Inside a Spiral: Analysing Pathways of Single Homelessness and Criminal Justice Experiences in Montevideo

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Abstract

Uruguay faces a problem of homelessness levels and imprisoned population, reaching almost 4000 homeless in Montevideo in 2021, and more of 13500 incarcerated in 2021. The prison rate is one of the highest in South America, 328 per 100.000 habitants. Homelessness has been steadily increasing since the first survey in 2006, and that subsequent censuses show that a considerable number of homeless people have passed through the adult prison system at least once. A social policy of broad coverage for homeless people, primarily focused on providing night accommodation has been in place since 2005.

The imprisoned, and homeless people, make up two populations with serious deprivations in pivotal aspects of human existence, opportunities, and citizen rights. Resettlement needs are alarming, and research into the complexities of the processes and aspects underlying the association when it comes to the penal system and homelessness related experiences context specific is timely.

Semi-structured qualitative interviews alongside a quantitative technique, the life history calendar (LHC), were the specific tools for studying connections between homelessness and the penal system through vital time of a purposive sample of homeless former inmates living in Montevideo.

The thesis concludes that homelessness experiences with the penal system are strictly associated with extreme poverty, victimization in prison, absence of preventative strategies to prevent and manage prison release, violation of fundamental human rights, and threatening release environments.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Introduction

"There is a direct relationship between homeless people and insecurity. There are many people who have been released from prison, who do not have a place to live, do not have a job and do not have many life options. A person who lives on the streets. How does he survive? How long is it to commit a crime? And then he ends up in prison. It is a must that we have to solve. My opinion is zero people living in the streets" (Former undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior of Uruguay, 2018)[1]

With that reply the former undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior of Uruguay placed the political and moral commitment at the heart of the association between homelessness and public insecurity.

The issue of homelessness and its link with criminality comes in fact in a particular socio-political context of Uruguay in which various problems related to public insecurity, and social fragmentation gained ground on Uruguay's public agenda.

Uruguay has been considered from the beginning of the 20th century the "Switzerland of South America" becoming a pioneering country in terms of welfare social system, civic rights, integrated society, and democratic system (Midaglia, 2009).[2] Among the region is considered a leading country in terms of social inclusion, political stability, democracy, relatively egalitarian social structure, and access to fundamental rights.[3]

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[1] Available at: https://ladiaria.com.uy/politica/articulo/2018/11/jorge-vazquez-hay-una-relacion-directa-entre-las-personas-en-situacion-de-calle-y-la-inseguridad/

[2] Just to mention, Uruguay was invaded by the British in 1806 and 1807. In 1811 the country successfully fought for independence against Spain, and in 1825 achieved its dependence from Brazil. In the late 19 and early 20 centuries, the country received a large spate of Spanish and Italian immigrants.

[3] Major progress in the first half of the 20th century in the country involved the creation and consolidation of a modern social welfare system, a new constitution, advanced education laws, unemployment benefits and worker's rights, universal suffrage, the separation of religion from the State, abolition of death penalty, among others.

Despite the deep-rooted strong democratic values ensuring certain degrees of social redistribution (Midaglia, 2009), a social and economic crisis that began to unfold in the 1950s as a result of several local and global factors led the country into a deep social fragmentation. The following years will be similar to countries in the region, governed by a military dictatorship (1973-1985) which took over the government, and was responsible for countless human right violations, crimes against humanity, enforced disappearances, and which have further sunk the country's economy even more.

After the restoration of democracy in 1985, the country was deeply in a social and cultural fragmentation due to policies and structural reforms which was further accentuated by the implementation of market-oriented economic labour policies during the '90s (De Armas, 2010; Caetano, 2011).

At the beginning of 2002 and in the midst of regional economic and institutional crises in Argentina and Brazil, the country was battered with a severe socio economic turmoil and financial crisis which caused an unemployment rate of 23%, and the highest rates of poverty and indigence in its history, at 30% and 20% respectively (National Institute of Statistics, 2002). The concentration of the highest levels of poverty was located in children under 14 years of age (National Institute of Statistics, 2002; De Armas, 2010).

In 2005, after more than 100 years of rule by conservative parties, arrived for the first time a left-wing government, that will govern for three consecutive terms, until 2019.[4] In those periods were introduced a significant number of active policies against poverty, extreme poverty, social inequality, humanitarian approach to the penal system, progressive policies involving access to fundamental rights (same sex marriage, decriminalization of abortion, legalization of production, sale and consumption of cannabis as a way to fight drug trafficking, changes in labour relations with a strong participation of the State regulating rural labour, collective bargaining, among many others). In 2018, income poverty reached 8.1%, and extreme poverty virtually disappeared since 2005, reaching as low as 0.1% (National Institute of Statistics, 2018).

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[4] The country is based on a democratic constitutional system with mandatory national elections every 5-year term (without immediate re-election) in which the president (head of State and head of the government) vice-president and the Legislative branch (senators and deputies) are elected by direct popular vote. The president directly selects the ministers of the cabinet which compound together with him the Executive branch with decision making throughout the entire country. In the last National Elections held in 2019, the center and far right coalition of parties won the Elections with a difference of 1% above the left wing party.

However, during the progressist era, an exacerbated crisis regarding public insecurity was one of the country's main problems according to public opinion polls, and was also exploited by political parties (Paternain & Rico, 2012; Vigna, 2011).

According to scholars, concerning the penal system and crime, Uruguay has experienced a thorough decline in the last 30 years, depicted by: 1) a huge increase in prison population with one of the highest prison rates in Latin America; 2) a sustained growth in crime, feminicides, and reoffending rates according to official statistics and specialized research; 3) an increase in violent offenses; 4) a critic degree of prison overcrowding and deficiency of prisoners' health care attention; and 5) a lack of rehabilitation policies (Folle & Vigna, 2015; Rojido, Trajtenberg & Vigna, 2009; Parliamentary Commissioner for the penitentiary system, 2016). Furthermore, the country has tightened punishment through severity of penalties, as well as used preventative detention as a general rule against offending (Juanche & Palummo, 2012; Vernazza, 2015; Camaño, 2011; Paternain, 2013; Vigna, 2011).

Related with this, and despite the good indicators of poverty, and lowest indigence trends of the progressive years, rising in single homelessness levels came into a fact becoming very publicly visible, and contributing to public and political concern in the issue. From 2005 onwards, the development of a large shelter system has been the core of a palliative policy and supply of places, hand in hand with a criminalization measure Law No. 19.120 "Law No. 19120 of Minor Offenses, Conservation and care of public spaces" which came into force in 2013 penalizing improper use of public spaces (e.g sleeping rough).

Within this context, recent official data have shown that there is a close connection between single homelessness and the penitentiary system. Official data from the Census of homeless people in Montevideo showed that almost 6 out of 10 of homeless people have been in prison (MIDES, 2019).

Despite 15 years of progressive Uruguayan social policy aimed at ameliorating poverty and improving human rights, barriers that hinder the social reintegration of those who had prison experiences and nowhere to go are still overlooked. Resettlement needs are alarming, and research into the complexities of the processes and aspects underlying the association when it comes to the penal system and housing exclusion related experiences context specific is timely.

Motivation

In reflection of this motivation, it was not easy for me to manifest the array of reasons, sensitivities, and personal experiences that led me down this chosen path. But I will attempt to express my concrete incentive, *the hows*, reasons, and commitments.

First of all, one aspect that underlies the chosen theme has to do more with an ontological character in need to address abandonment in its social aspects. The people classified as homeless live in a concrete and sustained dehumanization by processes of social and institutional desertion and neglect. This course is troubled by subtle processes that slowly lead to this social circumstance. In Lancione's words, *"a traumatic history of neglect engraved in the body"* (2019: 13).

In this vein, following Pleace, *"we must respect and understand the human beings at the heart of homelessness and understand the environment in which homelessness has created"* (2016:37). Consequently, this research was guided by a human being-centred approach, collecting data concerning memories and history, their personal and institutional experiences, changes in their social circumstances, the difficulties they have faced, and those they have faced, among others. With this in mind, through their voices, a piece of greater knowledge and insights into how multiple barriers, privations, and institutional obstacles lead to these multiple abandonments in their trajectories is gained.

Second, linked to this, one motivation of the thesis has been to move away from over-simplistic, reductionist, and sterile explanations on the matter, likely from politically dominant interpretations that still hold the individual responsible for being in that expelled social condition. Among these lines, I was able to approach the study of the most fundamental domains to allow us to think of new readings and points of view arising from a comprehensive framework about homelessness, and not experienced in contexts of non-English-speaking countries.

Third, it is the specific social context that holds this subject. I chose to conduct this research in Montevideo (my home city) for three big reasons. As was previously mentioned, the country faces a problem of homelessness levels and imprisoned population: reaching almost 4000 homeless in Montevideo in 2021, and more of 13500 incarcerated in 2021. The prison rate is one of the highest in South America, 328 per 100.000 habitants. And as was previously stated, a large percentage of homeless people have declared being in prison before (MIDES, 2019).

Despite advances of the past 15 progressive years (2005-2019) of social policy aimed at ameliorating poverty and improving human and civil rights, social reintegration of released with nowhere to go remained a pending issue, and the treatment of homelessness lacks a preventive integrated approach. According to official data, around 6,500 people are released from the penal system, and about 6,000 enter it. Most of them leave behind appalling prison conditions: these places are overcrowded, precarious mental health care, abuse from the police force, basic rights violations, time out of cell limited to one hour per day are part of their routines (Parliamentary Commissioner for the penitentiary system; 2020).

Those features of the penal system are not innocuous concerning the context where homelessness is generated. Taking into consideration, the multiple needs homeless offenders express.

Those aspects are also immersed in the broad debate between those arguing for punitive measures to contend with the homeless, as well as those advocating for an effective resettlement policy, and more effective social policies concerning homelessness considering the respect of a human rights approach, access opportunities, housing, and health.

Within this context, this research attempts to fill some of the gaps in our understanding of the association of homelessness with the penal system in Montevideo. From accurate and reliable evidence-based information, the thesis aims to contribute to the solid arguments for inclusive policies while also contributing to the context-specific homelessness studies development.

Accordingly, the aim of this thesis is first, to explore homelessness pathways with the penal system and its particularities for a sample of homeless former inmates living in Montevideo. Along with this, the study explores in depth the potential factors and aspects that can be associated. Second, considering that, the implications of the outcome will contribute, and inform policy and practice in this area are discussed.

With this mind, there are three specific objectives developed:

1. To explore the dynamics of homelessness, and contacts with the penal system over time, identifying similarities and differences in their pathway;

2. To study any role for the penal system in potentially increasing the risk of involvement in a homeless pathway after release;

3. To examine the existence and particularities of a revolving door for the sample of homeless former inmates at local level.

Methods overview

The thesis adopts a mixed methods approach by using twenty qualitative interviews and twenty history calendars (LHCs) which were conducted with homeless people who have already been arrested, for pre-eminent information sources. This primary data is supplemented with a range of secondary data to examine the association between prison and homelessness in Montevideo, which were (i) Official data available from the official census of sleeping rough held in 2016 in Montevideo derived from Ministry of Social Development (MIDES); and (ii) Official data from an official representative sample survey of homeless in night shelters held in 2017 in Montevideo derived from MIDES.

Main contributions

The current PhD thesis aims at researching homelessness pathways with the penal system and its particularities for a sample of homeless former inmates living in Montevideo, exploring in-depth the potential factors and aspects that can be associated. Likewise, this thesis seeks to go further on other facets and processes beyond the subject matter under scrutiny, dialoguing with the international literature. And seeking to raise new questions about the particularities that such a link may have at the local level. In doing so, the present thesis attempts to make at least three substantial contributions to the current state of knowledge in the field.

Firstly, the current state of knowledge on the issue stems from western developed countries regardless of the welfare regime. The social, political, and economic contexts are quite different from South America, where it faces high levels of poverty and social inequity, crime, and violence (see Chapter 1). In this regard, the interplay of local factors might play a different role in the particularities of the social problem under scrutiny. They matter in developing effective routes of understanding out of homelessness.

Having said this, the Anglo-Saxon influence on the causes and concept of homelessness has permeated certain South American countries, despite their even more complex social, political, and economic contexts, where certain particularities are still ignored in the explanations of homelessness. The particularities regarding housing limits are much more diffuse than the international definitions. To

picture it, the contexts of extreme housing precariousness and its concrete implications in differentiating them from other forms of housing exclusion conditions, strictly speaking. In addition, although there has been global evidence found on homelessness and the criminal justice association coming from the mainstream literature, it does not offer more insights into the multiple complexities surrounding the exclusion/punishment nexus (Gowan, 2002).

Consequently, this thesis contributes to the study of the association mentioned in the specific context, where the picture concerning individual homelessness is even more serious. This association with the penal system remains unexplored, despite the great amount of explanation that official data present.

As this research was constructed from narratives, it contributes to comprehensive knowledge about the issues, factors, and the role played by them in the link between homelessness and criminal justice. In this way, a greater understanding of the pathways of homelessness and the prison system within a developing context. With this in mind, the thesis seeks to contribute to theory with empirical evidence from a different cultural and socio-political specificity, informing policy and practice in this area.

Secondly, and related to this, the study of the mentioned association is essential for policy purposes. The sustained increase in the levels of homelessness and the rate of imprisonment shows that the penal and shelter systems are far from being effective in reducing crime and levels of homelessness representing high costs for the entire community (Macias, 2016; Pleace & Culhane, 2016; Moschion & Johnson, 2019). Consequently, a greater comprehension of the mentioned association may serve to decision-makers to reverse the current trends by improving effective measures preventing crime and homelessness (Moschion & Johnson, 2019).

In this vein, the thesis also contributes by calling into question the idea and utility of the Anglophone ideas of the revolving doors between homelessness and the penal system very dominant in the referential literature. The dissertation will demonstrate how, for the study's respondents, prison experiences, along with homelessness and living in urban settlements or slums, lead to a downward spiral of exclusion that reduces their chances of escaping.

Finally, this dissertation offers an innovative theoretical and methodological approach in exploring the dynamics and intertwining of homelessness with the penal system. The research expands existing knowledge of this association through the use of novel theoretical and methodological frameworks to explore in-depth pathways of homelessness and criminal justice problems, hitherto unexplored in previous studies in the global South.

The theoretical models combine the study of pathways and life trajectories, allowing us to problematize the previously mentioned relationship in temporal and multi-dimensional terms. Using these contributions addresses emerging subtle processes, subjective and contextual factors, interrelated problems, and environments not yet explored in the developing country literature, nor at the local level. The theoretical approach adopted is useful to understand that this association, far from being simple, revolves around complexity in various forms at different stages that shape the distinctive pathways of homeless people with prison experiences.

The thesis proposes a mixed methodology collecting quantitative information through the life calendar technique and qualitative data through semi-structured interviews with homeless men with prison experiences. Thus, the thesis contributes to giving voice to homeless people, who have been in the adult prison system, providing retrospective information about housing, social background, family support, resettlement pathways, and meanings. Not only life events are addressed, but also their narratives rooted in experience, and their interpretations of lived events. These findings shed light on the underlying relationship between homelessness and prison, as it is embedded in successive waves of severe institutional victimization and expulsion. Along with the absence of social support, there are trauma, personal feelings of dispossession, and banishment from the community.

Definitions and scope

This section introduces the concepts used in this research. The aim of this section is to ensure to the reader a terminological consistency regarding concepts used in this thesis in order to understand and put in context how the arguments and ideas in this study have been evolved. The section means to review broadly the problem of homelessness definition, and as the international literature review proceeds, this chapter will discuss current concepts and definitions on homelessness within Uruguayan context.

Homelessness has been widely identified as a key problem of poverty and social exclusion around the Western world (Pleace, 1998, Springer, 2000; UN Habitat, 2000). While estimations cannot be entirely accurate, the UN estimates approximately 150 million people are homeless, and around 1.6 billion people around the world live in "inadequate shelter" (UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, 2014).

In this vein, the UN (2008, 2011) has distinguished two categories of homeless people who lack a place of habitual residence and are not living in private or institutional settings. Primary homelessness, encompassing people living in the streets, or without a shelter that can be considered within the scope of housing. Secondary homelessness, refers to people without a usual place of residence who move frequently between various types of accommodation (including homes, shelters, institutions for the homeless, other living quarters) (Bush Geertsema, Culhane & Fitzpatrick, 2016).

Notwithstanding, the term homelessness is an ambiguous concept whose boundaries are sometimes porous, and blurred according to the context specific, local welfare and housing policies, housing privations situations, meanings of adequate access, precarious, and security housing, etc., with implications in its global measurement and comparative studies and perspectives inter and cross countries (Busch Geertsema, 2010). As Busch Geertsema stresses, *"concealed homeless households, without the privacy, safety or security of tenure that would be in place if they had their own front door, are 'homeless' in one European country but are only 'badly housed' in another"* (Busch-Geertsema *et al.*, 2014; cited in Pleace, 2016). Furthermore, meanings associated with the idea of home and homelessness by those involved are also part of the academic discussion of homelessness when subjective meanings, gender, age, among others, are considered (Watson & Austerberry, 1986; Fitzpatrick, 2000; Sommerville, 1992).

