral urban spaces.

In this sense, a unique finding from my empirical data is that experiences of young people's *cartographies* are intricately linked to their own variable needs. Often, these *cartographies* express an individual's experience of conflict between attempts to meet their own needs and support networks' capacity to meet them, but they may also reflect more extreme tendencies toward dependency or independence. Nonetheless, by

acknowledging how these drivers create constellations of experiences, the *cartographies* offer an important road map that recognises the dynamism involved in each young person's sofa-surfing journey. However, I still need to answer the second aspect of research question one: how cartographies create varied outcomes.

Answer 2: the types of host/guest relationships *cartographies* predicated affected their outcomes:

Secondly, a major finding from mapping the *cartographies* of sofa-surfing was how the relationships between host and guest created varied negative outcomes. These findings should be helpful to statutory and TSO organisations. For example, in spaces where young people may expect care and security (e.g., Seeking a Home, Overstaying, Exiting Long-term Homelessness), the unexpected breakdown of these arrangements can lead young people into far longer-term and harmful sofa-surfing circumstances (see Chapters 7, 8 & 10). Also, the strong need for intimacy and shelter, combined with a desire for intimate and romantic relationships, creates circumstances that are often short-lived or, if lasting longer, are manipulative and controlling (see Chapter 8). Finally, for Those Who Wander, the need for self-reliance without access to secure space and difficulties entering the labour market meant extended sporadic and frequent mobilities that drove some young people to contemplate suicide. In this sense, the different *cartographies* were often associated with certain outcomes. Consequently, TSOs could provide tailored responses based on the type of *cartography* a young person inhabits. Some suggested best practices are outlined below.

Nonetheless, I discovered the characteristics of *cartography* of sofa-surfing *that* could effectively bridge towards exiting homelessness. These young people first routinise or simplify their mobilities. For example, Adrian moved from the complex

mobilities of Those Who Wander towards routine mobilities between two local hosts. Secondly, a helper host and guest receive reciprocal care (McLoughlin, 2011). Thirdly, while the hosts may have had a limited capacity to care long-term, the young guests, with engagement in their local communities, employment and the TSO and statutory sector, build the wider networks of support needed to exit homelessness. Specifically, I argued that these engagements help provide role models and support for young people to create more-than-homeless *futures* that motivate young people to exit homelessness (Jolley, 2020; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). In this sense, my study helps TSOs better understand sofa-surfing *cartographies* that, with perhaps additional support, are well suited to supporting a young person out of homelessness if necessary.

A final key finding from the *cartographies*:

Finally, beyond the *cartography* shaping tensions between dependency, independence, and spatial resources and the varied outcomes these tensions create, I want to emphasise another key discovery: hosts of sofa-surfers were repeatedly vulnerable, influencing the outcomes of several *cartographies*. Hosts of guests Seeking Home, Overstaying or attempting to Exit Long-term Homelessness, such as Nate's 'aunty' (p. 128) and Calvin's brother (p. 199), put their tenancies at risk. Additionally, hosts may be disabled (p. 127), grieving (p. 106), or in romantic relationships that are close to separation (p. 183). Consequently, a host may ask sofa-surfing guests to leave to protect their tenancy; hosts may be at risk of homelessness or guests exploiting them. In this sense, as already explored, the resources available in young people's support networks are crucial in the host/guest relationship type and its outcomes. Thus, it is very important to acknowledge that many young people access host spaces with vulnerable caring capacities and limited resilience to change (Bowlby, 2011).

Overall, in reflection on my first research question, by exploring young people's spaces, mobilities and identities based on their pasts, resources, personal preferences, needs, resources and support networks, I developed six cartographies. These cartographies are mental maps that highlight the dynamism of the sofa-surfing experiences, often driven by conflicting desires for autonomy and dependency and access to hosts, who I have found are also often vulnerable themselves. Nonetheless, these experiences, depending on a host and guests' capacity to meet each other's needs, create variable risks and outcomes, stretching from the breakdown of arrangements and periods of rough sleeping to *cartographies* that aid a successful bridge out of homelessness. Again, these are unique findings not discussed in other studies.

2. What patterns emerge in young people's flows through cartographies across time?

To answer research question 2, I argued for identifying young peoples' non-linear pathways and careers, namely adopting different *cartographies* across longer periods. These *flows* capture alternations and amalgamations in young people's *cartographies* depending on their changing needs and availability of (un)caring hosts over extended periods. Interestingly, over half of these *flows* lead to a space of security for young people. Thus, a *flow* perspective captures that many young people eventually find secure accommodation even after enduring various high-risk sofa-surfing *cartographies*. Overall, this section aims to argue that patterns that emerge from *cartographies* across time highlight that young people's experiences of sofa-surfing are often dynamic, complex and subject to radical change, depending on needs and host access.

Firstly, three *flows* indicated a continued conflict between desires for independence and dependency across time. For example, The Secure, Wandering-Intimacy to

Supported *flow*, highlights an unsuccessful attempt to shift towards emotional closeness with non-familial hosts. Consequently, these spaces become combined with complex Those Who Wander mobilities. However, these young people eventually find a TSO or familial space. Secondly, The Holding Tightly to Home repeatedly revolved around unsupportive family spaces (Seeking Home) in between periods of Those Who Wander. Finally, the Uprooted Flow fluctuate between desires for closeness and separation as their circumstances and needs change, creating long-term and complex trajectories between various *cartographies*. In reflection, in each of these flows, I find young people shift from dependency (e.g., on the family) towards *cartographies* associated with greater autonomy and independence. This prolonged conflict, particularly for the Holding to Tightly Home and Uprooted Flows, prevents the caring relations, spatial stability and wider support networks needed to exit homelessness.

Nonetheless, a Secure-to-Secure flow, an Overstaying, collapsed-to-secure flow, and even the Secure, Wandering-Intimacy *flow* highlight that many of the sofa-surfing population tend towards desires for dependency and closeness. These preferences seem to align themselves with finding secure accommodation, at least at the point of the interview. For example, Secure-To-Secure effectively balanced movements towards independence with spatial security, often staying with family members or close friends until they received support from TSOs and were housed. On the other hand, those who were Overstaying depended on friends until the arrangements fell through but quickly accepted and utilised the support on offer. In this sense, a more balanced need for independence and dependency, accompanied by access to appropriate hosts, seemed to reflect the best opportunity for creating relatively secure *flows*. Still, a greater

emphasis on dependency on hosts, rather than the pursuit of autonomy and support avoidance, also coincided more effectively with finding secure accommodation.

Thus, reflecting on research question 2, my five *flows* elucidate the multiple *cartographies* that create key patterns, characteristics and drivers for people's movement through my sofa-surfing *cartographies* across time. These *flows* are affected by young people's needs for autonomy or support and their capacity to meet those needs in formal support networks and host spaces. Most *flows* highlight a transition through multiple *cartographies* across time, thus highlighting the dynamism and complexity of the sofa-surfing experience. Importantly, *flows* that reflected a prolonged conflict between people's needs for independence and dependence had the worst outcomes. This makes sense, given that those prioritising autonomy means people are likely less inclined to accept help.

3. How do the different experiences of sofa-surfing shape young people's more-than-homeless *future* identities?

To answer research question 3, I built a method of exploring how past experiences and present spaces, mobilities, and identities shaped young people's more-than-homeless *future* identities. In response to past studies suggesting that sofa-surfing precludes young people from the necessary resources to generate long-term plans for the *future*, I began to unpack the claim. I found that while young people can always create identities that transcend their immediate spacing, the capacity to articulate and pursue a reasonable and motivating *future* is likely affected by structural disadvantages, past experiences and current spaces. Consequently, in each of the *flows* I identified, I

also explored young people's desired *futures* and their feasibility, subject to the categorisations provided by Devadason (2008).

In completing this analysis of how *cartographies* and *flows* impact and shape more-than-homeless *futures*, I have found that among sofa-surfing experienced young people who were provided with TSO and statutory support, the *cartographies* and *flows* either had a negative or minimal impact on their more-than-homeless *future* identity and its feasibility. This minimal impact may be because young people's episodes of homelessness are relatively short-lived compared to the more entrenched homelessness experiences outlined by geographers (see May 2000; Duff, 2017; Langegger & Koester, 2016).

Thus, for example, despite experiencing past *cartography*, such as Those Who Wander, that often precluded them from resources needed to develop effective futures (see Chapter 9), young people, once settled in secure and supportive spaces, could produce feasible, clear and thus potentially motivating more-than-homeless futures (Devadason, 2008; Hardgrove *et al.,* 2015). This finding is an optimistic development upon Jolley's (2020) initial findings because this thesis claims that more-than-homeless *futures* transcend space and *motivate* young people towards exiting homelessness.

Nonetheless, while for most young people, past experiences did not seem to fully preclude someone from generating a feasible, more-than-homeless *future*, young people with particularly traumatic pasts may struggle. For example, those with traumatic pasts (see p. 186-188) or Those Who Wander-related preferences (see Chapter 9) may also experience continued preclusion from producing effective, more-than-homeless *futures* despite support and spatial security. Thus, in these instances, an approach focused on careful mental health support may be required, as well as therapy

and counselling. It is important to note that the circumstances that helped develop a strong, more-than-homeless *future* may change, reducing its feasibility. Most simply, to answer research question 3, past experiences tend not to impact *futures* as long as a young person currently inhabits a secure space and is not burdened by past trauma.