Defining homelessness is properly a matter of political concern and responsibility, since how the problem is defined will be the perceptions of its causes (individuality causes or as a housing market function), but also a matter intrinsically related to what extent States' report their accountability regards to policies' that effectively give to the problem (and efforts in recognizing that homelessness violates a range of human rights and human dignity (UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, 2015; IGH, 2018; Pleace, 2016). In the Global North, attempts to find a *"common language"* (Busch Geertsema, Culhane & Fitzpatrick, 2016) concerning homelessness and housing exclusion has been part of a broadly conceptual, methodological and theoretical debate. While for the South American region, there is a much lower level of conceptual elaboration regarding homelessness.

The European Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) (Edgar& Meert, 2006) model of homelessness and housing exclusion has been the most prominent conceptual contribution in explaining, defining and classifying homelessness and residential instability (Amore, Baker & Howden-Chapman, 2011; Hermans, 2020).

ETHOS defined three domains (legal, physical, and social) which constitute a home which means "having a decent dwelling (or space) adequate to meet the needs of the person and his/her family (physical domain); 2) being able to maintain privacy and enjoy social relations (social domain); and 3) having exclusive possession, security of occupation and legal title (legal domain). Living situations that are deficient in one or more of these domains are taken to represent homelessness and housing exclusion" (Edgar, 2009, p. 15; cited in Amore, Baker & Howden- Chapman, 2011, p. 24).

In order to gain specification on the issue, later work considers that homelessness should be understood as *"living in severely inadequate housing due to a lack of access to minimally adequate housing"* (Amore, 2013: 228), a severe housing deprivation which *"denotes a standard of housing that falls significantly short of the relevant adequacy threshold in one or more domains"* (Bush Geertsema, Culhane & Fitzpatrick: 2016: 125).

Considering the ETHOS domains, Bush Geertsema, Culhane & Fitzpatrick (2016) evaluate "adequacy" in order to provide a much more comprehensive definition of homelessness that includes living situations from the Global South (Bush Geertsema, Culhane & Fitzpatrick: 2016: 125). As so, in an aim of going further in the legal domain, the authors add *affordability* of housing as inability to meet rental or mortgage costs since is a *key cause of housing insecurity,* as is the *quantity* of accommodation (physical domain) in order to capture overcrowding living conditions. Finally, in the social domain the *internal threats (i.e. from other occupants) to both the person and their possessions is also considered* (2016: 125).

There are three main categories: 1) "people without accommodation" who sleep in places not intended for human habitation (are those excluded from the three domains and refers to people sleeping rough/roofless/street homeless/unsheltered; 2) "people living in temporary or crisis accommodation" (excluded from the legal domain with few opportunities/space for normal social relations) refers to those who live in accommodation provided by the State or organizations, such as, night shelters, migration refugees centres, women's shelter accommodation, migrant and refugees accommodation, camps provided for 'internally displaced people" due to armed conflict, natural human disasters, human right violations, among others. Finally, the most controversial category (due to regional features as we will see below), encompasses "People living in severely inadequate and/or insecure accommodation", such as, living with relatives or friends, in hostels, boarding houses, cheap hostels, people squatting, double up, in extremely overcrowding conditions, tents, in makeshift structure not suitable for human habitation, people living in non-conventional buildings and temporary

structures, including those living in slums/informal settlements (Busch-Geertsema *et al.*, 2016: 125-126)

"With slums and informal settlements (…) providing shelter for many millions, if not billions of people in the developing world, a key definitional challenge is to distinguish between those who are homeless and those who are inadequately housed in such contexts (Busch-Geertsema *et al.*, 2016: 126).

South America, a continent with more than 230 million poor people and in which overcrowding conditions affect 55% of urban households in poverty (CEPAL, 2020), housing exclusion and extreme precarious living conditions have concrete consequences in terms of how homelessness is defined and understood.[5] It has established conceptual and operational boundaries since there is a continuum of housing exclusion where boundaries are much fuzzier than international definitions could frame since there are precarious housing conditions where boundaries are much fuzzier that would be under the Anglo Saxon/European umbrella of housing exclusion.

Accordingly, in order to differentiate homelessness circumstances from insecure and inadequate housing, and despite differences inter countries, it is used concepts such as, "*sin hogar*" (homeless), "*sin techo*" (rough sleeper), "*en situación de calle*" (street situation) or "*poblaciones callejeras/habitantes de las aceras*" (pavement dwellers) (UN, 2015). A key difference in the South American context has been made between "street homeless adults" (mostly lone males) and "street children", differentiating for the latter between children who live on the street and children who are on the street (who work on the street and have a home where they live) (UN Habitat, 2000; Kok *et al.*, 2010; cited in Busch-Geertsema *et al.*, 2016: 125).

Particularly, Uruguay, with an estimated lowest poverty rate floating around 10 percent, (CEPAL, 2020) like Latin American counterparts faces a housing problem concerning people living under extreme inadequate and insecure living conditions, overcrowding, segregated living conditions, without access to services, in a condition of insecure tenure, with detrimental health effects. Slums/informal settlement, squatting, double up, non-conventional living structures, and not suitable for human

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[5] It is important to bear in mind that the word "homelessness" in English does not always have an equivalent translation in other languages. In English, "homelessness" suggests both a lack of physical housing and a loss of a sense of social belonging. In some other languages, the closest word to homelessness would be "rooflessness", lacking shelter or transience. In French, homelessness is referred to as either "*sans domicile fixe*" or "*sans-abrisme*" (UN Special Rapporteur). For the Spanish language, Cabrera (1998) has strictly translated homelessness into Spanish, named "*sinhogarismo*".

habitation (in segregated or areas), are a widespread housing and social problem all over the country. Henceforth, this complex picture has shown concrete implications when defining homelessness, and its boundaries.

In Uruguay, there is a common use of an agreed definition from academy, government and media in using the street situation concept to differentiate its form and particularities from other housing exclusion and precariousness situations concerning housing. This chosen definition conforms and applies for what is understood for the Uruguayan case as a single homeless person[6] - *persona sin hogar* (people inhabiting night shelters or "sheltered") or rough sleeping "unsheltered" (*persona durmiendo a la intemperie*). "Street situation"- "*Problema de la situación de calle*"- refers to people sleeping rough, as well as those sleeping in night shelters for homeless people.

Henceforth, this research is concerned with single homeless adult males sleeping rough, in night shelters for homeless people, and in the hostel for homeless people released from prison in Montevideo.[7] Also, the participants in this study have been through the adult penal system at least once for having committed, according to the Uruguayan penal code, the following felonies that include the prison sentence which are divided into: offences against property (theft, receiving stolen property, misappropriation, and none of these events involve violence, threat or fraud), offences against the person committed with violence or threats (assault, assault with deprivation of liberty, extortion, kidnapping, homicide, helping to commit suicide, serious or very serious injuries, rape, femicide, act of discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity, race or ethnic origin, religion or disability), and the illicit trade in drugs (Law of narcotics).[8]

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[6] In EU/US context, single homeless or single homelessness unlike family homeless, are concepts that refer to adult people who have no dependent children in their household and who are not owed a statutory homelessness duty by a local authority' (The Homeless Link Research Team, 2019).

[7] The hostel for prisoners released as it will be introduced in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2) a hostel under the responsibility of the *National Directorate of Support to the Released* (Dinali) of the Ministry of the Interior. The hotel was opened for homeless people who were released from prison a few days before the thesis fieldwork started. It is the first hostel that provides accommodation for released persons who have nowhere else to go in the country.

[8] According to the Uruguayan Penal Code the prison sentences for each of these criminal acts are: for Theft: Whoever seizes someone else's movable thing, taking it from his fork, to take advantage, or make another take advantage of it, will be punished with three months in prison to six years in prison. Drug trafficking: Anyone who places dangerous substances in commerce or dispenses for health, falsified, adulterated or denatured, by the action of time, with or without effective injury to the right, to life or to physical integrity, will be punished with six months in prison to ten years of prison Assault: Whoever, with violence or threats, seizes a movable thing, subtracting it from his fork, to take advantage or make another take advantage of it, he will be punished with

Chapter contents

The study is structured as follows: **Chapter one** provides an overall framing of the trends and issues on homelessness and the penal system that sets the local context framing this research.

Chapter two reviews past theoretical and methodological writings in previous international studies on single homelessness and penal system nexus highlighting the key gaps in the literature. A review of studies on homeless people's shelter utilization typologies and the institutional circuit thesis followed the chapter's exploration of the notion of a "revolving door" between the criminal justice system and homelessness and the pertinent literature. The final portion introduces the viewpoint of homelessness pathways. By aiding in our comprehension of the various causes, contributing elements, and meanings of homelessness, these contributions help to put this research into context.

Chapter three develops the theoretical frameworks through which this study explores the mentioned association based on the theoretical framework of pathways, and life-course theories. The multidisciplinary theoretical approaches used assist in the understanding of the idea of process and complexities beyond, individual experiences, institutional obstacles, and social expulsion processes, underlying the interviewees pathways. **Chapter four** introduces the research objectives that guided this study, and the methodological rationale and approach followed to achieve the aims.

The following three chapters present the research findings of this thesis. **Chapter five** goes on to describe from official data the differences and similitudes between people sleeping rough and people in night shelters, relying on certain deprivations stated by previous literature. The aim of the chapter is to give a general picture of the associations between their needs and deprivations addressed in multiple dimensions, including housing deprivation and prison experiences.

Chapter six introduces a taxonomy of pathways of homelessness with penal system experiences developed according to the detailed examination of the complexities, similarities, and differences, among the pathways homeless former inmates of this study. From the reconstruction of individual life reviews, housing and homelessness episodes, institutional constraints, high risks environments,

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four to sixteen years in prison. (Personal injuries): The one who, without intention to kill, causes some person an injury personal, will be punished with a prison sentence of three to twelve months. Personal injury is any physiological disorder from which a disease of the body or mind arises

agency, and components that influenced all the participants' pathways with the penal system experiences during their vital time were identified and are presented at an aggregate level.

Chapter seven focuses solely on a descriptive analysis of the life history calendars providing a descriptive analysis of the life history calendars that show how the interviewed persons moved from one living situation to another through their whole lives. The analysis provides retrospective empirical evidence of the dynamic association through time among prison, homelessness, and other forms of housing exclusion. A **final chapter** summarizes the main findings of the thesis in view of the original aims, and discusses its conclusions and the main similarities and differences related to the wider US/European perspectives. The chapter ends by giving an account of some research limitations, and reflecting theoretically and practically over the research findings. Some ideas and questions are put forward to guide future discussion in academic research.

Chapter 1

Homeless and the penal system in Uruguay

"Every household, whatever their economic resources, must be able to access an adequate home that meets the minimum housing level defined in this law. It is the function of the State to create the conditions that allow the effective fulfilment of that right" (Law No. 13728 National Housing Plan, 1967).

"No one shall be subject to the death penalty. In no case shall prisons be allowed to serve the purpose of mortification, but only for the purpose of securing for the accused and convicted persons, in the pursuit of their re-education, aptitude for work and the prevention of crime" (Art 26 of the Constitution of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, 1967)

1.1. Introduction

Most empirical evidence on the relationship between homelessness and the penal system comes from Global North (North America, European countries, and Australia) where social, political and economic contexts despite the inter-country differences are quite different from South American countries' circumstances. While countries in the Global North vary considerably, the interplay between individual, structural and contextual factors may manifest in different ways to what occurs in regional countries.

Uruguay, despite enjoying a good socio-economic status worldwide and in the rest of the South American continent, faces a complex picture concerning high rates of imprisonment and high levels of homelessness as his counterparts.

The aim of this section is to provide an overall framing-overview of trends and issues on homelessness, and in prison rates and resettlement policies in Uruguay to put in context the subject matter of this research.

The discussion below argues that institutional initiatives to manage homelessness and prisoner resettlement present a contradictory picture at the local level by aggravating the spiral of homelessness and the penal system link.

Following, an outline background of the most salient features regarding homelessness sustained growth since 2006, and the State strategies of managing it at local level are introduced. But first the section below provides a brief housing policy context of Uruguay in legal and statistical terms for setting up the context where the particularities of homelessness are set up.

1.2. Brief Housing Context

With an estimated 3.4 million inhabitants, an urban population more than 80% predominantly of European origin, and 1,947 million people living in Montevideo, Uruguay is the smallest country by population in Latin America. As we have seen from above, within the South America region Uruguay is considered a leading country in terms of social inclusion, political stability, democracy, relatively egalitarian social structure, and access to fundamental rights. Uruguay stands at position 54 in the world in the human development index, being the third in Latin America (UNDP, 2016). In the period 2003-2018 the Uruguayan economy has experienced positive growth rates since 2003, with an annual average of 4.1% between (World Bank, 2018).

Concerning official statistics on housing, official data highlights that almost 60% of Uruguayan households own their homes, around 22% are tenants, and 21.5% are occupants of the dwelling they inhabit (squatting) (INE, 2019; *Monitor Habitacional*, 2013).

In spite of the social and economic growth of the country in the period 2005-2019, housing policies regarding greater access to credit for housing, equally policies on rehousing people from slums/urban settlements to adequate housing, people living in insecure and inadequate housing, access and affordability of housing, persist.

Indeed, more than 600,000 people reside in precarious housing in Montevideo, around 160,000 of them in irregular settlements according to the most recent official data (INE, 2019; PIAI, 2018).[9] Much

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[9] The Irregular Settlements Integration Programme (PIAI for its Spanish initials) is the responsible for regulating the irregular settlements, and represents a priority social and housing policy for the country (UN, 2010).

of the precarious housing in "*asentamientos*" is characterized by being made of extremely substandard materials (can, cardboard).

When considering a dwelling as adequate or not is based on: a) materials of the dwelling (housing structure adapted to protect people and facilitate the separation of individuals from the environment), b) living space (overcrowding), and c) space available for cooking. These last one deprivations that may intensify health related problems (Feres & Mancebo, 2001; cited in Calvo *et al.,* 2013).

Slums/Urban settlements ("*asentamientos precarios*" in Uruguay, "*favelas*" in Brazil, "*villas miseria*" in Argentina) are the result of an expulsion from the city, rather than migration to the city" (Katzman et. al. 2004:5-6; cited in Aguiar, 2016: 60) and are located in segregated areas of the city (Aguiar, 2016) in unfavourable conditions in terms of housing quality and access to basic services. Urban settlements "are defined as a grouping of more than 10 dwellings, located on public or private land, built without authorization and without respecting urban regulations. This grouping is characterized by a lack of basic urban infrastructure services, as well as difficulties in accessing social services (PIAI, 2011).

During the '90s due to regressive socio economic conditions the number of people living in slums/urban settlements increased greatly. Later, and despite the income poverty fall off in during 2005-2019 the number of people living in slums/urban settlements practically remained unchanged: *"the figures reported that there were between 5% and 6% of the inhabitants living in these areas, a problem that has not changed in the last 15 years"* (De Armas, 2018).[10]

People living in urban settlements are living in inadequate accommodation, in extreme overcrowding environment conditions, with negative consequences for their health and wellbeing, alongside major detrimental effects on social integration. In this vein, as we will see later, throughout the analysis chapters housing marginalization, social expulsion, and life on the periphery of the city are a constant stream for the participants in this study.

The boarding houses market is a very problematic alternative and is considered one of the main manifestations of the informality and precariousness of dispersed housing in the city (Maciel, 2021). As such, homelessness is almost inevitable for many people (mostly, young, men and poor).

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[10] Available at: http://www.cronicas.com.uy/sociedad/la-pobreza-79-2017-la-poblacion-asentamientos-se-mantuvo/

The following section looks at how in the local context homelessness has been recognized as a particular social problem of urban poverty, as well as an extreme and particular form of housing exclusion. How homelessness became conceptualized and recognized as a social problem from the public arena? Which State initiatives were created? Next, those issues will be revised.

1.3. A picture of homelessness

This section looks broadly at how in the local context homelessness has been recognized as a particular social problem of urban poverty, as along with an extreme and distinct form of housing exclusion, the inadequacy of income, health care support, and social support. Therefore, trends in homelessness levels, trends in legislation and policy, and a description of the shelter system exploring the scale of the system, the composition of users, and the nature of providers will be revised.

Since mid-2000, homelessness levels in Uruguay have become an issue of great concern for policy makers, academics, the media and a considerable part of the community. Indeed, since that date there has been a growing awareness that homelessness is an extreme form of housing exclusion which goes far beyond minimum conditions of habitability. As a matter of fact, it has been recognized as a complex and multi-causal social problem, and from the public realm is used the concept of *street situation* to differentiate its form and particularities from other forms of housing exclusion. Although homelessness has been recognized as a complex and multi-causal social problem where people have no place to dwell, it remains outside the scope of the housing policies and housing programs implemented by the Ministry of Housing (MVOTMA).