4. How can theories of cartography inform and be informed by the geographies of sofa-surfing?

Finally, to answer research question 4, this section outlines how the theories of *cartography* have informed and been informed by sofa-surfing geographies. As previously stated, the initial *cartographic* model was a conceptual development of pathways and careers that often depicted a linear trajectory towards street homelessness. Instead, *cartography* focused on people experiencing homelessness and how their use of space and mobility differed depending on the extent to which they identified with a stigmatised homeless identity during an episode of homelessness. This approach was a helpful starting point for the study of sofa-surfing because I wanted to explore how various spaces, mobilities and identities of sofa-surfing could entwine to create various experiences and outcomes. In this sense, the initial notion of *cartography* informed the geographies of sofa-surfing by encouraging me to focus on its episodic nature and constellating themes of space, mobility and identity within an episode of sofa surfing.

Nonetheless, I felt it appropriate to develop upon this model to make explicit developments in the geographical understanding of identity, particularly performative and more-than-homeless identities (Cloke *et al.,* 2008; Jolley, 2020), and also to consider the particular nature of the spaces and relationships of sofa-surfing, such as inhabiting other people's homes and the ethics of hospitality and practices of care it may predicate

(McNulty, 2007; Bowlby, 2011). Finally, in addition to *cartographies*, I also wanted to outline how people could blend and transition through *cartographies* across time as non-linear trajectories (*flows*) and how these may inform people's more-than-homeless *futures*.

Consequently, by including these aspects missing from the original model, my *cartographic* model makes an important advancement - an understanding of the geographies of sofa-surfing as dynamic and subject to change through time and space. Specifically, my *cartographies* created analytical flexibility to explore the messy spatial patterns sofa-surfers experience. For example, spaces differed in their risks and could be shaped by various factors such as performative identity, personal preference, access to and desired levels of dependency on hosts, and the presence of care and Kantian hospitality.

Secondly, by including *flows*, I reinstate the value of mapping non-linear trajectories of sofa-surfing and, more broadly, the geographies of homeless experiences across longer periods. Finally, like other geographers in recent years (see Hardgrove et al. 2015), my model introduces the geographies of sofa-surfing and homelessness to ideas of identities sourced from future spaces and their capacity to motivate an exit from homelessness. This is also an important inter-disciplinary issue because, as sociologists Mayock et al. (2013) put it, young people often 'move on, not out' of their homeless circumstances.

Moreover, by elucidating the unique *cartography*, *flows*, and future of young people's sofa-surfing, I believe the definition of sofa-surfing itself needs reconsidering. At the beginning of this thesis, I defined sofa-surfing as the following:

"A person must have been sheltered informally by a host or hosts because they do not have anywhere else to go and lack legal rights to prevent eviction."

(see p. 21)

However, the *cartographies* and *flows* reveal that sofa-surfing is often a non-linear process of adopting various survival methods over time. For example, my *cartographies* reinforce previous findings that sofa-surfing cannot be wholly distinguished from periods of squatting, rough sleeping, and even sleeping in cars (McCoy & Hug, 2016). Instead, through the *cartographies* and *flows*, I see those methods of survival blend and bleed into a spectrum of circumstances, from the safe and secure non-familial host or aunties' flat to extended experiences that cause people to contemplate suicide. Sofa-surfing, then, is an umbrella term that captures a variety of homeless circumstances and risks, whereby people who are at risk or also sleep rough *frequently* stay informally with hosts. Overall, like those who surf waves, the experience is liberating and enjoyable in good conditions. However, if storm clouds gather and the wind's strength grows an enjoyable sport can become a dangerous and harmful experience.

Finally, as I stated above, via exploring the geographies of sofa-surfing, I developed a deeper understanding of how the relationships within *cartographies* often functioned, particularly for young people who were sofa-surfing. Unlike the *cartographies* of rough sleepers, I found that sofa-surfing *cartographies* were structured around a complex relationship between host and guest and their broader spaces and resources. As previously stated, the ethics of hospitality and capacities of care, affected by access to resources, family structure and class, impacted the type of help hosts would extend to guests. However, this help was also affected by young people's prior identities,

access to these hosts, and desire for autonomy or dependency. In this sense, like the initial model that proposed a dialogical relationship between homeless identity and space and mobility, my empirical data suggests sofa-surfing *cartographies* are a dynamic and dialogical relationship between host and guest relationships and space, mobility, and identity.

In reflection, then, my answer to question 4 is as follows. The theories of *cartography* encouraged me to attempt to build non-linear mental maps of young people's use of space and how this usage included meaningful movement and responded to undesirable identities. My theory of *cartography, flows* and *futures* further informed the geographies of sofa-surfing by emphasising the need to consider performative and more-than-homeless identities and explore the structural and individual drivers that affect the care and hospitality embedded in host/guest relationships. However, my empirical exploration of the geographies of sofa-surfing has revealed that different *cartographies* also emerge because young people have varied access to hosts, which is affected by their socioeconomic positioning, and key differences in their personal preferences, which are often affected by their pasts.

Policy Recommendations:

In response to the new insights I have collected, the following two sections consider how national policies and TSO and statutory homeless support guidelines can be improved to help prevent or improve the experience of sofa-surfing. Firstly, I recommend the following policies at a national level:

1. Affordable Housing Initiatives:

In my study, I have found several instances where young people, regardless of whether they exited homelessness via TSO or statutory support, experienced harm

due to sofa-surfing. For example, young women experienced harm due to sexual exploitation (see Chapter 8). Perhaps the most obvious way to reduce the likelihood of harm from sofa-surfing is to prevent people from needing to sofa-surf. Thus, I believe making housing far more affordable and accessible for young people would reduce the harm associated with sofa-surfing. Consequently, I would first and foremost recommend government investment to ensure more affordable housing. This would act as a long-term solution in the broad prevention of youth homelessness.

2. Expansion of mental health services and substance abuse programmes:

Secondly, in this study, I have found that young people who are stuck in a cycle of sofa-surfing and who have difficulty imagining a motivating, more-than-homeless *future* have often experienced high levels of trauma. For example, I found in my Exiting Long-Term Homelessness *cartography* that young people may be recipients of support, yet because of experiences and a history of substance abuse and physical violence, young people may become somewhat agoraphobic and not willing to engage in the types of education and friendships that could assist them towards their desired futures. Thus, expanded mental health and substance abuse programmes could focus on encouraging young people to face their fears and pursue the types of future they desire.

In my research, I have also begun to unpack how desires for emotional and physical closeness, as found in those Overstaying or Seeking Intimacy, or attempts to maintain physical and emotional distances with cartographies such as Those Who Wander, may reflect young people's attachment styles. Consequently, I advocate for highly specialist and good quality mental health and substance abuse programmes

for young people. Thus, these expanded programmes may also focus on young people's attachment styles so they become more securely attached.

3. Job Creation Initiatives:

In my study, I have found that Callum, who was formally employed while he sofa-surfed, effectively exited his homeless circumstances (see Chapter 10). In Callum's case, employment helped him appear more mature to the third-sector services, providing him with better quality accommodation sooner than normal. Consequently, if a young person can adopt employment responsibility alongside support from a TSO, it may also help them transition into more secure housing. Therefore, I recommend the government develop job programmes targeting young people who have experienced homelessness or housing instability.

4. Host training programmes:

Moreover, in this thesis, I have identified, particularly among those in the Overstaying *cartography*, that potentially supportive and secure sofa-surfing arrangements can break down due to a lack of effective communication between the host and the guest. Thus, a programme built to help train hosts in basic caregiving skills, conflict resolution, and communicating boundaries could enhance the relationships between host and guest. These programmes could also be specialised for more vulnerable hosts to help them engage with mental health services, housing benefits, and other advocacy-related support.

5. The provision of financial incentives:

Furthermore, in addition to hosting training programmes, I advocate for financial incentives for those willing to provide good quality shelter for young people sofa-surfing. Again, this may help ensure that secure and otherwise supportive sofa-

surfing arrangements have increased longevity. Additionally, because studies indicate that TSO-supported accommodation can sometimes encourage sofa-surfing (McLoughlin, 2013), prevent young people from obtaining employment and lead to substance misuse (McCoy & Hug, 2016; McMordie, 2020), these incentives may increase the number of people sofa-surfing in secure and less restrictive environments. For example, the government could provide hosts with a rent subsidy or other financial incentives if they provide young people with a stable and supportive environment. Importantly, oversight would be essential to ensure those receiving financial incentives are provided with a good-quality place to stay (see below).

6. Social Workers or Support Worker Oversight:

Regular in-person visits may be essential because, as Lucy's experience indicates, statutory service may temporarily approve of a sofa-surfing space, but without clear oversight, they were unaware that her hosts were blackmailing her and restricting her capacity to clean herself (see Chapter 8). Thus, I advocate that when a young person is sofa-surfing with a host, and particularly if the host receives a financial incentive, regular social or support worker visits should ensure the hosts' and guests' well-being. Also, these visits should provide both host and guest a confidential way to provide feedback and raise concerns, alongside a system aiding conflict resolution.