Concerning homelessness levels, compared with other South American countries, a distinctive feature of Uruguayan abundant statistical official information was carried out in 2006, 2011, 2016, 2017, 2019, 2020 and 2021 which has allowed an overall picture, and trends in homelessness over time.

Since 2006, censuses and counting of homeless people in Montevideo have been carried out every five years. Just in 2011, both surveys had a national scope, since the first count and census of homeless, all figures have shown a significant increase in homelessness levels in Montevideo. To illustrate, in 2016, the third census in Montevideo recorded an important increase compared to 2011 in the number of people sleeping rough (26.3%) and in the total number of people in night shelters (59.4%) in

Montevideo.[11] A total of 556 people sleeping rough and 1095 users of night shelters, summing up 1,651 homeless people (MIDES, 2016). It is crucial to bear in mind that the street homelessness census conducted in 2016 in Montevideo was a qualitative leap concerning official data. For the first time, people sleeping rough were contacted and listened to get essential cross-section information regarding demographic attributes, and relevant issues relating to social capital, education, employment, mental and physical health, drug abuse, disabilities, criminal justice problems, and homelessness experiences.

In 2019 a new important increase in the homeless population was recorded: 1043 sleeping rough and 995 individuals sleeping in shelters (2038 people in total), while, in 2020 the increase compared to 2019 was for sheltered people in more than 66% (1668 people) decreasing 15.1% sleeping rough levels (885 people). There is an increase of 25.3% in homelessness levels compared to 2019 with 2553 people registered as homeless on a given night. And, in 2021, compared to 2020, the increase was 53%, with a total of 3907 homeless in Montevideo (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1. Evolution of homelessness in Montevideo, 2006-2021
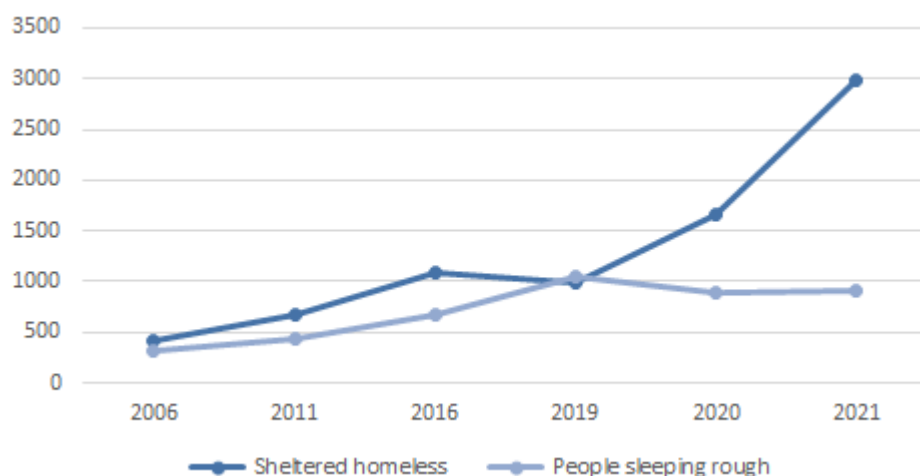
Source: Own elaboration based on data of Census of homeless 2006-2011-2016-2019-2020
held by Ministry of Social Development (MIDES).

According to the official report from MIDES Presentation of survey results of homeless people in Montevideo 2020, the profile of the homeless surveyed remains very similar to 2019 (MIDES, 2020).

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[11] In 2006 the comparable figures were around a total of 320 people sleeping rough and 419 homeless in night shelters (MIDES, 2006).

In comparative terms, some data to highlight from that report remain similar to nowadays from 2016 and 2019 censuses, despite variations, which are:

- Nine out of ten are men, 39 years on average, and the average age of the first homelessness experience was at 28 years,

- Concerning time being homeless since the last homelessness experience, 48% have been homeless for less than a year,

- 66% of people sleeping in shelters declared low income/unemployment,

- Regarding educational attainment level, 47% of the surveyed only completed primary school (6 years of formal schooling),

- 30% declared have mental health issues, or have been hospitalized for that reason in the past,

- Concerning substance use, 56% of respondents have drug daily intake (problematic use),

- 5% of those with drug problems have received at present time drug treatment while 34% have received treatment in the past,

- 54% were imprisoned at some time in their adult life,

- More than half of the respondents have declare having suffered violence of some kind while on the streets.

In social policy terms, since 2005 homelessness has fallen under the competence of the Ministry of Social Development (MIDES). One reason that homelessness started to be treated as a growing social problem after the mid-2000s was the impact of the severe socio economic crisis, which caused an unemployment rate of 23%, and the highest rates of poverty and indigence in its history, at 30% and 20% respectively (National Institute of Statistics, 2003)[12].

In this socio-economic context, in 2005, the government created a program for closer attention to its matter (The Rooflessness Attention Program, PAST in Spanish) under MIDES auspices. This social policy resided on the access to night shelters throughout the year, and the granting of minimum social

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[12] Before the Uruguayan 2002 socio-economic crisis, homelessness was an issue related to a small group of poor people who received help from very few OSCs and church charities, which provided them with a place to sleep at night for a short time (no more than two months). In the early 2000s, the first institutional experiences began to appear in terms of attention to the homeless population when the Montevideo Municipality implemented an emergency time shelter program - "Wintertime Program" (*Frío Polar*)- with the main aim of getting homeless people out of the streets during severe winter days. One hundred twenty people attended a dinner, breakfast, and a shower in an indoor arena of the municipality (Chávez *et al*, 2014). This care mechanism used to repeat yearly, running for three months during winter with the help and in coordination with other governmental institutions (Social Security Office, the Uruguayan Institute for Children and Adolescents, and the National Nutrition Institute, among others) providing care for between 150-180 people (Chávez *et al*, 2014).

benefits for shelter users (for a time) were changes to deal with homelessness at that time (MIDES, 2005).

This governmental program excluded people in deprived urban settlements/slums, boarding houses, hostels, shanty towns, or people living in other accommodations in any condition of habitability (MIDES, 2007; 2012). An entry gate/point (*Puerta de Entrada in Spanish)* was from the entrance office date for those who apply to the night shelters system, and an outreach team designed to connect rough sleepers to the shelter system also constituted (and constitutes) part of the program. Homeless people who decided to spend the night in a shelter needed to go first to the entry gate since that office assigned a place in a place with available beds[13].

According to MIDES' 2008 annual report, there were fifteen- night shelters with 620 beds for homeless in Montevideo and in a few inland regions of the country, assisting 3,000 people during that year, together with 880 rough sleepers assisted by the outreach team in Montevideo during 2008 (MIDES, 2008: 29).

Levels of homelessness continued to increased steadily in the following years, and homelessness conditions began being considered not just as a result of the socio- economic crisis but, instead, as a highly complex, and multidimensional problem of socio- economic vulnerability associated other issues, such as problematic substance abuse, alcoholism, mental health, etc., resulting in the weakening of social ties, work skills, and individual capacities (MIDES, 2016).

In this context, PAST was renamed The Homelessness Attention Program and, some years later, provided a necessary framework for greater institutionalism. Some improvements were made, conceiving and considering the existence of different homeless profiles and night shelters in the official discourse as intervention mechanisms, whose main goal was to restore the rights of homeless people. To cover a wide range of alternatives for different profiles and pathways of homeless, the Homelessness attention program was restructured into three different programs: (a) *Street Program* (former Homelessness attention program), (b) *Women with Children and Adolescents Program*, and (c)

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[13] In 2020 the new authorities of MIDES closed the entry door, and each night shelter became the entranceway to the night shelter system.

Cares Program, under the aegis of the Division for the Coordination of Programs for Homeless People (MIDES, 2020: 16)[14].

Street programme is up now, and it is concerned with legal-age lone people without children sleeping rough or in night shelters living in urban areas (MIDES, 2016: 11). The main aim of the program is to promote *"the exercise of rights and encouraging the autonomy of homeless, treat and care homeless or at risk of homelessness through the provision of partial or full-time shelters working on successful routes out of homelessness, and to reduce the risks of returning to homelessness conditions"* (MIDES, 2020: 17).

Until today, the night shelters system is differentiated by three progressive levels[15] following the *staircase model* (Sahlin, 2005; Pleace, 2008; Busch-Geertsema and Sahlin, 2007) familiar in Europe and North America, which expects homeless people to progress in the shelter system until they *"are ready towards independent living through training and treatment"* (Pleace, 2016: 22)[16].

Regarding the scale of the night shelter system, official information highlights that during 2006-2018, approximately twenty thousand people spent at least one night in the night shelters system (MIDES, 2020: 12). From 2015 to 2019, the average of beds spaces in the Division for the Coordination of Programs for Homeless People were 1598 places (MIDES, 2020: 24). It is worth mentioning that, in 2017, 63.6% of the room capacity (approximately 1000 bed spaces, from the mentioned average, corresponded to the street program, with a total of 47 centers (with a capacity of 30/33 beds each one), 42-night shelters were in Montevideo (MIDES, 2020).

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[14] Day care centers and 24-hour shelters are offered by the Women with Children and Adolescents Programme, and Cares Programme.

[15] The first level is for people who have been living on the streets for a long time and/or have difficulties integrating into society. The second level is for those who have made progress or can make progress in a positive exit from the Programme. The third level is the pre-release stage, and its objective is at people who, although they are on the streets, have entered the labour market and have more developed family and social networks (MIDES, 2017: 7).

[16] In 2019 started a pilot scheme of supported housing under an inter-institutional agreement between MIDES and the Housing, Land Planning and Environment Ministry (MVOTMA). The proposal (Proyecto Alzáibar) began assuming the critical gaze of the Eurosocial Technical Office and implementing accommodation under Housing First to finally consider itself as an along-stay collective accommodation device, with support provided by a technical team with Assertive community treatment resources (MIDES, 2019: 6). Thirty people from the Homelessness Program and ten people from MVOTMA, share community housing. At: https://www.gub.uy/ministerio-desarrollo-social/comunicacion/publicaciones/proyectoalzaibar

Regarding the composition of the users of the night shelters, official records from 2014 to 2017 show that, of nearly 10.000 people, almost 35% were *intermittent users*. On average, these people stay at the shelter for three months, leave, spend some time on the street or elsewhere, and then return. 26.7% had high night shelter use (an average of nine months per year). Finally, the *chronic or long-term users* (those who used in an almost permanent in all four years of the study) and the *transitory users* (on average five days over the four years, and not using shelters again) were approximately 19% each (MIDES, 2020: 30).

The MIDES report also highlights the link between chronic users and a person's age, health problems, and being in treatment for substance use or mental health problems. (MIDES, 2020: 31).

Concerning the nature of providers, CSOs or work cooperatives are in charge of the entry gate, the outreach team, and the night shelters selected by MIDES through a tendering process. In the latter (open from 6 pm to 9 am every day of the year), the CSO or work cooperative teams (coordinator, social worker, psychologist, educator, nursing assistant, and service assistant) work according to the objectives of the program. A multidisciplinary approach was considered in individual plans, elaborated with the shelter users at the group/institutional level and neighborhood/community level towards achieving effective routes out of homelessness (MIDES, 2020). In 2016, the street program had almost 400 human resources working in night shelters (MIDES, 2017: 16).

Lastly, regarding contacts with people sleeping rough, official information highlights that the average number of people assisted in the period from 2014 to 2018 by the outreach team was 1,589 people per year. Somewhat a thousand people attended, according to these records, for the first time, and almost 700 already had previous interventions by the outreach team (MIDES, 2020).

The above official data clearly points out the scarcity and incompleteness of policies in terms of design, scope and effectiveness to prevent and reverse the growing trend and improve the living conditions of the population involved. Additionally, the situation has become even more complex because of the implementation of regulations that penalize the use of public spaces in the city. In this regard, homeless are a target population of these measures that are clearly detrimental to their needs, rights and chances of social integration.

Concerning the politics of criminalisation of homeless people, in 2013 the Law No. 19.120 *"Law of Minor Offenses, Conservation and care of public spaces"*[17] came into force in order to penalize a series of behaviours that threaten peaceful coexistence and public order such as, vandalism in public spaces, violence at public sporting events, racing cars, drunkenness, improper use of public spaces e.g., camping without a permit or sleeping rough (Safety Commission, 2010).

Particularly, the article 368 of the Law 19.120 establishes the penalty for those who live in public spaces consists of a sentence of seven to thirty days of community service if having been intimidated by police force more than three times the person does not leave the public space[18]. Together with this, it was approved the Law 19529 of involuntary hospitalization of people in a serious personal deterioration situation with risk of life (drug use, mental health problems) for them or someone else, which establishes that the measure will be carried out by MIDES together with the Ministry of Public Health (MSP) and the Ministry of the Interior (MI).

As for official data on the application of the *Law of Minor Offenses, Conservation and care of public spaces*, according to the minimal information that could be gathered from the Ministry of the Interior for this thesis, the reports indicate that:

1. From the beginning of the Law implementation, in the period from September 2013 to September 2015, the MI registered a total of 3,215 people who have been sleeping or camping in the public spaces of Montevideo throughout this period. Of the total of these people: 90% were males, 60% were between 18 and 35 years of age, 48,6 % had criminal records having been prosecuted with prison sentence, mostly for thefts and robberies (MI, 2015);

2. From February 2016 to February 2017 in the metropolitan area the Judiciary prosecuted 745 people who at the time of their arrest were homeless. This number corresponds to 17% of the total of people processed with prison in that period (a total of 4432) (MI, 2017),

3. Most homeless prosecuted with prison sentences according to the offense committed in the mentioned period 2016- 2017 were because of thefts (60%); 16% for assault, and 21% for other crimes that mostly correspond to personal injuries (MI, 2017).

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[17] Better known as "Law of faults".

[18] An Entry gate/point for homeless who violated the Law of Faults was put into operation in Montevideo

Measures such as the Law of Minor Offenses, Conservation and care of public spaces No. 19.120 and the Law 19529 of Compulsory Hospitalization have become a trend despite the fact that they do not take into account the bio-psycho-social implications for those who suffer from them, neither no guarantees from a legal point of view of the police operation.[19]

As can be appreciated from this overview, while some measures show an explicit recognition of the relevance of homelessness as a problem, despite very tentatively, other governmental harsh criminalization measures aggravate the social and health situation of the homeless. Furthermore, homelessness increasing levels, the limited development of homelessness prevention policies, alongside with figures from official reports underlies a great concern that people experiencing homelessness with high and complex needs *'fall between the gaps'* in social policy (Labat, 2018)[20]. The need for homelessness prevention policies for people at risk of homelessness experiences seems to be of a pivotal relevance for those who are most at risk (youth men, with some experience of institutionalization/imprisonment, with no drugs treatment or assistance, problematic substance use, and mental health issues).

It is now time to introduce trends in prison population rate, and how policy and legislation of the penal system has been framed over the last years in order to contribute to the understanding of functioning, and management and the major issues that still prevail despite efforts implemented during progressive governments.

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[19] What's more, recently created in 2021 under the new Conservative Multiparty Government, the Urgent Consideration Act (*"Ley de Urgente Consideración"* in Spanish) introduces modifications to the Law of Faults, reducing to two notices from police to homeless.

[20] Former National Director of Evaluation and Monitoring of the Ministry of Social Development (MIDES).

1.4. A picture of the penal system and resettlement policies

"The main problem of the penitentiary system today is that life in prison - beyond the fact that imprisonment always implies an "artificiality" -is very far from that "normality", which does nothing but increase social disintegration and recidivism due to the impossibility of positive social reintegration" (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Uruguayan penitentiary system, 2019)[21]

Regarding South America, there is a consensus among scholars about the region since the '90s has followed despite some variations an increase in punitiveness (Garland, 2001), expressed mainly on an extraordinary growth in incarceration rates (Sozzo, 2016; Dammert & Salazar, 2009). This *"penal populism"* has contributed to *"the increase in levels of violence, the strengthening of criminal networks, the overcrowding of prison systems, the violation of human rights - particularly against young people and minors - and the abuse of authority"* (Hume 2007; Zilberg 2011; Basombrío & Dammert 2013; cited in PNUD, 2013: 182).

Like its Latin American peers, Uruguay has undergone an increase in punitiveness and a process of growth of the penal system over the last three decades, being the use of imprisonment as a privileged form of responding to the problem of crime (Vigna, 2016; 2020).