Best Practice Recommendations:

Additionally, I briefly explore potential best practice responses for TSO and statutory supports, depending on a young person's *cartographies*. Nonetheless, I want first to recognise that given this study's qualitative nature, suggestions should be treated

with care as they may not be generalisable to the broader sofa-surfing population. Thus, below, I recommend various best practices depending on *cartographies*.

Firstly, TSOs may need to increase their cognisance regarding the potential risks I identified with those Seeking Home or Overstaying and their propensity to break down unexpectedly. Consequently, for organisations working with young people in these *cartographies*, if secure formal accommodation is not available for the young people, I recommend producing a sofa-surfing agreement and a seven-day backup plan. The sofa-surfing agreement, created between a host and guest, should be a written agreement outlining the hosts' and guests' expectations and responsibilities. This agreement can be facilitated by TSOs or statutory services or conducted independently between host and guest. The written agreement should outline the following:

<u>Duration and terms:</u>

- Host and guest should agree on the length of stay. I recommend clearly defining how long the guest is welcome to stay and under what circumstances this may be extended if necessary.
- Also, it should outline how much notice a host should give their guest before they are asked to leave.

<u>Payments in kind:</u>

The host and guest should agree on how the guests can contribute to home life regarding rent, household expenses and chores. For example, a guest receives a small monthly benefit; the host may agree to a small financial contribution while completing certain chores. It is important to articulate what jobs or the amount of financial support is required and how often.

House Rules:

- Agree on boundaries between private spaces in the home (e.g., who can enter certain rooms and spaces and whether it is okay to share cutlery and bathroom items).
- Agree on whether it is okay for guests to have friends over.
- Agree on set quiet times to ensure both parties have undisturbed rest.
- Outline expectations regarding the locking doors and windows and the management of house keys.

Lifestyle and Compatibility:

Discuss lifestyle habits and daily routines. These include what time the host must get up for work and when they arrive home or whether it is okay to drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes. This is important to ensure compatibility between host/guest and the setting of appropriate boundaries.

Finally, I recommend periodic review of the terms alongside adjustments to accommodate changing circumstances.

Secondly, the seven-day backup plan should be produced between a statutory or TSO support worker and a young person experiencing sofa-surfing. In producing this plan, a young person should identify seven nights of backup accommodation if their current *secure* sofa-surfing arrangement falls through. This plan should outline who, where and how long they can stay with backup hosts. Importantly, TSOs should ensure that emergency accommodation can be guaranteed by the end of those seven days. For example:

Monday	[name] has agreed I could stay with them.	Their address is: [insert address]	Other important information: [e.g., essential bus routes to college]
Tuesday	[name] has agreed I could stay with them.	Their address is: [insert address]	Other important information: [e.g., essential bus routes to college]
Wednesday	[name] has agreed I could stay with them.	Their address is: [insert address]	Other important information: [e.g., essential bus routes to college]
Thursday	[name] has agreed I could stay with them.	Their address is: [insert address]	Other important information: [e.g., essential bus routes to college]
Friday	[name] has agreed I could stay with them.	Their address is: [insert address]	Other important information: [e.g., essential bus routes to college]
Saturday	[name] has agreed I could stay with them.	Their address is: [insert address]	Other important information: [e.g., essential bus routes to college]
Sunday	[name] has agreed I could stay with them.	Their address is: [insert address]	Other important information: [e.g., essential bus routes to college]

Table 7. An example of a seven-day backup plan service could be created with young people in case a host arrangement breaks.

In this sense, the purpose of these sofa-surfing agreements and backup plans should provide young people and TSO support networks a sense of security that there is a consensus between hosts and guests regarding what is expected of each other and how long the circumstances are expected to last. Secondly, there is a plan such that if the arrangement falls through and support services cannot immediately provide emergency accommodation, the young person has a plan to prevent rough sleeping and reduce the risk of staying with strangers. Nonetheless, TSO organisations should still be working to

provide secure accommodation for young people, so this seven-day backup plan is not needed.

Moreover, suppose TSOs become aware that a young person has found shelter via developing a romantic relationship. In that case, they should provide fair warning that studies indicate that young people can leave these spaces feeling used, exploited, or manipulated. In addition, TSOs should assist young people in developing seven-day backup plans (see Table 7 above). For this group, during the creation of this plan, support workers should also provide more specialised guidance and planning for outlining exit strategies if they experience domestic violence or the host misuses their position of power.

Finally, it is important to recognise that many sofa-surfers do not contact TSO or statutory services. Consequently, a government-provided multi-media resource pool offering guidelines, best practices and legal advice for hosts and guests would be very helpful. This resource pool should include best practice recommendations, such as the sofa-surfing agreement and seven-day sofa-surfing plan. I hope this publicly accessible guidance may provide some hosts and guests with the information they need to prevent the immediate breakdown of the circumstances, help them re-engage with support services, and transition towards TSO-supported accommodation.

Future Directions:

Finally, if one wants to further this thesis' lines of enquiry, I provide future research directions here. The first and most obvious research project is for another study to focus on the hosts of young people who have sofa-surfed and thus explore key topics such as what encouraged them to allow the young person to stay, what they found enjoyable and difficult about the experience, what limited or enabled their capacity to

care, their awareness of local support services and what lead to the host asking the young person to leave, and finally to consider, how this host could have been supported to help the young person exit homelessness.

Moreover, a project on adult sofa-surfing would be fruitful. This is because the key conflicts, drivers and outcomes of young people's *cartographies*, *flows,* and *futures* are associated with their transition from youth to adulthood. This transition is the process whereby young people are expected to incrementally move from the caring support of their family home towards developing their own family and home (Leccardi, 2008). Thus, other projects could run a similar analysis of the *cartographies* and *flows* of people sofa-surfing over 25 or other subgroups within the broader homeless population, yielding fruitful and very different results.

I also believe future research could explore how the different attachment styles of young people and their hosts impact them. This is based on findings that young people's experiences often feel partly driven by desires for emotional closeness, which allies itself quite closely with an anxious attachment style, while other preferred mobilities and spaces that ensure a level of physical and emotional distance allied quite closely with an avoidant attachment style (Levine & Heller, 2011). Thus, another project into the experiences of young people sofa-surfing could instead look at how the attachment style of host and guest interact and affect the types of experience and longevity of the arrangements.

Finally, since the COVID-19 pandemic, when most in-person research activities were restricted, many researchers began to conduct research via online survey platforms or interviews via Zoom, MS Teams or other video calling software. This has proved particularly effective for conducting studies among hard-to-reach groups due to

the minimised burdens of travel and time. In addition, the capacity to conduct targeted ads via Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat means an improved potential to reach out to participants who have sofa-surfed yet never engaged with formal services (Griffin et al., 2022). These individuals have previously been very difficult to locate because they cannot be accessed through gatekeepers. Thus, using these evolving technologies, a future project could utilise these methods to connect with the hidden sofa-surfing population that does not engage with TSO services. This study would help understand better their unique experiences, which may be less intense in terms of severity and risk.

Final Comments:

Overall, this is the first study to illuminate the previously unknown drivers and experiences of young people who have experienced sofa-surfing. This is important because we live in an increasingly complex world where the odds of achieving a normal transition to adulthood are stacked against young people, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds (Leccardi, 2008). Consequently, despite the government currently investing £654 million investment in homeless prevention (Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, 2022), rates of youth homelessness and the practices of sofa-surfing are on the rise (Centrepoint, 2023); thus, the effectiveness of current youth homelessness prevention, housing and support remains under question.

Thus, my analysis provides a pragmatic exploration of young people's experiences, one that helps identify the types of circumstances where young people desperately require support, but also other imperfect sofa-surfing spaces, which, with some additional support, may facilitate an effective transition. I believe this is the realism needed when approaching homeless youth, recognising that in a world where increased funding for homeless prevention does not ensure reduced rates of

homelessness, understanding how these experiences of sofa-surfing can be made positive is essential. Thus, I hope the sofa-surfing agreements and the seven-day backup plans could make a difference. Simply, in a complex world, effectively dealing with the troubling and painful experiences of youth homelessness requires approaching unideal sofa-surfing spaces with optimism and pragmatism in the hope of enabling human flourishing.

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Appendix:

Interview Questions:

Initial causes:

Where are you initially from?

What events lead up to you leave home?

Where you in education, employment or training? Are you now?

The homelessness timeline (repeat for each place):

Where did you move next?

How long did you stay there for?

What were your relationships like with the people in the house?

How did these relationships develop?

Was the host supportive?

In what ways would you give back to the host?

Where did you store your belongings?

Did you feel free to use the cooker or shower?

How did you spend your time when you were living there?

Why did you leave this property?

Support based questions:

When did you seek support from the local authorities or a charity? Why?

What specific support did they provide? Was it helpful?

To what extent did you engage with the support being offered? Why?

Did the support effectively prepare you to manage a tenancy?

If housing wasn't freely available through the council, would you have been more inclined to search for work?

Broad questions:

Of the places you've stayed, which did you prefer and why?

How have your relationships with family and friends been impacted by sofa-surfing?

Are you currently capable to look for work?

Thinking about the future:

Is there anything you want to learn about?

Are there any habits you would like to change?

What kinds of friends would make your life better?

What hobbies or things could you do that would be good for you and your family?

Could you describe what your ideal family life would be like?

What would be a good career for you?

Are there people you look up to?

What might your life look like if things got worse?

In reflection on the things, we've just talked about could you create three goals that you would like to aim for

Ethical Approval Letter:

UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH

21/08/2020

Confidential

Mr Kieran Green

Dear Mr Kieran Green

Research Ethics Application Approval - Faculty Research Ethics and Integrity Committee:

2239

Britain's Untitled Youth: Sofa-Surfing & Space.

The committee has considered your application and has granted ethical approval to conduct this research/providing the following conditions are met/changes are undertaken:

Please add the standard Faculty ethics email address to all consent forms (scienghumanethics@plymouth.ac.uk)

Please ensure that all TSOs involved in the research provide a letter or email of institutional support before being included in the research.

Approval is for the duration of the project. If you wish to continue beyond this date, you will need to seek an extension.

Please note that if you wish to make any minor changes to your research, you must complete an amendment form or major changes you will need to resubmit an application.

Dr Olivia Wilson

Faculty of Science and Engineering Research Ethics and Integrity Committee

Britain's Youth Unseen:

UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH

Economic and Social Research Council

Gatekeepers Leaflet

Britain's Youth Unseen: Sofa-Surfing and Space

What is this project?

This is a PhD project, examining sofa-surfing in the UK, based at the University of Plymouth and funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ERSC). The researcher is seeking to examine the lives of people who sofa-surf and to evaluate how support from friends, family and agencies impacts their capability to transition into more secure accommodation.

In essence, the researcher would like to talk to people who sofa-surf about their experiences and their opportunities to live more fruitful lives. Thus, as someone who works with homeless and vulnerable people, the researcher would be grateful if you invite people who've sofa-surfed and to a four-part qualitative study composed of interviews (some being longitudinal), photography and a goal-setting activity (for a more in-depth overview of the project please see the sofa-surfers information leaflet attached).

How would the researcher like me to help?

You're invited to help find potential participants and support the researcher in deciding if a person should be included or excluded from the study based on the potential risks posed to their mental health or behaviour. If you're willing to help, please could you follow the guidelines below:

1. First, identify a potential participant who fits the inclusion criteria below, this could either be a person on your caseload or a person you meet through drop-in.
2. Meet and discuss whether the person could be negatively harmed by the questions asked in the interview or by the future authoring programme (a goal setting activity). Key considerations regarding the interview and the future authoring programme are provided below.
3. You and the researcher then come to a joint decision whether it is appropriate for the young person to participate. Here are a few potential outcomes to this discussion:
    a. The person is deemed at a low risk of harm and appropriate for the study.
    b. The person is deemed at a medium risk of harm and a support worker should be present during the study to assist the researcher.
    c. The person is deemed at a high risk of harm and deemed inappropriate for the study.
4. Finally, if you're available when the researcher is completing a study with a low-risk participant he may ask you to be 'on-call'. This means that if the participant requests a support worker in the interview, or they become upset, the researcher may call you and ask for your assistance. The researcher will ask if your available prior to the study beginning and you're under no obligation to be on-call.

Inclusion Criteria:	**Exclusion Criteria**
They must be between the ages of 16-25.	Any individual for whom the considerations explored below***** could have a negative impact on their mental health.
They must have lived temporarily with a friend, or member of their extended family, for a cumulative 5 days in the past 2 years.	Any individual for whom the considerations explored below* could generate a violent or aggressive response.
They may be currently living in a hostel, emergency accommodation or sleeping rough.	An individual who is outside the acceptable age bracket.
They may now have a secure tenancy.	
They may now have moved back in with parents.	

*** Considerations when deciding if participate is appropriate:**

The following considerations only focus on the initial interview and future authoring. There are no added psychological risks if a person participates in Photovoice or the longitudinal interviews.

Interviews:

The initial interviews with people who've sofa-surfed should last for 1 hour and include the personal and sensitive topics outlined in the table below. Before the interview begins, participants are also presented with this list of topics and asked to put a cross next to topics they don't want to discuss.

However, if you think a participant is still at risk despite this safeguarding measure, please let the researcher know; together we need to decide whether a young person requires a support worker present, or if the project is unsuitable for them.

Sensitive topics list
Why they were made homeless.
Their experiences of family and education.
Their engagement with local authorities.
The different places they've stayed when they were homeless.
The worries and concerns they had when they were homeless.
The impact that temporary living has had on their mental health.

The impact that temporary living has had on their motivation.
The use of drugs, participating in a crime or offering sex for a place to stay.
Habits they regard as harmful.
How their relationships with friends and family have been affected by homelessness.
Their ability to maintain a tenancy and find employment
Their visions of an ideal future and an unwanted future.

Future Authoring (the goal setting activity):

This process tasks 1 hour in session 1 and 1.5 hours in session 2:

- In session 1, participants write about what 'they would like to improve, what they might like to learn, their social, leisure and familial lives, and their future career' and then a future they 'would truly want to avoid' (Schippers et al. 2015, p.4).
- In session 2, these visions of the future are developed into eight goals.

If the length of time, the need to write, or the topics young people are asked to write about are a concern to you, please raise this in the gatekeeping discussion.

Who do I contact for more information?

Please contact Kieran Green, 07399415952, Kieran.green@postgrad.plymouth.ac.uk

Or if you have any complaints contact the Director of Studies:

Professor Richard Yarwood, University of Plymouth, 01752585983, R.Yarwood@plymouth.ac.uk

Young Person Information Sheets:

University Of Plymouth

FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

YOUNG PEOPLE'S RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

Britain's Youth Unseen: Sofa-Surfing and Space

Kieran Green, PhD Student, University of Plymouth

You have been invited to participate in a study about young adults in temporary living arrangements. Before you decide if you would like to be involved, please read this leaflet carefully.

Why have I been invited?

You have been asked to participate in this research project because you're currently sofa-surfing or have in the past.

This study is interested in:

- The different places you've stayed when you were homeless.
- The supports you've received from charities, family and friends.
- How these different places and supports have impact your capability to live independently.

Overall, the study hopes to identify how sleeping in different places has affected your capability to live a fruitful life and whether writing up a plan can help.

The Research Procedure:

You are invited to participate in **two sessions** of research, both lasting around **1 hour.** You're also invited to participate in longitudinal interviews**.** The project does offer rewards based on your involvement in certain activities:

- A £10 voucher for attending Session 1.
- An additional £10 voucher if you attend Session 2 and completing the goal-setting activity.

Session 1 (lasting around 1 hour) – An Interview:

The interview is a **1-hour chat** about the places you've stayed when you were homeless and the support you received from charities, family and friends. I would also like to record **the audio of this discussion.**

Session 2 (lasting around 1-2 hours) – Life Planning Activity:

Session 2 consists of a life planning activity. This activity requires you to write a plan for your future and **takes between 1 to 2 hours**.

Longitudinal interviews*:

Finally, you're invited to provide your contact details so that the researcher can call you once every three months, for 9 months, and have a 15-minute phone call about your life plan progression. If you're happy to participate, attached to this leaflet is a form that allows you to leave your details.

What are the benefits of participating?

- You may find talking about your past experiences and writing about what you want from life both challenging and enjoyable.
- For completing the goal-setting activity you get a £10 food, clothing or game voucher.
- Finally, your experiences contribute toward a national study assisting the development of support services for young adults who're sofa-surfing or in temporary living.

The potential risks and the solutions:

- The interview covers topics you may find upsetting or distressing. Consequently, the consent form has a table of the topics discussed in the interview. Please put a cross next to the topics you're unwilling to discuss.
- Additionally, if this interview is taking place at a charity, a support worker may be present to provide support. If you don't have a support worker present but would like one, please let the researcher know before the interview starts.
- Regarding the life-planning activity, no negative outcomes are expected. However, if you find that writing about your future is upsetting, please let the researcher know. You are free to have a break or finish the study early.
- Finally, you are free to stop participating in the project at any time. However, in Session 2, you're required to complete life-planning activity to receive the £10 voucher.

What if I decide I no longer want to take part?

If you are dissatisfied with the way the research is conducted or want to withdraw from the research, please contact **Kieran Green** in the first instance: **telephone number 07399415952**. If you feel the problem has not been resolved, please contact one of his supervisory team: Professor Richard Yarwood 01752585983 / Dr Mark Holton 01752585989.

Who will see my information?

All the information you share will be kept strictly confidential. It will be stored securely and anonymously (without a name) on a password-protected folder. However, I must let you know that if you raise a concern about your safety or the safety of others, I would have to tell the relevant people.

What will happen to the data collected?