A sustained increase in the prison population in the last decades, as shown in Figure 2, has made the country have the highest incarceration rate in Latin America, estimated at 386 prisoners per 100,000

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[21] Comisionado parlamentario para el sistema penitenciario - [Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System]: Figure created by law 17684 in 2003. Its main function consists of advising the Legislative branch in the control of compliance with supranational, constitutional, legal and regulatory norms, of imprisoned people in the adult penal system. Its main functions are: *"promote the respect for the human rights of persons deprived of their liberty", "request information from prison information from the prison authorities regarding the living conditions of the inmates and, in particular, of the and, in particular, of the measures adopted that may affect their rights", "formulate recommendations to the prison authorities to modify or rescind measures adopted or to measures adopted or to incorporate other measures that tend to ensure compliance with constitutional and legal constitutional and legal norms in force", "receive complaints about violations of the rights of prisoners complaints about violations of prisoners' rights" and "to carry out general inspections of penitentiary establishments". general inspections of penitentiary establishments".* At: https://www.impo.com.uy/bases/leyes/17684-2003

inhabitants, with 13693 prison population (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System, 2021: 38).

A figure that far exceeds all the countries of South America and Europe, even above countries with high incarceration rates such as Brazil (prison rate is 381) or Russia (327) (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System, 2021).

Exacerbating this situation, imprisonment does not offer any guarantee in terms of rehabilitation, access to work and study opportunities, fulfilment of basic essential rights. More than 60% of prisoners are repeat offenders (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System, 2017). On the contrary, official reports indicate that in Uruguayan prisons, 26% of inmates suffer inhuman and degrading treatment (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System, 2020). Those experiences only aggravate the structural disadvantages and socio-health vulnerabilities suffered by a large part of the prison population (Vigna, 2020).

Figure 2. Evolution of imprisoned population, 1999-2021
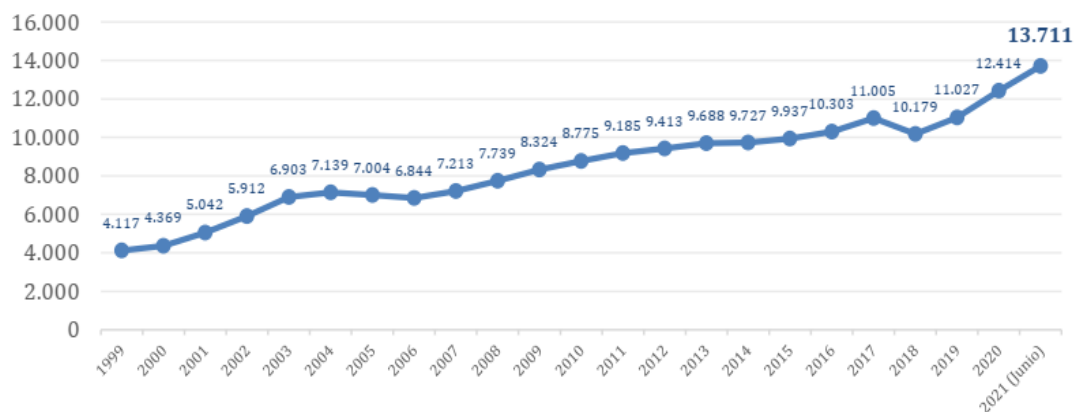
Source: Report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System, 2021

The socio-economic crisis that the country went through in 2002 aggravated the structural problems that had been dragging on in the penal system in relation to overcrowding, violation of rights, lack of activities and lack of proposals for rehabilitation (Vigna, 2020). Accordingly, in 2005, the new government who took office declared a humanitarian emergency of the penal system throughout the country, approving the "Law Nº 17897 for the Humanization and Modernization of the Prison System" in order to give immediate response to the enduring structural problems. Among other measures, in order to relieve prison overcrowding, and ensure prisoners' protection and fulfilment of human rights, early releases and programmes for sentence reduction in exchange for work or studies were

implemented (Juanche & Palummo, 2012; Scapiuso, 2008; González, Rojido & Trajtenberg, 2015; Vigna, 2016).

In spite of this, levels continued to grow steadily, and prison living conditions were under heavy criticism from the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Manfred Nowak, with far-reaching implications initiating the process of penitentiary reform (Vigna, 2020). This reform aimed to eliminate prison overcrowding and unsafe conditions, ensuring respect for human rights, with a substantial focus on rehabilitation (González, Trajtenberg & Rojido, 2015). By doing so, the official discourse sought to emphasise the socio-educational dimension of prison over the punitive-repressive one (Vigna, 2020) with the aims of improving the living conditions of inmates, a population with extreme socio economic and access to fundamental rights disadvantages.

With this in mind, concerning imprisoned characteristics, official reports of imprisoned people highlight that, with a demographic structure that is largely similar to homelessness:

- Almost 90% are men,
- 88% young people up to 29 years of age,
- 80% of imprisoned people in the prison metropolitan area have problematic substance use,
- Almost 50% have mental health problems (almost 10% risk of suicide attempts and 10% with disabilities) and many cases of problematic consumers with psychiatric pathologies,
- 20.4% live in informal settlements before prison, and 4.5% of men inmates were homeless before prison,
- 40.4% have elementary level as higher education level reached,
- The most prevalent crimes among the inmates are assault (36.9%), theft (14.8%), and homicide (12.6%), 10.4% drug trafficking (González, Trajtenberg & Rojido, 2016),
- 36.3% affirm to have committed the crime under the influence of alcohol or some drug. Of these, the majority (47.7%) had consumed "cocaine base paste"[22], and 29.9% were under the influence of alcohol,

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[22] Cocaine base paste ("*pasta base*" in Spanish language) arises from cocaine and other substances with various chemical manufacturing processes. It is similar to crack and relatively inexpensive. In Uruguay, since its appearance in 2001-2002 during the socio economic crisis in the country, it is widely used by low income young people and street homeless youth (Rossal, 2020; Rossal, *et al.*, 2019). Concerning cocaine base paste treatment, since its creation in 2006 the Portal Amarillo [Yellow portal] is considered a national reference centre in addressing problematic drug use by adolescents and young people. The service has served about 10,000 people. The centre depends on the Administration of State Health Services (ASSE). Has 20 places available for adults and 15 for adolescents for treatment. Source: https://www.presidencia.gub.uy/

- 43.9% of those inmates with criminal records have been in prison 4 times or more, 36.9% is the second time they are in prison and for 18.4% it is the third time,

- 43.5% of inmates have close family or friends with a criminal record,

- 20.4% affirm that when he was a child he saw or heard his parents or relatives who lived with him abuse on another physically,

- 25.4% declare that when they were a child at home they were beaten or punished,

- 25.8% of the inmates have been in a foster home in the Institute for Children and Adolescents of Uruguay (INAU, for its Spanish initials) or similar establishment in their childhood or adolescence. 77% of men were in INAU because of infringement, and almost 20% for safeguard.

Concerning the improvements made and remaining drawbacks, the reform of the penitentiary system through an inter-partisan agreement in 2009, introduced an extraordinary expenditure on the penitentiary system in pursuit of: 1) achieve its unification under the creation of an overall government body (National Institute of Rehabilitation, hereinafter "INR" from its Spanish initials); 2) combat chronic overcrowding and inhumane conditions of confinement; 3) move from a custodial model to a socio-educational one, and based on human rights respect and rehabilitation; 4) fight against police corruption and slowly removal of the National Police from the prisons staff, together with the introduction of prison officers with specific training on the issue; and 5) granting access to rehabilitation and social reintegration treatment (AGEV, 2012; Vigna, 2020).

There is agreement that, despite efforts made prone to social rehabilitation of offenders, it still persists overcrowding in prisons date from the end of the 19th century, with unsanitary and poor living conditions, where proliferate people with chronic diseases, drug abuse, no health treatments, institutional and interpersonal violence, among others.

Concerning prisoners' rights and community reintegration, most of released leave behind appalling prison conditions, overcrowding, precarious mental health care, abuse from the police force, basic rights violations, interpersonal violence experiences, time out of cell limited at one hour per day (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System; 2017; 2020; 2021).

Going further, the worst living conditions, prison violence rates (violent deaths, homicides, physical self-inflicted injuries), are found above all in the large establishments in the metropolitan area. Certain modules of the ex-Comcar prison, Canelones prison, Libertad prison present the most unfavourable conditions for social reintegration, as well as few opportunities for rehabilitation during sentencing, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment according to the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules, UNODC, 2015) and the Uruguayan Constitution as well.

In line with this, official information reports that between 6,000 and 6,500 people are released per year from the penitentiary system (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System, 2020) released in a *vacuum* without resources, support, training, nor a release plan for reintegration.

The resettlement initiative in the context of the penal system changes mentioned above was the creation in 2015 by the National Budget Law No 19355 Article No 163 of a board in charge of prison release, the "*National Directorate of Support to the Released*" (hereinafter, Dinali for its Spanish initials)[23]. Dinali implemented under its *"Intensive Intervention Program"* a hostel [Posada de Camino "Dr. Oscar Ravecca"] which came into service at the beginning of 2018.

The main aim is to accommodate released people with nowhere to go after release in order to avoid homelessness. With a capacity of 60 places for men and 6 places for women -meeting the demands of 1% of those released from prison, they can have a stay of no more than 60 days within the 5 years' period after release. The main objective of the Intensive Intervention Program is to promote and provide skills for social resettlement through socio-educational and employment promotion (Dinali, 2016).[24]

This brief overview shows that at the local level, in addition to prison as the only solution to the problem of crime, there are serious structural problems of the penal system involving the absence of rehabilitation and treatment policies, the lack of attention to health, and in particular, the lack of attention to mental health and addictions, the serious violations of the most basic rights in the larger units, and the persistent prison violence.

Despite its crucial role in the public security treatment, there is no explicit and planned "criminal and penitentiary policy" at local level in charge of designing a plan of action at medium and long term

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[23] It has as its immediate precedent the National Board for the Welfare of Prison Inmates and Released Prisoners (PNEL for its Spanish initials), an institution created in 1934 which was in charge of moral and material assistance to former prisoners and their families. This type of social intervention was since its beginning managed by honorary, voluntary, untrained people in work with imprisoned and released populations.

[24] Specific objectives include (1) to provide temporary accommodation to recently released men and women; (2) to encourage and increase self-esteem and self-confidence; (3) to promote the integration of cohabitation rules; (4) to generate personal skills regarding health and hygiene habits; (5) to promote the creation and development of lost or unknown social skills, which facilitate development in the different areas that make up social life; (6) to encourage the formation and maintenance of relationships outside the penal system and social exclusion areas that can be positive for their growth; (7) to promote the acquisition of skills for searching employment; and (8) to facilitate the access to training contributing to employability. Available at: https://prezi.com/cnihskp_nor0/queremos-ser-el-organismo-referente-para-el-estado-y-la-soci/

(Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System, 2021). In addition, it has been recognized that the problem of crime at the national level is a complex, multi-causal issue, with changing dynamics and politically volatile management (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penitentiary System, 2021).[25]

This picture results in a high rate of recidivism, exacerbating processes of social exclusion for those who once again fall between the gaps in social policies, and for whom resettlement policies should provide support and opportunities of social reintegration. And as we saw from above, the official treatment of homelessness is not very auspicious to achieve community resettlement.

1.5. Concluding remarks

As was previously stated, progressive governments in Uruguay (2005-2019) developed a wide range of social programs for the most disadvantaged populations, together with social policies to reduce extreme and income poverty promoting employment, installing also a broad development agenda of respect of human rights. Despite these advancements, data from official sources has revealed rising rates of homelessness and incarceration, as well as a lack of preventative measures and creative social policies to address these social issues. In this light, this chapter has described the difficult situation of single homelessness and the prison system in Uruguay, notably in Montevideo. Similarities between the two groups' demographics and their multiple and complex needs have also been noted. Despite significant advancements in the human rights agenda and social policies put in place, the degree of homelessness trends, along with homelessness punitive and criminalising legislation, have tarnished the progressive picture.

Prison violence rates, high recidivism rates, and a lack of social opportunities make it more difficult for released prisoners to settle in. Due to the large percentage of homeless individuals with prior incarceration history and the dearth of complementary social services that effectively address overlapping social needs, the relationship between homelessness and the criminal justice system has come to light in this regard.

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[25] In this area, recently created by Law 19889 in 2020 the Council for Criminal and Penitentiary Policy, which includes representatives from the Ministry of the Interior, the Public Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of Education and the Judiciary.

Academic study of homelessness pathways in Montevideo and its connection to the criminal justice system still has many gaps, which is a serious problem for the development of an essential social policy. The chapter that follows expound on the theoretical material used in this study to identify homelessness pathways associated with Criminal Justice problems in Montevideo (Uruguay) to allow for a more thorough examination of this intricate relationship.

Chapter 2

Review of the literature and background

2.1. Introduction

One of the aims of the thesis is to examine the relationship between the penal system and homelessness and therefore theories and evidence relating to this are most relevant for critical review are two complementary strands that can be identified stressing the mentioned association coming from Anglo Saxon contexts (Mayock & Sheridan, 2013; Moschion & Johnson, 2019)[26]. On one hand, a widely assumption agreed by scholars is that homeless are at higher risk for incarceration (Metraux, Roman & Cho, 2007) and on the other hand, prison release constitutes a risk for homelessness experiences (Nelson, Deess, & Allen, 1999; Travis, Solomon, & Waul, 2001; Moschion & Johnson, 2019).

This chapter review is the first of two chapters that examine the research evidence and theoretical frameworks that underpin the thesis. This section reviews past writings on single homelessness and penal system nexus in previous international studies covering the two main explanations related to homelessness and the penal system association. The first sub section stresses that homelessness is a precursor of prison experiences, and the second part highlights homelessness as an outcome of the penal system.

In the last decades there has been an increasing body of Anglo Saxon studies on homelessness and contacts with the penal system (Dyb, 2009; Hagan & McCarthy, 1997; Kushel *et al.*, 2005; Metraux and

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[26] The majority of academic research on homelessness originates in North America, Canada, European nations (including the UK, Ireland, France, and others), and Australia. As previously mentioned, this has had an impact on how Uruguay analyses the causes and concept of homelessness, even though high levels of social exclusion, housing exclusion and marginalization, inequality, poverty, and the reach of public policies manifest in this case in different ways. The literature on homelessness and the criminal justice system originates in the aforementioned nations, with a focus on Scandinavian nations like Norway (Dyb et al, 2006; Dyb, 2009). In contrast to Uruguay (and other South American nations), they also have different correctional systems in terms of available resources, incarceration conditions, overcrowding, interpersonal violence, etc. It is for this reason that the labels global north and global south are used to emphasize these differences and the various levels of knowledge in the field of study.

Culhane, 2004, 2006; McCarthy & Hagan, 1991; Snow, Baker & Anderson, 1989; Hickey, 2002; Seymour &Costello, 2005; Baldry *et al.*, 2006; Moschion & Johnson, 2019).

The expected relationship between homelessness, and imprisonment has been given mostly by the global trend of mass imprisonment that occurred since the 1970s, and the simultaneous increase in the homeless population in the US, UK, in spite of misdemeanours broadly, committed by them (intoxication and other "public nuisance") (Baumann *et al.* 1985; Robertson *et al.* 1985; cited in Snow, Baker & Anderson, 1989: 534) together with the implementation of criminalization policies of homelessness. *"Tough policies on crime ",* and *"war on drugs"* policies played a key role in the massive punitive trend (Beckett & Sasson, 2004). This trend has also been accompanied by a tendency towards longer prison sentences for nonviolent offenses applied in most Western (Mauer, 2018).

The referential international studies suggest that this relationship is complex given the bidirectional causation between the issues, the common influence of individual predictors, and the methodological limitations imposed by available data. Thus, up to know scholars agree the scope and nature of this association remain not completely understood (Baldry & Maplestone, 2003; Gowan, 2002; Metraux, *et al.,* 2007; Rodriguez & Brown, 2003; Herbert *et al.*, 2015; Mayock & Sheridan, 2013; Fox *et al.*, 2016; Dore, 2015).

Previous studies have assessed that most of the research on the issue has been of cross sectional nature and rely on convenience samples of prisoners or homeless (Metraux, Roman & Cho, 2007; Moschion & Johnson, 2019). Based on small or non- representative samples, these studies do not consider the duration of homelessness among prisoners, as well as other forms of residential instability besides homelessness (Herbert *et al.*, 2015).

The two aforementioned perspectives are described in the paragraphs that follow. The idea of a "revolving door" between the criminal justice system and homelessness is then explored in the chapter along with related literature, which led to a review of studies on homeless people's shelter utilization typologies and the institutional circuit thesis. The perspective of homelessness pathways is introduced in the last section. These contributions provide context for this research by assisting in our understanding of the different causes, contributing factors, and meanings of homelessness.

2.2. Homelessness as a precursor of the penal system

"The public does not want the rabble confined in a hotel; it wants them to suffer in jail" (Irwin, 1985: 103)

"They stink! They're dirty! They like freedom. They don't want to punch a clock. Most don't want a steady job. They're content to be the way they are ... and they will steal anything that isn't tied down!" (Police officer´s words about homeless cited in Snow, Baker & Anderson, 1989: 544)

The first position emphasizes aspects related to homelessness culture, criminalization of street life (practices and behaviours), crimes of desperation to explain the increased risk of criminal involvement and its over-representation in the criminal justice system (Foscarinis, 1996; Carlen, 1996; Gowan, 2002; Palensky, 1984; Hagan & McCarthy, 1997; McCarthy & Hagan, 1991; Irwin, 1985). Let us look at these arguments in more detail in the light of the background.

Minor misdemeanours and not too serious felonies, such as shoplifting, burglary, disorderly conduct, begging, substance-related crimes, intoxication, exhibiting offensive behaviour in public spaces, violation of municipal ordinances are widely mentioned by empirical studies as illegal activities. They are the main charges that the great majority of homeless commit (Fisher, 1992; Baxter and Hopper 1981; Snow, Baker & Anderson ,1989; Johnsen & Fitzpatrick, 2008; Aulette & Aulette, 1987; Eberle *et al.*, 2000; Irwin, 1985; Foscarinis, 1996). The homeless lifestyles, mostly those who do not count on shelters, they are the target of public spaces policies are subject to control, not because of their violent criminality but rather their social *offensiveness* (Irwin, 1985; Fitzpatrick & Myrstol, 2011).

With this in mind, several scholars support the idea that from the very beginning prison was used as a proper mechanism not intended for dangerous criminals but rather to control rabble people (Wacquant, 2000; Irwin, 1985; Foucault, 2004). Along these lines, rabble management consists of controlling using police force, by the strategy of spatial containment of people with chaotic lifestyles. Their public movements are limited by these control strategies, putting them in jail (Irwin, 1985).

According to Irwin (1985) rabble has two noticeable features: they are detached and disreputable. They are detached because they are not well integrated into the mainstream community nor participating in the usual institutional community and organizations, nor have strong links to the mainstream social networks. And they are disreputable to the eyes of conventional society since they

behave deviant and troubling, *"Consequently, they are viewed by conventional society as a population to be controlled through whatever means necessary, and they are often subject to enhanced surveillance and social control efforts"* (Fitzpatrick & Myrstol, 2011: 277).

This thesis posits that the rabble class (mostly, males) is a result of structural inequality which threatens by its presence and behaviours the good morals of mainstream society. It is based on a moral sensibility that is threatened by their "*presence and behavior (…) than it does to public safety"* (Fitzpatrick & Myrstol, 2011: 292).

In the same vein, Gowan (2002) in her ethnographic study with homeless males living in San Francisco and Saint Louis found that interviewees "continuously circulate through jails" (Gowan, 2002: 521), revealing that *"once living on the street, crimes of desperation, rabble management, and the proximity of many former convicts made incarceration and reincarceration far more likely than it would have been for the same people if they were not homeless"* (Gowan, 2002: 529).

Furthermore, the study highlights that homeless were regularly sanctioned by the increasingly punitive measures and policies of control of public space (Aulette & Aulette, 1987; Irwin, 1985; Snow, Baker & Anderson, 1989), *"for sleeping, setting up encampments, disturbing the peace, urinating in public, and possession of open beverage containers"* (Vitale, 2001; cited in Gowan, 2002: 521). The consequences of those measures resulted in the impossibility for them to maintain employment and job training, and more importantly *"making them feel disrespected, despised, and not part of the broader society"* (Gowan, 2002: 521).

The study of Snow, Baker & Anderson (1989) was an empirical cornerstone in assessing the labelling effect of homeless behaviours according to the context where they are committed and not in the seriousness of the offense itself which lead to increased contact with the criminal justice system. In addition, crime was adopted as a *'conditional survival strategy'* for coping with the economic and social strains which characterize homelessness (Hagan & McCarthy, 1991).

Henceforth, according to the evidence, crimes committed should not be the public concern, but the social condition and displaced circumstances of having nowhere to live, being forced to commit a crime or misdemeanour to survive: *"the lack of private space places the homeless in the public and legal spotlight and may thus facilitate the definition of many of their routine behaviors as breaches of the law and lead to increased contact with the criminal justice system"* (Snow, Baker & Anderson, 1989: 543).

This study aimed to call into question the idea of the threat of homeless to public security, as well as the argument underpinning that despite the homeless committing minor offenses, *"high rates of incarceration alone cannot support this claim"* (1989: 534).

Snow, Baker & Anderson (1989) examined the nature and extent of crime among a random sample of 767 homeless adult homeless men in Austin (Texas, US). The study involved ethnographic fieldwork exploring survival strategies and tracking the homeless through several institutions during a 20-month period.

The study found evidence of a positive association between arrests and the length of time living on the streets. Also, homeless males were arrested more frequently than non-homeless men, and less largely likely to commit violent crimes (rape, murdering, assault) than the general male population, and victimless. Their contacts with the criminal justice system were due to relatively minor offenses (trespassing, breaking into abandoned buildings to secure a place to sleep, drug-related). However, concerning property-related trespassing, burglary, and theft were significantly higher for the homeless, notwithstanding, preceding this kind of crime their homelessness condition. According to the study, age structure was the significant demographic variable in explaining the most violent crime committed (7 of 10 homeless were 18 to 35 years old).

Experiences of the previous victimization while living on the street by another homeless person was extremely high: *"32 times out of 1000 in comparison to 2.8 times for citizens at large"* (Snow, Baker & Anderson, 1989: 539). Homeless people with criminal histories were the most likely to have mental health problems, despite having committed not too serious offenses (felonies), none of which had victims involved: *"It thus seems that the offenses are not very much of a specific nature or to the magnitude of mental illness that is associated with the criminal justice system, but rather, the fact that it is mental illness. Simply put, being mentally ill and being arrested appear to be significantly associated"* (1989: 541).

Finally, in a similar way that crimes are committed by homeless people as *"survival strategies"* (Carlen, 1996) or out of necessity (Ballintyne, 1999), Hagan & McCarthy's (1991, 1997) studies of street youth claim that their experiences encourage them to break the law, as respondents commit illegal activities after leaving home. The authors resorted to Gibbons' (1971) thesis about that situational factors themselves can independently from personal background cause crime contribute to the idea that the motivations for violating the law are founded within the criminogenic situations in which people are immersed. Elaborated from the Sutherland perspective (Sutherland & Cressey, 1970), Gibbons

acknowledges that although both background and situational factors contribute to criminal activity, a person's decision to violate the law is not always the result of an interplay between these factors (Hagan & McCarthy's; 1991, 1997).

According to Gibbons "*law-breaking behavior may arise out of some combination of situational pressures and circumstances, along with opportunities for criminality, which are totally outside the actor*" (Gibbons, 1971: 268, cited in Hagan & McCarthy, 1991: 394). Considering that situations can force unmotivated people to engage in criminal activity, the authors go further to explain, also, variations in criminal activity across time (Hagan & McCarthy, 1991: 394).

The studies on homeless youth have addressed that this population is strongly inclined to crime due to the influence of their family and educational causes (Brennan *et al.*, 1978; Gullota, 1979; Hagan & McCarthy, 1992, Rothman, 1991; Palenski, 1984; cited in Baron & Hartnagel, 1998: 167).

Concerning its causal order, on one hand, there is some evidence that crime leads to experiences of street homelessness (Gold & Reimer, 1974; Brennan *et al.* 1972). Compared to traditional youth, runaway teens when home living were more delinquent than street dwellers because they were involved in drug use, theft, gang fights, and serious assaults. On the other hand, some of the evidence points the opposite, underpinning the assumption that young people who run away from home are at some point immersed in illegal activities due to street homeless conditions (Palenski,1984).

Since the empirical evidence provided about the causal order concerning the association between running away from home and criminality at that moment was not clear cut, Hagan & Mc Carthy (1991) examined the relationship between street homelessness and adolescent crime by tracking 390 adolescents who leave home in Toronto. Consistent with other evidence of homeless youth, the study states that those who leave or are evicted from their homes one or more times are characterized by extreme social deprivation. They spend time in public places, are unemployed, and live homeless for a significant amount of time (Hagan & McCarthy, 1991; Palenski, 1984; Kufeldt & Nimmo, 1987; Webber, 1991; cited in Baron & Hartnagel, 1998: 166).

In addition to controlling for age, gender, and previous homelessness experiences, changes in the seriousness of offending seem not to be a direct effect of background attributes, but instead, it emerges as a consequence of the current homeless situation (Hagan & Mc Carthy, 1991: 406). The variations in criminal participation under homeless conditions for those who were homeless for a year

or more: "*This finding suggests that it is not homelessness itself which causes crime; rather, it is certain conditions which characterize homelessness*" (1991: 407).

The study also found evidence that running away is more likely to happen when they are victims of physical and sexual abuse. Or lived in an unstable family that has been reconstituted many times, and had problems at school (Brennan *et al.* 1978; Kufeldt and Nimmo 1987; Janus *et al.* 1987; Hagan *et al.* 1990; cited in Hagan & McCarthy, 1991: 408).

In this vein, a study conducted by Baron & Hartnagel (1998) intended to explain which factors are behind the explanations of different types of violence street youth commit from a sample of 200 homeless males in Toronto. Findings suggest that *"long-term homelessness and criminal peers provide rules related to honour, protection and retribution, increasing the risks for violence. (…) Economic deprivation is predominant for robbery, while abuse and victimization suffered at home and in the streets predict group fights and serious assaults. Minor violence appears to be more spontaneous and linked to excessive drinking with similar peers"* (1998: 185), "*playing a minor role in explaining violent behaviour*" (1998: 166).

According to the evidence from this strand, it seems clear that the complex circumstances emerging conjointly from (street) homelessness and prison experiences aggravate previous vulnerabilities and background privations of (young) male homeless offenders. In light of this, criminalization policies implementation based on homeless perceived threat and the intangible obstacles (Metraux, Roman & Cho, 2007) as a result of penal system experiences disrupt even more their materiality, and homelessness circumstances.

Given the above, the aspects mentioned in the literature about the way to prison for homeless people are presented.

2.3. Homelessness as a resettlement issue

"As a result, people leaving incarceration enter an uncertain transitional space between institution and community in which services are fragmented at the point where they are most vulnerable" (Hopper & Baumohl, 1994)[27]

Up to now, at a worldwide level, current figures are close to eleven million inmates worldwide, and there is agreement that reintegration policies have been scarce, failed, with few resources in pursuit of inmates released from successful community resettlement (Petersilia, 2001; 2017). Within this context, homelessness is considered a result or a collateral consequence of the experiences of the penal system. Indeed, empirical evidence from different social, economic, and welfare state contexts have indicated that the penal system is a trigger factor for experiences of homelessness and residential instability among released populations (Dyb, 2009; Quirouette et al., 2015; Geller & Curtis, 2011).

Furthermore, well-established literature has pointed out that, in addition to the punitive and unequal nature of the criminal justice system, other inequalities are created by the collateral consequences of the criminal justice system (Johnson & Raphael 2009; Light *et al.* 2014; Sampson & Loeffler 2010; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2013; Western 2002, 2006; Wildeman & Muller 2012; cited in Kirk & Wakefield, 2018). Added to the stigma of the offender, in addition to the criminal record that limits conventional opportunities, the lack of economic resources, the absence of policies that enable access to credit and access to secure housing, all come together in explaining housing insecurity after prison release (Geller & Curtis, 2011). Discrimination, limited family support, inadequate discharge planning, and access to appropriate support services are documented as the main barriers that released (and families) faced (Gowan, 2002; Moschion & Johnson, 2019). Institutional failures and barriers added to cultural, social, and economic obstacles undermine social opportunities, particularly employment, training, and access to secure housing among ex-prisoners.

With this in mind, as a result of escalating imprisonment rates with limited focus and resources on resettlement interventions, there is a growth in the number of people leaving prisons who are at risk of homelessness experiences.

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[27] Cited in Metraux, Caterina & Cho, 2007: 92.

This risk increases for short term prisoners with multiple convictions who have accorded to studies, the highest level of needs, as well as the highest rates of reoffending because frequently they are not eligible for rehabilitation programs, nor receive needed support resettlement before prison release (Maguire & Raynor, 2006; Seymour *et al.*, 2015; Couloute, 2018; Moschion & Johnson, 2019; Pleace & Minton, 2009). In addition, several studies have indicated that large numbers of people with severe mental illness are being held in jails and prisons (Ditton, 1999; Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008).

Rehabilitation programs and reintegration social services have limited impact in coping with those personal deficits and complex needs (which also could arise because imprisonment) since programs do not start while the offender is *in* prison; conjointly with invisible punishments are the main barriers to social reintegration of offenders (Petersilia, 2011; Uggen & Manza, 2006; Uggen, 2005). Without proper supervision and support in the community, it is unlikely that former inmates receive the services and support they need to cope with these deficits (Listwan, Hanley & Colvin, 2012).

At prison release, offenders face several reintegration barriers such as income poverty, lack of social support, absence of employment/training opportunities, neither treatment for substance abuse or mental health issues, reluctance from the authorities and technical staff from resettlement services in meeting and addressing their special needs, stigma identity, lack of housing supply and difficulties accessing private rented accommodation (private landlords' perception of offenders as risky or undesirable tenants), among others (Quirouette *et al.*, 2016; Maruna *et al.*, 2012; Roman & Travis, 2005; Pleace, 2016; Quilgars *et al.*, 2012).

Referential literature sustains that release from prison and failures of social resettlement programs impact on homelessness trends, leaving released people vulnerable to residential instability and homelessness experiences after prison release (Fraser & Grimshaw, 2004; Williams *et al.*, 2012; Dore, 2015; Gowan, 2002; Brown, 2006; Metraux & Culhane, 2002; Baldry *et al.*, 2006; Caton *et al.*, 2005; Mayock & Sheridan, 2013; Dyb, 2009; Petersilia, 2011; Maruna, 2014). To this challenging picture is added a large number of former prisoners who face housing problems before incarceration worsen the transition from prison to community, also increasing the risk of reimprisonment (Gouvis, 2004; Meatraux & Culhane, 2004; O'Sullivan, 2012; Herbert *et al.*, 2015).

Along these lines, empirical studies have shown that ex-offenders have access through the criminal justice system to short-term housing solutions, (i.e., hostels, night shelters), which, in turn, aggravates the process of transition to the community. This occurs because it puts ex-offenders at immediate risk of failure, especially concerning revocation for non-compliance and readmission to prison for a new

offense (Seymour, 2006; Dyb, 2009; see Kushel *et al.*, 2005; Steiner *et al.*, 2012; cited in Lutze *et al.*, 2014). And the fragmentation and little collaboration of different support agencies in charge of support the transition from prison to community result in a *"disconnected prisoner re-entry system from the housing and homeless assistance services system, and from the neighborhoods where released prisoners live"* (Metraux, Caterina & Cho, 2007:11).

Obstacles to resettlement compel released offenders with no place to live return to criminogenic communities (Lynch & Sabol, 2001), social isolation experiences, and homelessness (Gouvis, 2004; Herbert *et al.*, 2015; Arditti, 2003; Hagan & Foster, 2012; Petersilia, 2001; Baldry & Maplestone, 2003). Furthermore, those circumstances lead to periods characterized by high rates of short-term accommodation and street life which are far from contributing to stable lives, failing to achieve a social reintegration for homeless former inmates (FEANTSA, 2010; Quilgars, *et al.*, 2012; Hamilton & Fitzpatrick, 2006; La Vigne, *et al.*, 2003; Metraux, *et al.*, 2008; Metraux & Culhane, 2006).

It seems clear from the evidence that having passed through homelessness and imprisonment experiences might increase any of the mentioned disadvantages and reinforce the mentioned association into long term patterns of social exclusion (Gowan, 2002; Baldry *et al.* 2006; Metraux *et al.* 2007; Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008; Geller & Curtis, 2011). Prison experiences reduce possibilities of social reintegration by undermining employment and housing access at release causing the effect on reoffending rates and reimprisonment (Geller & Curtis, 2015) increasing risks for poor physical and mental health problems, and substance misuse (Moschion & Johnson, 2019).

Lack of institutional and post-release supports, inadequate financial and human resource allocation to reintegration services, stigma associated with offenders, and restricted access to stable job and housing make it harder for ex-offenders to 'stay out of trouble' following release (Maruna, 2001; Petersilia, 2003). A problem known as the "revolving door of incarceration" occurs when released inmates with multiple complex needs and/or mental health issues return to prison soon after their release due to new crimes or technical violations of post-prison community supervision (such as failing to attend parole meetings) (Cracknell, 2020; Harding et al, 2017; Padfield & Maruna, 2006; Carr, 2016; Baldy, 2006; Ditton, 1999; Denckla & Berman, 2001; Barr, 1999).