The data from this study will be written up as part of a PhD study. Quotes from your interview, life-planning activity may be used in presentations and publications. However, all names are anonymised to protect yours and other people's identities. All the data is also kept securely for 10 years before being destroyed. Finally, you're welcome to see a summary of the results when the study is finished.

Who is organising and funding the study?

The study is a part of a PhD project based at the University of Plymouth, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and organised by Kieran Green. It has also been approved by the Faculty of Science and Engineering Ethics Committee.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information leaflet. If you are happy to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. Thank you again, Kieran

Informed Consent Sheets:

Britain's Youth Unseen:

FACULTY

OF SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

Human Ethics Committee Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN PRACTICAL STUDY FOR SOFA SURFERS (16-17)

Britain's Youth Unseen: Sofa-Surfing and Space

This study wants to understand how the different places you've slept when sofa-surfing and the support you've received from friends, family and others, has impacted the way you feel about yourself and your future. The study also wants to test whether writing about what you want from life helps you to exit sofa-surfing or temporary living. As explained on the attached information sheet, the study begins with an interview and then there are three more optional tasks: a goal-setting activity, a photography activity and three mini telephone interviews. If you participate in the photography activity there is a separate consent form for you to sign. Depending on your choices, the study is broken down into two sessions lasting between 30 minutes to 2.5 hours:

In Session 1:	**In Session 2:**
1. Initial interview = 1 hour	1. Goal-setting activity Pt.2 = 1.5 hours
2. Goal-setting activity - Pt. 1 = 1 hour.	2. A photography discussion = 30 minutes.
3. The photography activity brief.	3. The mini-interviews brief.

Please read the statements below, and if you agree with them, please put your initials in the boxes.

Statements	**Please initial box**
I have read and understood the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I am happy to participate in the interview and I understand that the audio of my interview will be recorded.	
I am happy to participate in the goal-setting activity and I understand that a copy of my programme manuscript is used for analysis.	
I am happy to participate in the photography activity and I understand my photos will be printed and discussed at the next interview. (separate consent sheet is also used).	
I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research until the 31st of August 2022 and ask for my data to be destroyed.	
I understand that all my data will be kept confidential and anonymous for 10 years.	
I give permission to be contacted again in 3, 6 and 9 months for the mini telephone interviews. However, I understand it will be my choice whether I take part later.	

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN PRACTICAL STUDY FOR SOFA SURFERS (16-17) pt.2

Britain's Youth Unseen: Sofa-Surfing and Space

For your protection, below is a table filled with topics the initial interview covers, some of these topics you may find upsetting. Please place a cross next to the topics you are unwilling to discuss:

Topics:	**Please put a cross here on topics you're unwilling to discuss.**
Why you were made homeless.	
Your experiences of family and education.	
Your engagement with the council, social service and youth offenders.	
The different places you stayed when you were homeless.	

The day to day worries and concerns you had when you were homeless.	
The impact of temporary living has had on your mental health.	
The impact of temporary living has had on your motivation.	
The use of drugs, participating in crime, or offering sex for a place to stay.	
Habits you regard as harmful.	
Changes in your relationships with friends and family due to homelessness.	
Your ability to maintain a tenancy and find employment.	
Your visions of an ideal future and an unwanted future.	

Finally, please provide your name, date and sign below to complete this form:

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

Researchers contact details:

Kieran Green, PhD Student, 07399415952, Kieran.green@postgrad.plymouth.ac.uk

Ethics Committee details:

scienghumanethics@plymouth.ac.uk

Britain's Youth Unseen:

FACULTY OF

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Economic and Social Research Council

SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

Human Ethics Committee Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN PRACTICAL STUDY FOR SOFA SURFERS (18-25)

Britain's Youth Unseen: Sofa-Surfing and Space

This study wants to understand how the different places you've slept when sofa-surfing and the support you've received from friends, family and others, has impacted the way you feel about yourself and your future. The study also wants to test whether writing about what you want from life helps you to exit sofa-surfing or temporary living. As explained on the attached information sheet, the study consists of an initial interview and then two more optional tasks: a goal-setting activity and three mini telephone interviews. If you participate in the photography activity there is a separate consent form for you to sign. Depending on your choices, the study is broken down into two sessions lasting between 30 minutes to 2.5 hours:

In Session 1:	**In Session 2:**
1. Initial interview = 1 hour	1. Goal-setting activity Pt.2 = 1.5 hours
2. Goal-setting activity - Pt. 1 = 1 hour.	2. A Photovoice discussion = 30 minutes.
3. The Photovoice brief = 15 minutes	3. The mini-interviews brief = 10 minutes

Please read the statements below, and if you agree with them, please put your initials in the boxes.

Statements	**Please initial box**
I have read and understood the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I am happy to participate in the interview and I understand that the audio of my interview will be recorded.	
I am happy to participate in the goal-setting activity and I understand that a copy of my plan is used for analysis.	
I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research until the 31st of August 2022 and ask for my data to be destroyed.	
I understand that all my data will be kept confidential and anonymous for 10 years and then destroyed.	
I give permission to be contacted again in 3, 6 and 9 months for the mini telephone interviews. However, I understand it will be my choice whether I take part later.	

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN PRACTICAL STUDY FOR SOFA SURFERS (18-25) pt.2

Britain's Youth Unseen: Sofa-Surfing and Space

For your protection, below is a table filled with topics the initial interview covers, some of these topics you may find upsetting. Please place a cross next to the topics you are unwilling to discuss:

Topics:	**Please put a cross here on topics you're unwilling to discuss.**
Why you were made homeless.	
Your experiences of family and education.	
Your engagement with local authorities.	
The different places you stayed when you were homeless.	
The worries and concerns you had when you were homeless.	

The impact that temporary living has had on your mental health.	
The impact that temporary living has had on your motivation.	
The use of drugs, participating in a crime or offering sex for a place to stay.	
Habits you regard as harmful.	
How your relationships with friends and family have been affected by homelessness.	
Your ability to maintain a tenancy and find employment	
Your visions of an ideal future and an unwanted future.	

Finally, please provide your name, date and sign below to complete this form:

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

The researchers contact details:

Kieran Green, PhD Student, 07399415952, Kieran.green@postgrad.plymouth.ac.uk

Ethics Committee details:

scienghumanethics@plymouth.ac.uk

Support Services Leaflet

Support Services leaflet:

Britain's Youth Unseen: Sofa-Surfing and Space

Thank you for agreeing to meet me and help with my study. Your welfare is a high priority for me, and I am aware that participating in this study, whether it be talking or writing about difficult experiences, can affect the way you feel afterwards.

If you are worried about how you feel, please speak with a support worker, another staff member, a supportive friend/family member or contact your GP.

You may also find it helpful to contact some of the organisations below. They may be able to offer support themselves or advice on who else to contact.

Type of Agency	Name	Number	Opening times
General Support	Samaritans	01752221666	24 hours
Accommodation	Zone Accommodation Project Plymouth City Council, 1st Stop, 71 New George Street	07792064528 01752668000	Mon-Fri 9-5 pm Mon-Sat 8.30-5 pm
Alcohol & Drugs	Harbour	01752 434343	Mon-Fri 10-4.30pm
Mental Health	MIND Kooth.com Icebreak Insight Gateway to Mental Health	0172513694 Online Chat 07817249959 01752 265775 01752668709	Mon-Wed 10-4 pm Mon-Fri 9-10 pm Fri-Sun 6-10 pm Mon-Fri 9-5 pm Fri 10- 2 pm
Child Protection Services	NSPCC Plymouth Children and Families Social Services	0800 1111 01752668000	24hr hotline Mon-Thurs 8.30-5 pm Fri-8.30-4.40 pm
Veteran Support	Veterans UK	08081914218	Mon-Thurs 1.30-6.30 pm Fri 7.30-5 pm
Sexual assault	Sexual Assault Referral Centre	03458121212	Mon-Fri 9-5pm
Domestic Violence	National Women's Aid Men's Advice Line	08082000247 08088010327	24hr hotline Mon-Wed 10-5 pm
Debt/benefits advice	Citizens Advice Bureau	03444111444	Mon-Fri 9-630pm Sat 9-1

	Money Advice Plymouth	01752208126	24hr answer machine
Crime	Victim of crime counselling Police non-emergency number	07867358184 101	Mon-Fri 9-5pm

Voucher Confirmation Leaflet:

Britain's Youth Unseen:

UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH

Economic and Social Research Council

Voucher Confirmation

Please tick the following boxes based on the vouchers you receive:

Voucher	Tick
I have received a £10 Voucher for completing the Interview	
I have received a £10 Voucher for completing the Goal-Setting Activity	