A neglected post release process and resettlement failures under a "New Penology" model (Simon, 1993; cited in Padfield & Maruna, 2006: 11) based on zero risk of reoffending (which is nearly impossible to comply for many) combine to create a severely disadvantageous social context, especially for those released with high needs, in environments of extreme deprivation, with no skills

nor social or economic resources, are the result (Harding et al, 2017; Baldry, 2006; Maruna & Padfield, 2006; Hickey, 2002; Kushel et al, 2005; Howerton et al, 2009; Carr, 2016).

As they are more likely to have an accumulation of social needs and more entrenched psychological effects from repeated failures to community reintegration, short-term prisoners (serving less than 12 months) suffer the most from being trapped in a revolving door gate pattern (Chirstmann & Wong, 2019; Maguire et al, 2003; Howerton et al, 2009; Baldry, 2006)[28].

In keeping with this, short-term released offenders who have a history of repeated incarceration with high and unmet needs, drug abuse and/or mental health issues, facing housing insecurity or homelessness (rough sleeping, in temporary accommodation, or on a waiting list for shelter) are subject to an additional revolving door of criminal justice and homelessness cycles (Carr, 2016; Baldry, 2006; Coulette, 2018; Hickey, 2002; Lim, 2014). According to several studies (Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008; Mayock, Corr, O'Sullivan, 2013; Metraux & Culhane, 2007), single men who are impoverished, lack schooling or other credentials, are addicted to drugs or alcohol, or suffer from mental illness are more likely to be caught in 'homelessness and the criminal justice system revolving door'.

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[28] Furthermore, as it was mentioned, this offender group also has the highest reoffending rates (depending on each country's) which is often to occur approximately between six months and two years of release (Howerton *et al*, 2009).

2.4. A revolving door pattern between homelessness and the Criminal Justice system

"(…) "de facto "solutions" to precarious housing-shelters and custodial facilities linked in haphazard chains of time-limited occupancy- should be considered among the inertial forces that sustain and perpetuate homelessness" (Hopper *et al*, 1997: 660)

The literature has well documented that there is a 'revolving door' gate operating between homelessness and the criminal justice system, a term indicative of the repeated entrances and discharges of the shelters and penal custodial facilities (Denckla & Berman, 2001; Lim, 2014; Couloute, 2018). Furthermore, as will be discussed in the next section, international research has shown the existence of an 'institutional circuit' (Hopper *et al*, 1997) comprised of The Criminal Justice System and other correctional facilities. These include the shelter system, streets, and mental health institutions that contribute to sustaining homelessness among users of shelters with mental health needs.

To start with, as was stressed above, in the illustrated complex and hampered community context, a myriad of resettlement challenges (barriers to employment and secure housing, scarce social benefits, and few mental health treatments for released with unmet needs) further increase risks for illegal practices and behaviors, alongside homelessness law enforcement measures and criminalization policies exacerbate a favorable setting to *"churn again and again"* (Finkelstein & Brawley, 1997; cited in Denckla & Berman, 2001: 6) getting locked in the revolving door gate between homelessness and imprisonment.

To illustrate the pattern of association between homelessness and the criminal justice system, evidence from the US highlights that more than 20% of single adult shelter populations have a history of incarceration (Kushel *et al*, 2005; Burt et al., 1999; Eberle, Kraus, Pomeroy, & Hulchanski, 2000; Kushel, Hahn, Evans, Bangsberg, & Moss, 2005; Schlay & Rossi, 1992; cited in Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 30), and similar figures for offenders who were homeless when were imprisoned (Metraux *et al*, 2007). According to Metraux & Culhane (2006), among sheltered homeless in NY, 23% had a prison history in two years' period, and 11,4% of almost 50000 released offenders enter into the shelter system within two years after release.

Similarly, a study by Caton *et al* (2005) analyzing the risk factors for long-term homelessness found that approximately one in seven homeless single adult participants in the study were in prison before shelter entry (Caton *et al*, 2005: 1758). What's more, international evidence has stressed the importance of arrest history in predicting a longer duration of homelessness which illustrates the extent of the problem (Caton *et al*, 2005; Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2013).

In the US the study of Greenberg & Rosenheck (2008) based on data from a national survey of jail inmates for 6462 cases analyzed exhibited that 15, 3% of the prison population in that country had been homeless before entering prison (from which 12.4% had been homeless in the previous year), stressing "*the very high rates of homelessness among prison population",* approximately 7.5 to 11.3 times higher than that found in the general population (estimate of 1.36% to 2.03%) (Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008: 173). The strongest predictors of episodes of homelessness before prison were mental health problems (depression, or psychosis) and substance abuse. Among the factors which increased the odds of an inmate having been homeless at release were, being older than 30 years, having committed a property crime, as did having committed either a nonviolent o violent offense and having past experiences of sexual or physical abuse[29].

Similarly, Couloute (2018) exhibits that those who have had multiple prison experiences in the US are twice as likely to be homeless as those who have been in prison once*: "People who have been to prison just once experience homelessness at a rate nearly 7 times higher than the general public. People who have been incarcerated more than once have rated 13 times higher than the general public"[30].* Reliable data from the US also highlights that homelessness tends to occur immediately after prison release, during the first 30 to 60 days (Metraux & Culhane, 2002; Fontaine & Beiss, 2012).

Among homeless and marginally housed adults sample in San Francisco (California, US), Kushel *et al* (2005) showed that *participants who had a history of imprisonment (23%) had a median time of 6.4 years since last being released, having spent a median time of 4 years in prison; whereas almost 4% of*

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[29] Whereas being employed, being younger than 30, having a sufficient monthly income, having finished high school, being married, and have been in jail longer than one month, were negatively associated with homeless among the studied cases.

[30]Coulette, L (August 2018): *Nowhere to go: Homelessness among formerly incarcerated people,* Available at https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/housing.html

participants reported having been freed from prison during the past year, and 4.4% reported being on parole" (2005: 1748)[31].

Ninety-three percent of homeless and marginally homeless participants with a history of imprisonment reported drug use during their lifetime. The study found high rates of mental illness and substance use (crack cocaine) along the participants with prison experiences. Previous mental health hospital admissions, drug use, and infectious diseases (HIV) were more common among those who had been incarcerated than among those who had not (Kushel *et al*, 2005: 1750). The study stresses the fact that former prisoners remained in the homeless and marginally housed community more than six years after their release is the result of (1) the persistence of risk factors common to imprisonment and homelessness, and (2) the difficulties ex-prisoners experience when they reintegrate into community life.

Similar to the US and UK evidence has shown that around 15% of those entering prison were homeless, and 60% of those surveyed believed that having a place to live was important to prevent reoffending post-release (Williams, Poyser & Hopkins, 2012). In addition, a report based on a review of evidence in England and Wales, Bozkina (2021) highlights that 26% of the total inmates released in 2020 in those countries were released on homelessness or unsettled accommodation circumstances (rough sleeping, public overnight shelter system).

Those who have short and repeated stays in both prison and shelters are the ones who are trapped in the revolving door, which also presents more chances of distress associated with the lack of social services to address their needs (Metraux & Culhane, 2006; Lim, 2014). However, scarce attention has been given to the serious public health implications that the revolving door pattern has on people who suffered prison and homelessness experiences (have a higher risk of morbidity and mortality than people experiencing only one of those events) (Lim, 2014: 14).

The revolving door problem needs to be considered as a negative and extended public policy failure and des-legitimacy, human rights crisis, institutional omission, and drain of public resources (Lim, 2014). The issues of the next section relate to how institutions and social facilities effectively address

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[31] The total sample included 1426 participants with imprisonment and without prison histories living in overnight shelters, midday free meal programs, and low-income residential hostels (Kushel *et al*,

the diverse needs, issues, and pathways of homeless specific groups, as well as how and to what extent various social services intended for specific purposes (such as public night shelters) are utilised.

2.5. Typology of homelessness and the institutional circuit thesis

"…any attempt to "unravel" the causes of homelessness and its association with mental illness (…) must seek not only to plumb the backgrounds of shelter users and street dwellers but also to take account of the institutions that serve them" (Hopper *et al*, 1997: 660)

Substantial evidence from different socio-economic contexts, with different welfare regimes (Benjaminsen & Andrade, 2015, O'Donoghue Hynes, Waldron, & Redmond, 2018; Aubry, *et al*, 2013), has exhibited the existence of three groups of single people (the transitionally, episodically, and chronically homeless), using public shelters for some time.

The study carried out by Kuhn & Culhane (1998) was the groundwork for scholars to pursue testing single homeless typology based on shelter use by using administrative data on public shelter use in New York City (1988-1995) and Philadelphia (1991-1995)[32] [33].

The data from NY city shows the existence of a *transitional* group. It compounds 81% of the users who use the shelter for a short period "p*resumably as a time to recover from a temporary emergency"*

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[32] Previous qualitative characterizations of users on which this research was based (Lovell, Barrow, & Struening, 1984; Morse, 1986; Fischer & Breakey, 1986; Koegel, 1987; Snow & Anderson, 1987; Rossi, 1986; Hopper, 1989; Sosin *et al*., 1990; Jahiel, 1992) (cited in Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 210).

[33] Philadelphia data analysis also showed the existence of the three cluster shelter users with similar results and features. Despite this, a clear contrast regards to high rate of substance abuse that pervades self-reported data: 31.2% for transitional users, 50.5% for episodic homeless, and 69.5% for chronic users. However, when compared to substance abuse based on previous treatment, data exhibits a reversed pattern in terms of chronic users (33.0) versus episodic (44.5%): Overall, the Philadelphia population has a high rate of any behavioral health condition (treated or indicated), with 49.1% of the transitional, 65.5% of the episodic and 83.2% of the chronic having any such condition" (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 224).

(Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 226) without readmission episodes (with an average of 1.36 incidents and an average length per period of 42.4 days) (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 219)*. The cluster tends to be younger (less than 30 and or in their 30s), with fewer medical health issues (14.2%) and mental health problems (6.5 %) than the other two clusters. Furthermore, this cluster presents a lower proportion of users with substance use problems (an average of 28.2%) when compared to the other two clusters (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 223).

The second cluster, a group of *episodic* shelter users (9.1 % of the sample) who also tend to be in their 30s, alternate the shelter use with episodes of street homelessness and with other health, care, and custodial facilities. The cluster shows a pattern of multiple shelter stays and days for short periods (an average number of episodes of 4.85 and an average length per period of 54.4 days) (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 219)*. This cluster presents in indicators than the transitional cluster in terms of medical health problems (19.8), mental health (11.8%), and drug abuse (an average of 40%) (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 223), but not as bad as the *chronic* cluster of shelter users.

The chronic or long-term group of users (9.8% of the sample population) older than the others[34] tend to use the shelter for a long period without leaving it (an average number of episodes of 2.27 and an average length per period of 280.9 days) (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 219). This cluster presents the worst indicators concerning health (24.0%), drug abuse (37.9%), mental health (15.1%), and despite the compound being "*a relatively small and finite population, consume nearly half of the shelter days*" (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 229).

The study suggests an array of policies to reduce homelessness would be more efficient and potentially more effective if they were tailored and targeted by cluster (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 228). For the transitional group, early intervention in residential instability (through community-based homelessness prevention, housing transition services, and housing supports) alongside income,

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[34] Fourteen percent of chronic users are over 50 years old, compared to only 8.3% of transitional stayers and 6.3% of episodic stayers (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 222). Despite inter-cluster differences concerning tails of the age distributions, modal ages are pretty similar for each group: 32 for the transient, 31 for episodic, and 34 for the chronic cluster. Additionally, a similar proportion (39%, 40%, 38% respectively) of each cluster are in the 30-39 age group" (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 223). Concerning background features, 82.3% of the episodic users tend to be men, followed by 81.8% transitional users, and 81,5% chronic users. Related to race, 92.9% of chronic users tend to be non-white, followed by 90.5% of episodic users, and 83.6% of transitional (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 224).

employment, and health policies to prevent a large number of these users from becoming episodic or chronic users of the shelter system. Social support services and transitional housing or residential treatment programs could benefit episodic homeless, while alternative long-term housing options (supported housing, subsidized rental housing, care facilities) for chronic users of emergency shelters not to be used as permanent or long-term housing resources (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998: 229).

Alongside the robust findings of Kuhn & Culhane (1998), Hopper *et al* (1997) research on a group of chronic and episodic shelter users in NY city became a landmark study highlighting how single homeless people with severe mental illness move through an institutional circuit comprised of jails, hospitals, shelters, and streets. Such temporary usages and experiences posit the authors, revealing *"a pattern of residential instability that is the underlying dynamic of recurring literal homelessness that so often harries the lives of persons with severe mental illness"* (1997: 660).

Through interviews with 36 shelter users' (26 single men and 10 single women aged 17 years and over) narratives and the residential history studied of each one for the past five years before the interviews were completed[35]. Treatment experiences, changes in residence, family relations, sources of income for the past five years, beginning with the circumstances leading them to request shelter, "anchor points", and patterns of shelter function were issues addressed in the interviews (Hopper *et al*, 1997: 660)[36].

The research's most notable results relate to the percentage of time spent actually homeless (about 20% in streets or shelters) and at risk of homelessness (29%) in the last five years, the causes of asylum requests (eviction, other/unspecified reasons, and institutional discharges), and unique usage patterns of shelters that demonstrate *"further institutional linkages"*: *"Strikingly, nearly a third (32 percent) of the 22 shelter seekers for whom a reason was listed had come directly from jail or prison"* (Hopper *et al*, 1997: 662).

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[35] Like other studies have found related to homeless with mental health problems, participants were mostly young people, with low education levels, singles, and with previous experiences of institutional care (Hopper *et al*, 1997).

[36] Three residential circumstances were included in the study of the personal residential histories over the last five years: *"being homelessness (living in a shelter, motel, or drop-in center; living on the street, or living in a nomadic manner), at risk of homelessness (noninstitutionalized; living on own or shared housing (…); or staying overnight in a motel paid out of pocket (…), and double up (…), and residing on institutions (jails or prisons, hospitals, detoxification and rehabilitation facilities, segregated housing on grounds of psychiatric hospitals)"* (Hopper *et al*, 1997: 660-662).

Related to the shelter usage functions, the most visible finding of the research was that twenty of the 36 interviewees' shelters, were part of an *institutional circuit* combined with occasional breaks for temporary housing on their own. This group was mainly institutionalized, with almost 60% of the past five residing in institutions (40%) and living in shelters (19%): "*Release from the institution" cited as a reason for homelessness often marked a transition from one institution to another. For some young adults in this group, the latest shelter stays coincided with a bid for independence as they negotiated the transition from foster care or emergency housing placements with their parents*" (Hopper *et al*., 1997: 662)[37].

Similar to Kuhn & Culhane's (1998) findings on the transitional group, five participants who were first-time homeless used the shelters for a brief and transitory stay as a "surrogate for informal assistance pattern", never returning to the shelter. This group of users, according to the authors, "*offer telling counterpoints to the institutional circuit pattern. Two of the five were young men who had only recently left foster care settings; the other three were middle-aged men and women whose kin-based sources of assistance had failed for the first time. For the younger group, the shelter system extended the institutional apparatus that had largely defined their life to date and broke with it at a crucial transitional point, the passage to adulthood. For middle-aged individuals, it substituted for informal support*" (Hopper *et al*., 1997: 662).

Despite the methodological and sampling limitations, the empirical evidence provided highlights the predominance of short-term institutional placements "*unencumbered by the demands of people whose needs do not fit neatly into prescribed niches and whose eagerness to get with the program*" (Hopper *et al*., 1997: 664), provoking marginal people to remain in an "*endless loop of without resolving the pattern of residential instability" beyond literal homelessness experiences*" (Daly, Craig & O'Sullivan, 2018: 98).

Going further, taking into consideration the institutional circuit thesis and based on Kuhn & Culhane (1998) typology, Metraux, Byrne & Culhane (2010) examined from administrative data the subsequent pattern shelter uses after institutional discharges (jail, prison, hospitals, psychiatric hospital) within 90-

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[37] This pattern was predominant among the sample that was followed by: a *crisis and temporary housing* pattern for six participants (who lived about 25% of the past five years in institutions) for whom shelters function as a "*time-limited resource, a way station end/on route to another habitat of often tenuous stability*" (Hopper *et al*., 1997: 662). Finally, there is a nomadic pattern function of shelter for five participants who have almost 44% of the past five years homeless and 9.3% of the five years in institutions (Hopper et al., 1997: 663).

day period before entering the shelter among an incidence cohort of 9247 unaccompanied adults in the New York City Municipal Shelter System (Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 31). The overarching study aim was to assess if entering shelter users coming from hospitals and carceral facilities were any more (or less) likely to experience an extended experience of shelter use (Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 31).

Findings from this study show that 28% of the entire cohort that entered the NY shelter system for the first time within 90 days came from the mentioned facilities: 18% came from hospitals and 11% came from carceral facilities (Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 32).

Through cluster analysis for the incidence cohort, findings show first, that 83% are transitionally users (with an average of 33 days over 1.3 stays), followed by 13% of a chronic- long and sustained stay pattern in a shelter (586 days over 1.7 stays), and 5% of an episodic pattern of multiple and relatively short shelters stays (198 days over 4.8 stays) within the 3 years following their initial shelter entry. Second, despite differences in shelter use patterns use for the three groups, the overall rates of prior institutional discharge are pretty similar for the three clusters, in the case of hospital discharges (18.1%, 20.5%, and 17.9% respectively), whereas the rates of discharge from prisons or jails *were higher for the transitional group* (11%) than for the other groups (Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 33).

Concerning the subsequent pattern use of the shelter after institutional discharge the research exhibits that people who enter the shelter system for the first time coming from jail or prison have a short stay pattern in the centers and exits relatively quickly compared to those who were discharged from hospitals, who are more likely than others in the cohort to experience a long-term or episodic pattern of shelter use (Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 35).

The study highlights -consistent with Hopper *et al.* (1997) - that institutional discharge is a common and immediate precipitating factor for persons entering the shelter system. Further, the empirical evidence stresses that homelessness following institutional discharges currently *"affects a population more diverse than persons with psychiatric disabilities: the criminal justice system is now a primary institutional precursor to shelter use. It suggests the transition from institution to the community is a key intervention point for reducing homelessness and that service systems can assume more responsibility for addressing the community needs of the persons they discharge from inpatient or residential settings. In doing so, the different dynamics of shelter use among the first-time shelter users*

studied here provide the basis for two approaches by which this may be done" (Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 35).

The conclusions of this study place the need for interventions on institutional discharges while offering a different array of appropriate services to counteract *"the cumulative impact of social welfare institutions on the incidence of homelessness (…) and contribute to the decreased need for shelter services"* (Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 36-37). Long-term responses, such as housing first programs for the mentally ill homeless, while transitional residential programming for homeless released who use the shelter as a transitional and time-limited resource (Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 36-37; Culhane & Metraux, 2008). It will decompress the large demand for shelters and people released would extend the criminal justice system jurisdiction into providing community-based services, which may also have an impact on lower recidivism rates and reincarceration (Metraux & Culhane, 2004; cited in Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010: 36)[38].

In this context, it is thought that understanding the dynamics of entry into and exit from homelessness as well as housing experiences (Clapham, 2004: 111) is crucial to understanding institutions' roles and how they operate as well as the various shelter use patterns that reflect various types of homeless trajectories (Metraux, Byrne, & Culhane, 2010: 32). In connection with this, a significant amount of theoretical and empirical work has been accomplished under the homelessness pathways approach (Clapham, 2003; Fitzpatrick, 1997, 2000; Mayock, O'Sullivan & Corr, 2011), which is reviewed in the next section.

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[38] A substantial not included institutional discharge, mentioned by the authors, refers to those who leave a child welfare placement at age 16 or older. Approximately 20% of shelter users of adults under 25 in NY entering the shelter system from the first time, from 1997 to 1999, had exited an out-of-home placement at age 16 or older (Park, Metraux, and Culhane, 2005) A inclusion of foster care leavers would significantly increase the proportion of adult shelter users coming from institutions among those under age 25.

2.6. Homelessness pathways approach

"Each homeless person does not construct their life in a vacuum, but is influenced by the way they are treated by their family and others they come into contact with, as well as their projection in the media, and their treatment by professionals and public services they interact with" (Clapham, 2003: 123)

Several scholars have agreed that homelessness is a multidimensional problem and understanding it is a complex task (Lee, 2010; Pleace, 2011). In this vein, particularly, the study of homelessness pathways has made substantial theoretical progress to its construction as a subject matter, showing the multiple exclusions, barriers and facilitators to way out of homelessness, the risks and protective factors involved, and the pivotal relevance of prevention interventions made on time.

The *homelessness pathways approach* understands homelessness as non-static, instead, as a dynamic and changing nature over time experience (Clapham, 2003; Mayock & Parker, 2020). From this framework, structural and cultural factors, institutional mechanisms that hinder a timely exit from visible homelessness, transitions to or from housing or hidden forms of homelessness, and the bigger context in which these transitions take place, are fundamental pieces to be studied (Clapham, 2003; Fitzpatrick, 1997; Fitzpatrick & Clapham, 1999, Robinson, 2012; May, 2000; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011).

Alongside, the meanings associated with housing and homelessness experiences, homeless people's social interactions with family, peers, and service provider staff, taking into account how individuals cope with critical circumstances (agency), contribute to a better overall understanding of their homelessness pathways and their movements (Clapham, 2003; Mayock, O'Sullivan & Corr, 2011; Mayock & Parker, 2020).

Clapham's housing pathways approach, in the UK (2002, 2003), has served as the cornerstone for homelessness pathways research. This perspective is grounded on social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Garfinkel, 1967), and Giddens' structuration theory (Giddens, 1984).

The basic premise of social constructionism is that social life is made through social interaction and language is the common element through which we social beings communicate, accumulate experiences, and build our own lives: "*These meaning systems or discourses represent the nature of*

the world or reality and are taken for granted" (Clapham, 2002: 61). Meanwhile, Giddens's structuration theory (1984) is elaborated from the criticism to the deterministic nature of fundamentally subjectivism based theoretical perspectives and structuralist theoretical perspectives constraining individual behavior, as well, despite makes use of many of those theoretical frameworks (phenomenology, ethnomethodology, functionalism, geography and contributions of psychoanalysis). The fundamental idea of structuration theory is that there is no dialectical split between agency and structure. On the contrary, both are united in the routine social practices that (re)produce the structural conditions that, while constraining, enable social action (Giddens, 1984).

Despite differences between these theoretical perspectives, Clapham seeks to contribute from their joint use to the overall understanding of individual pathways by taking into account the personal actions and decisions that could have influenced episodes of residential (in)stability, but also the structural constraints that may have influenced such behaviour. Along with this, the official discourses on the nature of homelessness that shape existing homelessness services and the responses and actions of homeless people is crucial (Clapham, 2003: 121).

Clapham (2002) defines a housing pathway as *"patterns of interaction (practices) concerning house and home, over time and space" (p. 63). "The pathway of a household is the continually changing set of relationships and interactions that it experiences over time in its consumption of housing. It includes changes in social relations as well as changes in the physical housing situation"* (Clapham, 2002: 63–64). Consequently, *"homelessness can be seen as an episode or episodes in a person's housing pathway. The pathways framework can shed light on the factors that lead to homelessness, influence the nature of the experience, and enable some people to move out of it"* (Clapham, 2003: 123)[39].

Clapham proposes the reconstruction of housing and homeless biographies, considering transitions in central areas of vital life trajectories' (employment, family maturation, demographics) that enable an insight into the perceived world, identity formation, voluntary and involuntary nature of residential mobility patterns under the bigger context where those changes take place (Clapham, 2002:123).

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[39] Related to the use of the pathways concept, Clapham notes that "*it is essentially the application of a metaphor and as such serves to illuminate some aspects of the housing field (…) the meanings held by households and the interactions which shape housing practices as well as emphasizing the dynamic nature of housing experience and its inter-relatedness with other aspects of household life"* (2002: 63).

"Pathways analysis—which charts the progress over time of an individual or household through both housed and homeless situations—has been proposed as an improvement on the cross-sectional emphasis in much homelessness research" (Clapham, 2005*). It has been argued that a principal strength of this perspective is that homeless episodes, including episodes of more hidden forms of homelessness (Robinson, 2012), can* be *''related both to each other and the housing circumstances both before and after''* (Fitzpatrick & Clapham, 1999, p. 174)

The author also adds the importance of exploring the discourses behind social interventions for the homeless in conjunction with the face-to-face interactions between service provider staff and homeless users since those kinds of interactions restructure or de-structure social practices (Clapham, 2003: 125).

Furthermore, the pathways approach enables us to take a long perspective on homelessness concerning public policy interventions outcome to prevent homelessness experiences become episodic or chronic patterns (Clapham, 2003; Mayock & Corr, 2013; Johnson, Gronda & Coutts, 2008). Right action in good time at certain points in the individual pathway when certain tipping points and conjunctions of events (Doherty et al, 2002) produce changes in housing circumstances which may lead to homelessness experiences and worsening life circumstances (Clapham, 2003; Doherty et al, 2002), *"The dynamic and holistic nature of the approach gives a framework for analyzing these issues"* (Clapham, 2003: 126).

The pathways approach has drawn criticism for supporting individualistic explanations of homelessness and, implicitly, for endorsing the idea that being homeless is a decision (Fopp, 2009; cited in Mayock & Parker, 2020: 475). However, recent studies employing pathways approach demonstrate how including the agency and persistent attempts of homeless (mainly young people) to maintain access to housing really indicates that their paths are related to a housing system unable to meet their needs (Mayock & Parker, 2020: 475).

Following the contributions of this approach, homelessness pathways studies have identified an array of paths into, through, and out of homelessness, as well as, crossings with poverty, childhood trauma, family breakdown, substance use, mental illness, family violence, institutionalization, disability (Anderson, 2001; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2013; Fitzpatrick, 1997; Fitzpatrick & Clapham, 1999; Fitzpatrick et al., 2013; Johnson et al., 2008; Mallet et al., 2009; Martin, 2012; Martijn & Sharpe, 2006;

O'Connor and Wilson, 2004; Mayock & Vekic, 2006; Hickey, 2002; Mayock et al., 2008; McNaughton, 2008; Natalier & Johnson, 2012; Weisel, 2014; Mackie, 2012, among many others) that will be further discussed in the next chapter.

2.7.   Concluding remarks

We have covered some key data and theoretical elements for this investigation throughout the chapter.

Concerning the aspects that homelessness as an outcome of the penal system perspective examines, it focuses on issues of a (mezzo) structural nature, showing how the failures in the design of reintegration policies and services disable those who return from prison to their status as citizens. The spells of reoffending, drug abuse, and homelessness are illustrated. However, a gap in this body of studies is that to have a complete picture of how certain institutional aspects operate over time, it is necessary to have retrospective information that illuminates the risk exposure (Moschion & Johnson, 2019) inside and out of the prison of people leaving prison without access to housing. As was noted, the reviewed literature presenting the generalities concerning "precursor or outcome" ignores the fact that people's experiences are immersed in a display of interconnected social displacements, relations and circumstances that escape the unilateral explanations given.

The comprehension of the multilevel complexities underneath the research problem is needed to understand the features, and social expulsion dynamics of homelessness, the specific context of the penal system, and the peculiarities of a "revolving door pattern" between homelessness and the criminal justice system for the persons under study could have.

The institutional circuit thesis and pathways research into and through shelter system may help to understand and approach the subtle processes in a comprehensive and integrated manner of homelessness and penal system association. This will give us a complete picture of how some institutional aspects operate over time. Understanding multiple pathways to homelessness requires examining developmental transitions across institutions. It not only aids in the prevention of homelessness but can also significantly change how public policy is oriented to satisfy the unmet needs of homeless subpopulations (Daly, Craig & O'Sullivan, 2012)

Therefore, this thesis aims to complement the understanding of the retrospective study of homelessness pathways with the penal system experiences and the local institutional circuit, its

dynamics, potential factors and aspects that can be associated across the lifespan for a purposive sample of homeless former inmates living in Montevideo.

Based on this review, with some of the gaps in the arguments already highlighted here, the next section will introduce the theoretical framework of this research.

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework

3.1. Introduction

This thesis draws on the theoretical contributions developed from pathways analysis, and life-course theories to analyse a sample of homeless men's life trajectories with criminal justice problems. The reason for using these theoretical frameworks allows problematizing the relationship mentioned above, considering aspects not yet jointly explored in the literature, nor in an underdeveloped context, in multidimensional and temporal terms. Also, pathways analysis enables us to consider interconnected personal and institutional experiences, previous circumstances, and vulnerabilities in a specific location to gain depth. Based on this, the conceptual framework is structured as follows: first, it introduces the main studies focused on homelessness pathways, by then, integrates the notion of offending and desistance pathways. But first are reviewed the mainstream explanations of homelessness causation.

3.2. Academic explanations on homelessness

Concerning attempts for homelessness causal explanations, theoretical approaches vary from perspectives based on individual pathologies to more structural ones through to a mixed model where agency and structural forces combine and increase the likelihood for people with certain vulnerabilities who are more likely to be at risk of experiencing homelessness (Pleace, 2016; Fitzpatrick, 2005). Nevertheless, individual pathologies and psychological perspectives have ruled the construction of homelessness as a social problem and its public and media perceptions about its causal nature (Gowan, 2010; Anderson, 2003; Pleace, 2016).

For more than one hundred years, homelessness in Anglo Saxon urban sociological studies has been related to "vagrancy", beggary, migration, social disorder and deviance, severe alcoholism, and street crime (Bahr, 1973; Solenberg, 1911; Anderson, 1923; Sutherland & Locke, 1936; Moschion & Johnson, 2019).

Single homelessness as an individual's failure is a social construction still ingrained in the cultural, social, media, and political systems of Western world, despite empirical progress evidence that many factors are converging for certain people to be at risk of homelessness experiences under certain lives' circumstances (Cronley, 2010). As to say, disregarding structural forces and State's protection failures in providing adequate and practical responses for those who are at high risks of experience homelessness, for those who are statutorily homeless by law e.g in UK or France, equally for the growing number of people living in inadequate housing conditions around the world (UN Special Rapporteur, 2015).

Indeed, micro approaches on homelessness have focused particularly on certain individual vulnerabilities or about youth and adult single males' personal problems, such as drug abuse, mental health, crime involvement, or heavy drinking. Homeless are often seen as in some way responsible for their predicament (Neale, 1997). Several consequences have emerged from this approach, apart from implementing a minimum homeless social care. On their perspective caring is aimed to 'correct' deviant behaviours with punitive forms of support, emphasizing the concept of *less eligibility* (Pleace, 2008; Neale, 1997).

This profile embodies a chronic homeless, with a long time in this situation, and has been largely addressed by cross sectional studies, leaving aside other types of homelessness experiences (more episodic or transitional, as intermittent, temporary, short stays) (Lee *et al.*, 2010; Culhane *et al.* 2007). This has led to define a homeless' profile 'on a given night' (sleeping rough or in night shelters) as a person on a level of high care demand, a condition that explains his homelessness without any reference to contextual variables (Hopper, 1990; O'Sullivan, 2008; cited in Pleace, 2016: 20).

Criticisms to individualistic approaches are located in the explanatory power of the aspects studied, while reducing and simplifying complexities (Mc Carthy, 1998), like the criss-cross framework which are behind the "pathologies" that homeless have, as individual problems (drug abuse, pathology disorders, disabilities) as a sufficient condition for the whole explanation of homelessness nature. In line with this, those "individual" problems can occur after homelessness experiences or can be exacerbated by them (Montgomery, *et al.*, 2013, Gowan 2002, Greenberg & Rosenheck 2008; cited in Pleace, 2016: 10).

In developed countries, theoretical approaches and empirical research on single homelessness increased from the mid-1980s. Several insights about socially excluded people and the understanding

of social fragmentation understanding poverty as a process, assisted in considering social dimensions of single homelessness.

In some EU countries and North America conceptions of homelessness as a multidimensional problem has been given within a broader framework related to novel approaches on poverty (Busch-Geertsema, 2016). Social exclusion and social inequality that have provided theoretical and methodological tools allowing to advance in a most elaborated conception of homelessness as a social problem, not as mere individuals as indicated by previous attempt of explanation (Pleace, 2016).

The notions of social exclusion (Lenoir, 1974; Castel, 1997; SEU, 2001), and dynamic process of poverty or impoverishment (Förster & Vleminckx, 2004; Shepherd *et al*, 2014) have contributed to understanding and analysing homelessness as a multidimensional process. Despite the idea of social exclusion is up to now a contested concept (Cortes, 2006; Wolff, 2016) since it is intrinsically related to the social context from where it considers it, as ideas of social integration, and welfare policies, there is a broad consensus among researchers and stakeholders that homeless people are socially excluded, since they are severely materially deprived (AROPE, 2018), neither "*cannot participate for reasons beyond* [their] *control in the normal activities of society*" (Burchardt, *et al.*, 1999; cited in Yang, 2017: 15).

Closely related to the idea of social exclusion it also joins the Amartya Sen's capabilities approach to poverty (Sen, 2000), by which the deprivation of the opportunity to participate in public issues, and the lack of freedom that people have to develop themselves, by achieving their goals without "*appear*[ing] in *public without shame*" (Sen, 1999) are of crucial importance to understand the multidimensionality of homelessness. The capability approach is intrinsically related with the idea of inequality, where structural forces and institutions are decisive in reproducing under power relations an unfair and unequal social structure instead of providing equal, effective opportunities to those most vulnerable in terms of gender, well- being, social background characteristics, race, etc. (Yang, 2017).