_____ _____ _____

Name of participant Date Signature

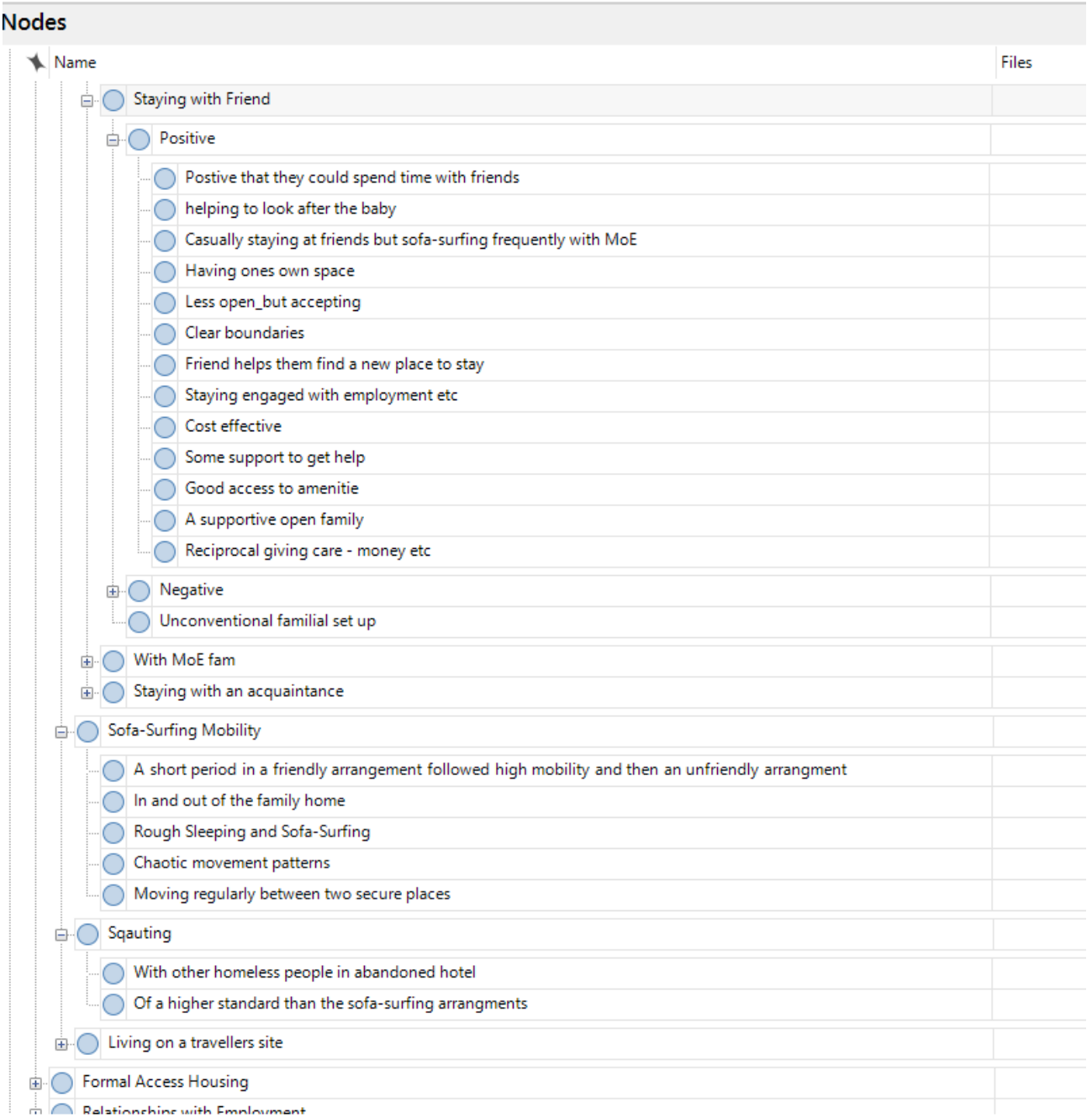
Who do I contact for more information?

Please contact Kieran Green, 07399415952, Kieran.green@postgrad.plymouth.ac.uk

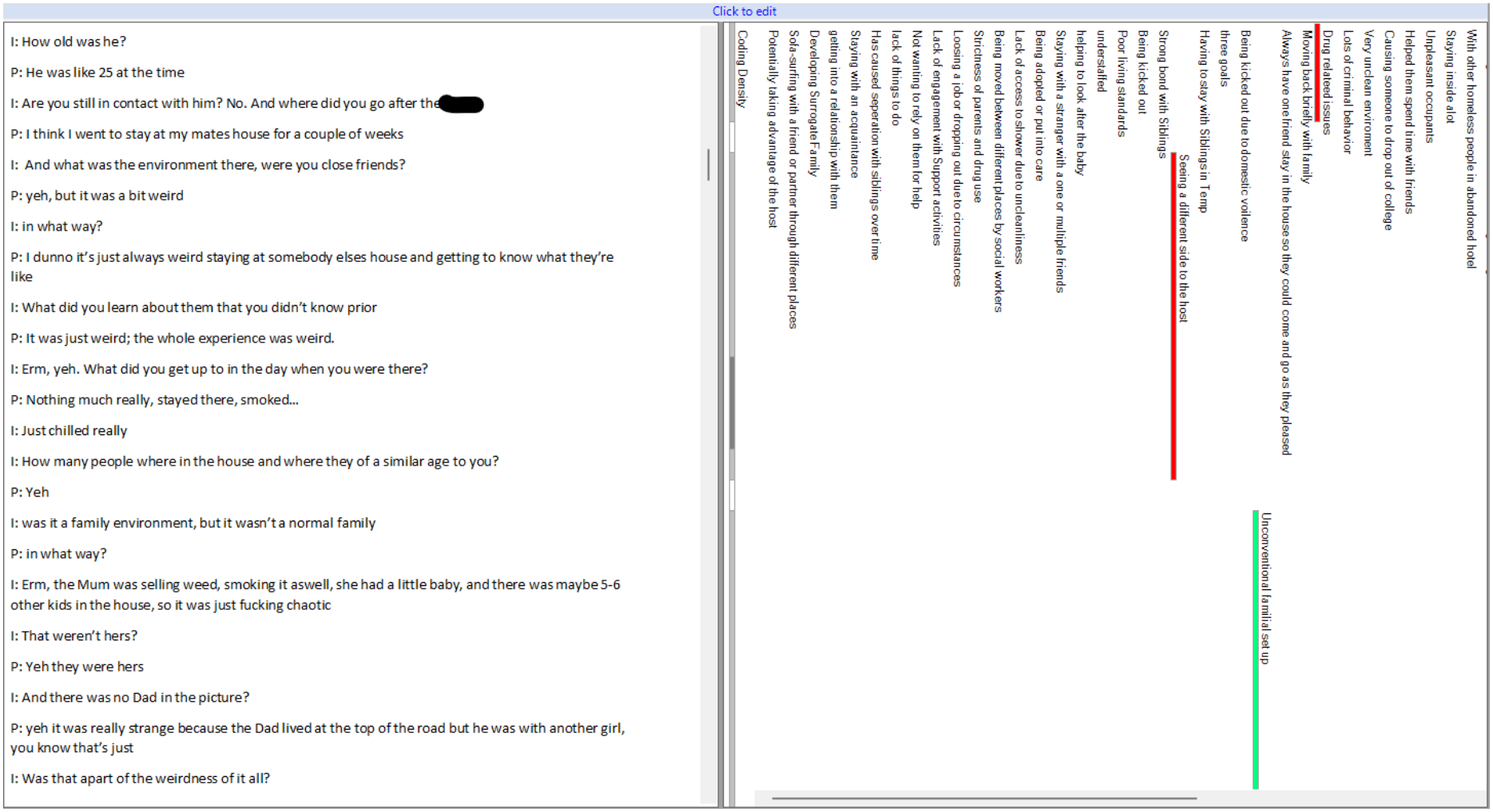
Or if you have any complaints, contact the Director of Studies:

Professor Richard Yarwood, University of Plymouth, 01752585983, R.Yarwood@plymouth.ac.uk

Examples of Analysis:



Name	Files	References
Living on a travellers site	2	
Sofa-Surfing Experiences	0	
Other Experiences	0	
Staying at Strangers	0	
Access to amenties	0	
Always have one friend stay in the ho	1	
Being kicked out due to domestic voi	1	
Feeling awkward and not wanting to	1	
helping clean up	1	
Improvement in social life	1	
Potentially taking advantage of the h	1	
Spending time smoking weed	1	
Staying with a stranger with a one or	1	
Staying with someone with mental h	1	
Very unclean enviroment	1	
Staying Briefly at a close friends house	1	
Staying with an acquaintance	1	
Staying with Close Family	0	
Staying with Friend	1	
With MoE fam	4	
Sofa-Surfing Mobility	0	
A short period in a friendly arrangement	1	
Chaotic movement patterns	3	
In and out of the family home	1	
Moving regularly between two secure pl	5	
Rough Sleeping and Sofa-Surfing	2	
Sqauting	1	
Of a higher standard than the sofa-surfin	1	
With other homeless people in abandon	1	
Institutional Support	0	
Personal experiences	0	
Relationships with Employment	0	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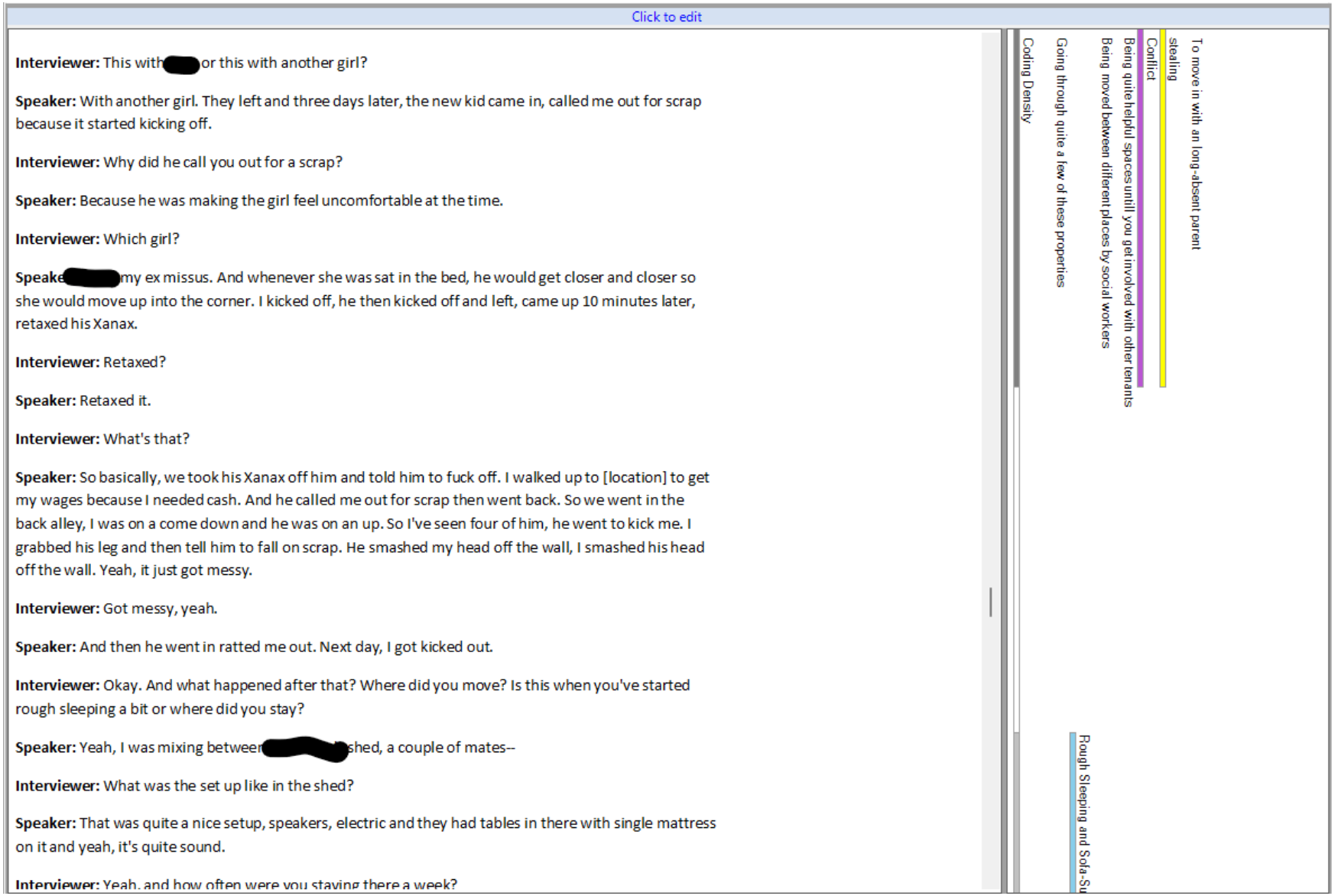
I: How old was he?
P: He was like 25 at the time
I: Are you still in contact with him? No. And where did you go after the [redacted]
P: I think I went to stay at my mates house for a couple of weeks
I: And what was the environment there, were you close friends?
P: yeh, but it was a bit weird
I: in what way?
P: I dunno it's just always weird staying at somebody elses house and getting to know what they're like
I: What did you learn about them that you didn't know prior
P: It was just weird; the whole experience was weird.
I: Erm, yeh. What did you get up to in the day when you were there?
P: Nothing much really, stayed there, smoked...
I: Just chilled really
I: How many people where in the house and where they of a similar age to you?
P: Yeh
I: was it a family environment, but it wasn't a normal family
P: in what way?
I: Erm, the Mum was selling weed, smoking it aswell, she had a little baby, and there was maybe 5-6 other kids in the house, so it was just fucking chaotic
I: That weren't hers?
P: Yeh they were hers
I: And there was no Dad in the picture?
P: yeh it was really strange because the Dad lived at the top of the road but he was with another girl, you know that's just
I: Was that apart of the weirdness of it all?
Coding Density
Potentially taking advantage of the host
Sofa-surfing with a friend or partner through different places
Developing Surrogate Family
getting into a relationship with them
Staying with an acquaintance
Has caused seperation with siblings over time
lack of things to do
Not wanting to rely on them for help
Lack of engagement with Support activities
Loosing a job or dropping out due to circumstances
Strictness of parents and drug use
Being moved between different places by social workers
Lack of access to shower due to uncleanliness
Being adopted or put into care
Staying with a stranger with a one or multiple friends
helping to look after the baby
understaffed
Poor living standards
Being kicked out
Strong bond with Siblings
Seeing a different side to the host
Having to stay with Siblings in Temp
three goals
Being kicked out due to domestic violence
Unconventional familial set up
Always have one friend stay in the house so they could come and go as they pleased
Moving back briefly with family
Drug related issues
Lots of criminal behavior
Very unclean environment
Causing someone to drop out of college
Helped them spend time with friends
Unpleasant occupants
Staying inside alot
With other homeless people in abandoned hotel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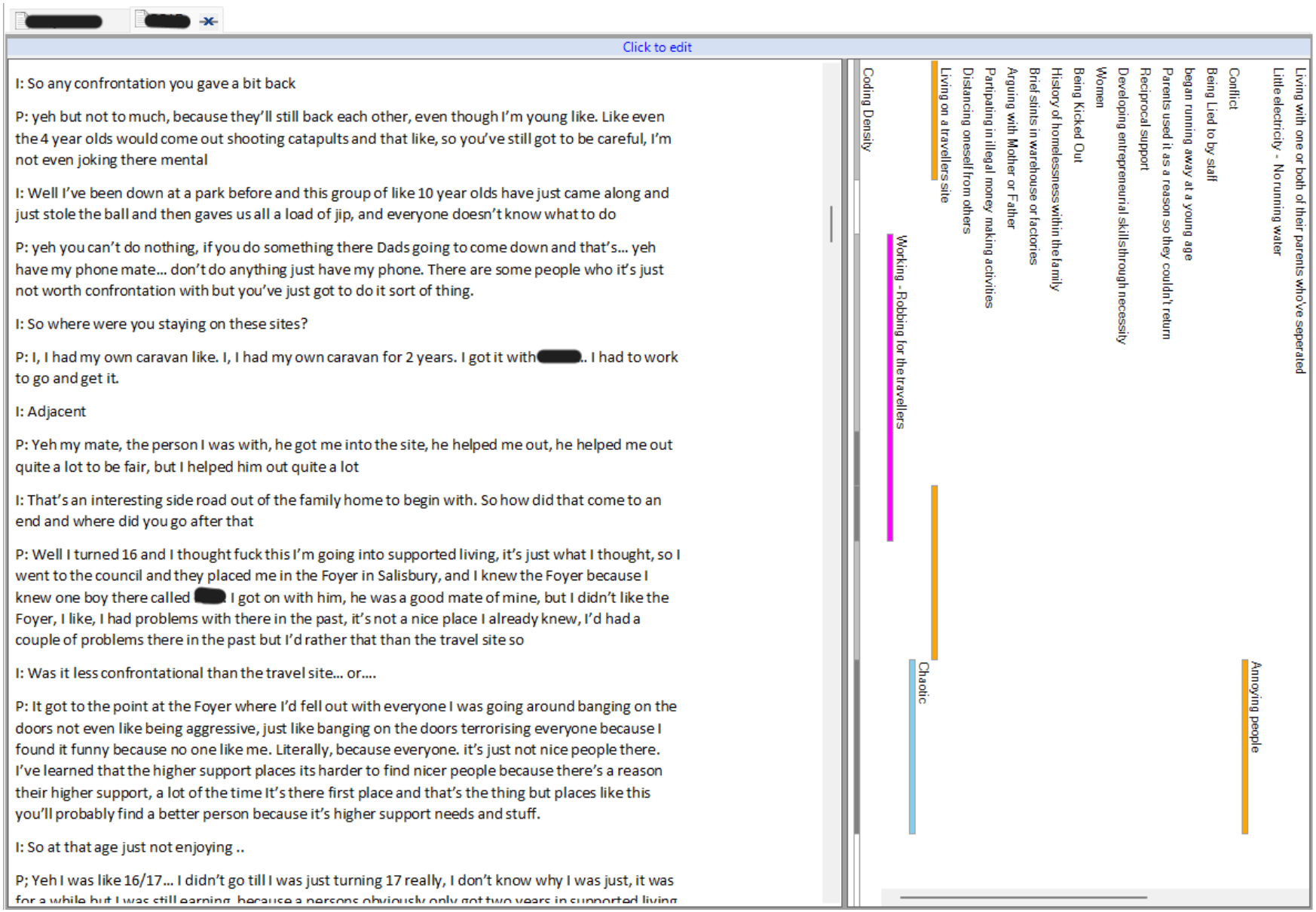
Interviewer: This with [redacted] or this with another girl?
Speaker: With another girl. They left and three days later, the new kid came in, called me out for scrap because it started kicking off.
Interviewer: Why did he call you out for a scrap?
Speaker: Because he was making the girl feel uncomfortable at the time.
Interviewer: Which girl?
Speake[redacted] my ex missus. And whenever she was sat in the bed, he would get closer and closer so she would move up into the corner. I kicked off, he then kicked off and left, came up 10 minutes later, retaxed his Xanax.
Interviewer: Retaxed?
Speaker: Retaxed it.
Interviewer: What's that?
Speaker: So basically, we took his Xanax off him and told him to fuck off. I walked up to [location] to get my wages because I needed cash. And he called me out for scrap then went back. So we went in the back alley, I was on a come down and he was on an up. So I've seen four of him, he went to kick me. I grabbed his leg and then tell him to fall on scrap. He smashed my head off the wall, I smashed his head off the wall. Yeah, it just got messy.
Interviewer: Got messy, yeah.
Speaker: And then he went in ratted me out. Next day, I got kicked out.
Interviewer: Okay. And what happened after that? Where did you move? Is this when you've started rough sleeping a bit or where did you stay?
Speaker: Yeah, I was mixing between [redacted]shed, a couple of mates--
Interviewer: What was the set up like in the shed?
Speaker: That was quite a nice setup, speakers, electric and they had tables in there with single mattress on it and yeah, it's quite sound.
Interviewer: Yeah, and how often were you staying there a week?
To move in with an long-absent parent
stealing
Conflict
Being quite helpful spaces until you get involved with other tenants
Being moved between different places by social workers
Going through quite a few of these properties
Coding Density
Rough Sleeping and Sofa-Su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I: So any confrontation you gave a bit back
P: yeh but not to much, because they'll still back each other, even though I'm young like. Like even the 4 year olds would come out shooting catapults and that like, so you've still got to be careful, I'm not even joking there mental
I: Well I've been down at a park before and this group of like 10 year olds have just came along and just stole the ball and then gaves us all a load of jip, and everyone doesn't know what to do
P: yeh you can't do nothing, if you do something there Dads going to come down and that's... yeh have my phone mate... don't do anything just have my phone. There are some people who it's just not worth confrontation with but you've just got to do it sort of thing.
I: So where were you staying on these sites?
P: I, I had my own caravan like. I, I had my own caravan for 2 years. I got it with [redacted].. I had to work to go and get it.
I: Adjacent
P: Yeh my mate, the person I was with, he got me into the site, he helped me out, he helped me out quite a lot to be fair, but I helped him out quite a lot
I: That's an interesting side road out of the family home to begin with. So how did that come to an end and where did you go after that
P: Well I turned 16 and I thought fuck this I'm going into supported living, it's just what I thought, so I went to the council and they placed me in the Foyer in Salisbury, and I knew the Foyer because I knew one boy there called [redacted] I got on with him, he was a good mate of mine, but I didn't like the Foyer, I like, I had problems with there in the past, it's not a nice place I already knew, I'd had a couple of problems there in the past but I'd rather that than the travel site so
I: Was it less confrontational than the travel site... or....
P: It got to the point at the Foyer where I'd fell out with everyone I was going around banging on the doors not even like being aggressive, just like banging on the doors terrorising everyone because I found it funny because no one like me. Literally, because everyone. it's just not nice people there. I've learned that the higher support places its harder to find nicer people because there's a reason their higher support, a lot of the time It's there first place and that's the thing but places like this you'll probably find a better person because it's higher support needs and stuff.
I: So at that age just not enjoying ..
P; Yeh I was like 16/17... I didn't go till I was just turning 17 really, I don't know why I was just, it was for a while but I was still earning, because a persons obviously only got two years in supported living
Coding Density
Working - Robbing for the travellers
Living on a travellers site
Distancing oneself from others
Partipating in illegal money making activities
Arguing with Mother or Father
Brief stints in warehouse or factories
History of homelessness within the family
Being Kicked Out
Women
Developing entrepreneurial skillsthrough necessity
Reciprocal support
Parents used it as a reason so they couldn't return
began running away at a young age
Being Lied to by staff
Conflict
Little electricity - No running water
Living with one or both of their parents who've seperated
Chaotic
Annoying people

A table used to create/build the flows:

	Crisis	Seeking Home	Overstaying	Outlaw Independent		SI	TWW	Straight and Narrow
Abby, 22, South Yorkshire		Staying with sister	Staying with local family					
Adrian, Age 23, Devon		Staying with brother				Staying with the makeshift family		The help of a local charity has helped get him back on his feet.
Ahmed West Yorkshire	With friends				Did not get involved with rough sleeping till it fell apart	Stayed with GF as well.		
Alan, Wiltshire						Kind of, but also not really, had close friends… but it was non-sexual.		
Aleks 19 Devon				Living in a suspected drug den	Living in a suspected drug den	It starts off with GF	then enters a period of wandering/outlaw, overstaying/staying at friends' houses.	
Alex, Age 24, Warwickshire	early days with friends	Attempts to live with Dad				Tries living with Girlfriend	Experiences periods on the streets	
Callum 17 Devon							Period on the streets	
Calvin, Age 22, Warwickshire		stayed with/ brother						Stayed with a friend while waiting for a house from a local charity.
Cameron, 19, Devon	They stayed with some friends, who got him into drugs…	Stayed w/ nan						Started getting in gear when he encountered a good person
Daniel 21 Devon			Things got difficult because the girl who he stayed with had quite bad mental health.			He needs to add to the intimate section, particularly regarding non-sexual but supportive friendships.	Being kicked out of his dad's house and period where he had to rough-sleep	

Daniella West Yorkshire		This is a key homebody experience and a very interesting one.						
David, South Yorkshire	I was bouncing between friends.							Moving towards the straight and narrow
Elissa 21 Devon		Lived w/ aunty and then grandad				Chaotic movements between different cartographies		She was placed in Rehab and moved to Cornwall.
Emma, Age 17, West Yorkshire		Stayed with grandma				Her experience of moving in a living with lots of other people.	I think, in her case, wandering/and intimacy are combined.	
Finley, 16, Lancashire				Squatting	Avoidance of services for a while	Using his GF as a checkpoint		
Isabel, Wiltshire		Spent some time with her Dad and encircling the home	Overstayed at a local woman's house		Lack of engagement		Broad wanderings	
James 22 Devon		w/sister, aunties etc.	With his nan				A broader sense that he has lacked direction throughout his homeless experience	
Jared Wiltshire		Moved to live with an Uncle, but it didn't work out.		Living in a campervan sight and getting into gang-related activity.	Lack of engagement		His dependency on other people to stay	
John, west Yorkshire		His purpose has, in some sense, been to help raise his young son				He was provided with a place to live, and his new baby's Mum moved in.		
Joseph, Age 25, London						Stayed with GF before Uni; also, at friends, there was a mixture between a familial and sexual environment.	Wanderings after Uni	

Kieran 22 Wiltshire						Stayed with a woman that he found in the end to be very controlling and probably cheating on him	Wanderings more broadly, again lack of direction and being on the street	
Lani 18 Wiltshire								
Laura 18 Wiltshire								
Laurence, Wiltshire							A very brief period of rough sleeping, but I don't think I catch it in my data	
Lewis 18 West Yorkshire							Again, a wander in so much that his mobilities are chaotic	
Liam, Age 17, Wiltshire								
Libby, Age 19, Devon		Lived w/ aunty and then grandad				abused by older men	Chaotic movement between different cartographies	
Lucy Lancashire								It sounds bad but for this one I'm hoping that the Mum gets her back on track
Nate 19 Devon							lack of life direction.	
Neave West Yorkshire								
Noah Wiltshire							Doesn't know if his direction in life is safe or secure	
Philip Warwickshire					Avoidance of services		Has a brief period of wandering as his pursuit of complete independence falls apart	Phillips situations kind of collapses in on itself.
Rich Age 24 South Yorkshire					Unawareness of services		Certainly, in part of his experiences I	Rich has a brief periods with friends

							would consider it wandering	
Riley, Devon					Avoidance of services and people in general	had briefly lived with his GF and Mum	I'd say he wandered post-loosing connection with the foyer and his friend	
Tanya, South yorkshire								
Tilly, Devon							In some ways I think she exemplifies an attempt at straight and narrow	Maybe when she's working at the hotel?
Timothy, Age 21, Devon	Maybe he should be considered a homebody							
Vicky 20 Devon							Wandering	
Jenna, Devon							Lot's of wandering, lots of breakdowns of possible futures, and thus a sense of directionlessness	
Rosie, West Yorkshire		For the time being, her purpose and direction of life is to be with family and to build and protect her family.				Did I include Rosie in the analysis because he experiences was actually fundamental.		Maybe?
Flora, Warwickshire							A complete loss in terms of where he should head, but the power of friendship	