Under this conceptual umbrella, homelessness is explained by structural social inequality, which generates a segment of poor vulnerable people at greater risk of experiencing it (Neale, 1997; Lee *et al.*, 2010).[40] From this view, homeless are not mere victims of social inequalities, but as some scholars

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[40] From this perspective, homelessness is linked to impoverishment and the reduction of the living standards of the poorest sectors as a consequence of i) economic readjustments (cuts in social spending and state benefits), ii) the implementation of policies of flexibility and labour deregulation (manifested in loss of jobs and the increase of jobs in precarious conditions or low wages), iii) the application of urban policies of gentrification

highlights it, the injustices generated by unequal opportunities in the housing market, scarce welfare benefits, limited access to health care together with certain distinctive attributes (race, gender, age, class, health, and previous housing history) seem to increase the likelihood of homelessness (Neale, 1997; Pleace, 1998, 2016).

This approach turns homelessness into a complex broader social problem, moving away from the unilateral and simplistic picture of *"blaming the individual"* derived from the idea of *social disaffiliation from society* (Bahr, 1970; 1973) based on individual disorders, characterized by the lack of severe weakening social bonds homeless have. However, in a similar way to individualistic approaches, the structural explanations of homelessness have been subject to criticism due to their inability, accounting for why structural tendencies increase homelessness' vulnerability for some individuals but not for others under similar conditions (FEANTSA, 2010; Fitzpatrick, 2005).

From criticisms of structural approaches and individual ones, an attempt to settle the dilemma regarding homelessness causation was the new orthodoxy approach (Pleace, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 2005) which highlights that homelessness is generated by structural forces (housing markets, welfare systems, health and social housing systems) which impact more severely on those who have restrained their personal capacity, needs, as well as their access to formal and informal support: "*When someone experienced the wrong combination of structural and personal factors, homelessness was created and sustained. Homelessness, was a negative assemblage of structural and individual disadvantages; homelessness was a pattern (Lee et al., 2010). In the new orthodoxy, three factors worked in combination (Pleace, 2016: 7).*

As Pleace points out, "*If one set of supports failed, homelessness might be avoided; remove two and the risk of homelessness increased; once all three were gone, homelessness was, from a new orthodoxy perspective, practically inevitable*" (2016: 5). On this theoretical model, structural factors, mezzo-level factors (e.g. homelessness services) which turn into causes since they are based on the aim of rehabilitating behaviours within staircase model framework and the absence of informal support, all contribute to generating homelessness.

(gentrification) in devalued neighbourhoods, iv) the scarce offer social housing and the lack of access to credit to access a home, led to their exclusion from the housing market (Blau, 1992; Marsh & Kennett, 1999; Hutson, 1999; Edgar, et al., 2007).

Over the years, this approach has been criticized for lacking a clear expository framework (Pleace, 2000), for its vagueness regarding causality (Fitzpatrick, 2005), for not being able to take into account the diversity of patterns of this heterogeneous population (Hopper, 2003; cited in Pleace, 2016), the no consideration of individual agency (Pleace, 2017), nor the ethnic, cultural and gender inequalities, which are structural, and which may also influence the nature and experience of homelessness (Pleace, 2011; Mayock and Bretherton, 2016; cited in Pleace, 2017).

Gender and homelessness

The long-established idea focused on androcentric adult, and youth/middle age bias in homelessness experiences explanations has worked to the detriment of the study of other minority groups, which have remained largely excluded in homelessness research and policy terms (e.g women alone, LGTB groups, elderly people) (Anderson, 2001; Fitzpatrick, 1997, 2000; Mc Naughton, 2008; Pleace, 2000; Wardhaugh, 1999; Bretherton, 2017; Carlen 1996; Neale, 1997; Mayock *et al*, 2016; Canham *et al*, 2021; DeVertueil, 2003).

Single homeless women have received scarce attention in homelessness academic research. Early empirical sources reported the women's invisible or hidden homelessness (Watson and Austerberry, 1986; Baptista, 2010), whether using family networks to have a roof (Mayock, Sheridan & Parker, 2015; Mayock & Bretherton, 2016), also obviating (and consequently, not counted as homeless) public spaces because personal safety, neither using social services designed for homeless men population (Jones, 1999; Watson, 2000; Reeve et al., 2006; Reeve et al., 2007). Hand in hand with this, women's visible homelessness has related to severe alcoholism, sex work to survive on the streets, and deviance (Harding & Hamilton, 2009; Bahr & Garret, 1976). Those ideas remain until today, alongside being considered too masculine or "unladylike," that is, not being mothers (or for being bad mothers) (Padgett *et al*, 2006: 464).

Notwithstanding, in the last decades a growing bulk of empirical and theoretical research on the confluence between gender and homelessness particularities has gained pivotal relevance as a subject matter (Bretherton & Pleace2018; Bretherton, 2017; Carlen 1996; Neale, 1997; Mayock *et al*, 2016; Baptitsa, 2010; Dee Roth *et al*., 1987; Watson & Austerberry, 1986; May, 1999) even though it is widely accepted that greater research in this area is needed (Bretherton & Pleace, 2018; Reeve, 2018) to counteract mainstream explanations (Waltson, 2000) and putting gender homelessness into relevant consideration in academic research (Bretherton, 2017; Mayock *et al*, 2016):

"Gender is important, not as a sole determinant of homelessness exits, trajectories or causation, but because it appears to be associated with gender-differentiated tendencies in causation and experiences, it is a factor in the experience of homelessness that must be taken into account and properly explored" (Bretherton, 2017: 20).

While the available worldwide evidence shows that the vast majority of homeless are youth and middle age single men, there is quite an agreement that the vital experiences of, for example, single particularly, long term homeless women with complex needs are extremely disadvantageous, and their needs are not addressed by available services (Serge & Gnaedinger, 2003; Petersen, 2005). Evidence shows that there is a shortage of gender-sensitive social services (Mayock & Bretherton, 2016), *"despite women represent a notable proportion of the homeless population and users of homeless social services"* (Serge & Gnaedinger, 2003: 42).

It has been stated that adult lone homeless women face multiple disadvantages concerning poverty, stigma, unemployment, very limited benefits, housing precarity, and barriers to access to sustained housing and (medical) support. According to gender and homelessness literature, formal or informal evictions, (extreme) poverty, multiple needs and (mental) health issues, traumatic or shock events (e.g loss of their children), a relationship break-up are some of the circumstances leading to women to experience homelessness (Harding & Hamilton, 2009; Mayock, Sheridan & Parker, 2015, Baptista, 2010, Jones, 1999; Bretherton, 2017). Short-term prison experiences (less than twelve months) are also widely mentioned as a reason for pathways to homelessness (Carr, 2016; Hecht & Coyle, 2001; cited in Serge & Gnaedinger, 2003: 42).

Furthermore, referential studies have shown that a history of mental health problems and drug use related to sufferings coming from domestic violence, and extreme traumatic events (e.g rape, being beaten almost to death, genital mutilations) are mentioned by women who experience single homelessness (Padgett *et al*, 2006; Busch-Geertsema *et al.*, 2014; Pleace & Bretherton, 2017). According to scholars, violence-based gender is one of the primary causes of women experiencing homelessness (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2014; Pleace & Bretherton, 2017). However, *"homeless women because of domestic violence are only officially registered as victims of domestic violence but not as homeless"* (Busch-Geertsema *et al.*, 2014; cited in Bretherton, 2017: 4).

Gender-sensitive housing-oriented policies taking into account the needs and complex circumstances of women (Mayock, Sheridan & Parker, 2015: 896), care and support with the community (Canham *et al*, 2021), prevention towards a housing crisis and fighting against the "*feminization of disadvantage*

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over a life course that results in homelessness" (Petersen, 2005: 17) are mentioned as some of the responses to deal with women's homelessness.

It is also worth mentioning that a recent interest has focused on sub-populations of older people with experiences of homelessness (OPEH), who have different and multiple needs requiring distinct shelter/housing options, supports, and interventions (Serge and Gnaedinger, 2003; Burns and Sussman, 2019; Canham et al., 2020, cited in Canham et al, 2021: 2635). Specialized literature has outlined different types of interventions implemented in Global North (long-term care; permanent supportive housing; supported housing; transitional housing; emergency shelters with social supports; case management and outreach) showing the limitations and the positive aspects to "age in right place" according to the range of needs OPEH have (for a thorough review, please see Canham *et al*, 2021)[41].

After this brief overview of the different experiences of homeless people, it is clear that homelessness refers to a great diversity and multiplicity of people with different experiences, backgrounds, pathways, circumstances, and needs.

It is, therefore, important to highlight that although this thesis focuses on a specific and narrow subgroup of people experiencing homelessness, it is far from considering homelessness as a monolithic, uniform, and unique experience for those who have experienced it. In what follows, the chapter reviews the most prominent studies on homelessness pathways, giving rise later to crime pathways literature.

3.3. Two pieces of literature: common grounds

A large body of longitudinal research, along with retrospectives on homelessness on the one hand as well as offending retrospectives on the other, stems from life course theories. They were of extraordinary contributions to understanding persistent involvement in antisocial conduct, allowing

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[41] In this broad study, using scoping reviews methodology (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005; Levac *et al*, 2010) OPEH is understood as people aged 50+ who have experienced chronic/episodic homelessness or are experiencing homelessness for the first time in later life (Canham *et al*, 2021: 2616). Homelessness is defined as being (a) unsheltered or homeless and living on the streets or in places not intended for human habitation; (b) emergency sheltered, including staying in homeless or family violence shelters; (c) provisionally accommodated, including living temporarily with others, couch surfing or in institutional settings; or (d) at-risk of homelessness, including living in precarious or substandard housing (Gaetz *et al*., 2016; cited in Canham, *et al*, 2021: 2616).

one to study how individuals enter and exit crime at different points in their lives (Farrington, 2005; Thornberry and Krohn 2003; cited in Cullen *et al.,* 2012), as such homelessness in, through and out of that social circumstance (O'Sullivan, Mayock & Sheridan, 2008; Anderson, 2001; Anderson & Christian, 2003).

3.3.1. Pathways into homelessness: risk and trigger factors

Homelessness understood as a process with different entry and exit (and re-entry) routes, needs to be studied through time to reach a profound understanding of the connection between risk factors and triggers that lead to it. Concerning homelessness, risks and triggers factors in structural, institutional, and individual levels have acquired pivotal importance. Advances in homelessness studies using longitudinal and retrospective analysis have enabled us to understand at what stages of life the risks of homelessness increase, what type of events produce those risks, and which interventions can prevent and reduce homelessness (Anderson, 2001, 2003; O'Sullivan, Mayock & Sheridan, 2008; Anderson & Tulloch, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 1997; FEANTSA, 2010; Quilgars, Fitzpatrick & Pleace, 2011; among many others).

A bulk of longitudinal homelessness pathways studies has focused on youth, adult later life homeless pathways highlighting differences related to risk factors (e.g gender), triggers events or crisis points, and facilitators (access to sustained housing, mental health treatments, employment, restoring family links), as well, for a route out of homelessness (Pillinger, 2007).

Related to age- related pathways, Anderson and Tulloch (2000) consider the *"multiple paths that people may take in it, through and out of homelessness"* (Anderson and Tulloch, 2000; cited in Mayock & Corr, 2013: 13). Anderson and Tulloch (2000) based on a review of the research evidence identified 23 age-related pathways into homelessness: five were associated with young people (15-24 years) characterized by dysfunctional families, poverty at home, a dropout from school, suffering violence or abuse at home or in care institutions as a child, sleeping rough, and chaotic homelessness, 11 with adults (20- 50 years old) characterized by drug abuse or alcoholism, mental health issues, prison release, changes in household circumstances; and seven pathways with people in later life (50 + years old), characterized by life-long homelessness, suffered domestic violence alcohol abuse, homelessness, alcohol abuse, mental health problems, loss, and the accommodation inability, unemployment, or retirement (Pillinger, 2007: 12).

Concerning the risk factors widely mentioned in the literature about *youth pathways into homelessness*, further research has also identified, exposure to domestic violence, family breakdown drug or alcohol misuse; mental health problems; debts, particularly rent arrears; scarce housing

options; negative peer association history, criminality, prison experiences (Mayock, O Sullivan & Corr, 2013; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011).

In addition to, the so-called triggers factors that precipitate or push immediately to first onset homeless experiences are included: leaving an institutional child care, an increase use of psychoactive substances (drugs, alcohol), running away (escapers) from home due to extreme family situations (Fitzpatrick, 1997; 2000; Mayock & Corr, 2015). Pre-16 rough sleeping events (and the repetition of these episodes), housing constraints, experiencing childhood homelessness, substance abuse, or mental health problems (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2012; Gaetz *et al.*, 2016; Anderson and Tulloch, 2000; Chamberlain and MacKenzie, 2006; Fitzpatrick, 2000; Mallet *et al*, 2010; Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2008; Quilgars, Fitzpatrick & Pleace, 2011; Mayock & Corr, 2013, Shelton *et al*, 2009). And there is widely consensus that *"the ability to return to the family home appears to be a crucial factor differentiating young people who end up falling into homelessness and those who avoid the experience"* (Anderson and Tulloch, 2000; cited in Anderson and Christian, 2003: 113).

In connection with this, Mallet, Rosenthal, and Keys (2005) researched more than 300 young homeless people in Australia between the ages of 12 and 20 using a qualitative approach to investigate the relationship between drug use by young people and their pathways into homelessness. The study's findings shed light on the nature of family disputes connected to leaving home and pathways into homelessness (p. 186). The drug use-related leaving home stories might be categorised in four different ways (2005: 187):*1) Young person's drug/alcohol use*, caused *family conflict*, which in turn caused them to become homeless[42]; *2) Family conflict* led to *young person's drug/alcohol use*, which then resulted in *homelessness;* family conflict precedes drug use in certain circumstances and is linked to a lack of love and support, conflict with stepfathers, *3) Family conflict* led to *homelessness* which then resulted in problematic *young person's drug/alcohol use;* drug abuse *typically in association with other homeless young people and/or their homeless partner. It was often also an entrenched part of homelessness service-based cultures* (2005: 192); *4) Family member(s) drug/alcohol use* led to *family conflict*, and then *homelessness*, young coming from chaotic families, and the fact that their family

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[42] Using drugs and alcohol for a variety of reasons, freedom, pleasure, independence, lack of motivation to attend school and/or commit to learning and pursuing their education (…) combined with their drug use, was a source of tension between themselves and their parents. Drug use led to crime, and parental conflict escalated once young people became involved with the police (2005: 187- 188);

members' drug and alcohol abuse—and not their own—was the main cause for leaving parents' house (pag.194).

Additionally, other studies have shown, such as the comparative study of UK cities, Fitzpatrick, Bramley & Johnsen's (2011, 2013) showed that childhood trauma and deprivation were significant predictors of extreme exclusion of single men sleeping rough or using low threshold services across the UK (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2013).

In this regard, a number of international studies (Ravenhill, 2008; Craig and Hodson, 1998; Martijn & Sharpe, 2006) (Koegel, Melamid, & Burnam, 1995; North & Smith, 1994; Winkleby & White, 1992; cited Morrell-Bellai et al, 2000: 584) have shown the high prevalence of childhood physical or sexual abuse, which are in fact, precursors of mental health issues, drug abuse or alcohol problems, interpersonal difficulties. Because of this, homeless people frequently have weaker and less gratifying support systems than those of affluent societies (Solarz & Bogat, 1990; cited Morrell-Bellai et al, 2000: 584).

Fitzpatrick, Bramley & Johnsen's research examined the median age of the first occurrence of each MEH-relevant experience: *"the experiences which happened earliest in their mid-to-late teens (15-20 years old) in individuals' pathways (if they happened at all) were: abusing solvents, glue or gas; being thrown out by parents or careers; using hard drugs, and developing a problematic relationship with alcohol and/or street drinking. This implies that these factors when they apply may often be contributory factors in the commencement of a MEH pathway"* (2013: 160).

Experiences in the 20-27 age group match mental health problems (anxiety or depression), involvement in shoplifting for survival. Being a victim of a violent crime, couch surfing, and spending time in prison "*seem to indicate deepening problems that bring people closer to extreme forms of exclusion and street lifestyles" (2013: 161).* Sleeping rough, begging, injecting drugs, and hospitalization for a mental health problem also tend to occur first in this phase of the MEH sequences, as do two of the specified adverse life events: bankruptcy and divorce. These experiences seem to confirm a transition to street lifestyles.

Adult pathways into homelessness (20-50 years old) are characterized by: breakdown relationships, changes in the household, release from prison, low income, mental health problems, drug abuse, violence. Later life pathways through homelessness (50+ years old) are associated with mental health issues, unemployment or retirement, depression, loneliness, inability to sustain a home; death of a

couple, divorce, violence (Fitzpatrick, Bramley & Johnsen, 2011, 2013; FOCUS, 2008; Anderson and Tulloch, 2000; Anderson and Christian, 2003).

3.3.2. Not static entities

Understanding that homelessness has a non-static nature and changes over a person's lifespan allows for the exploration of accommodation movements, the context in which they occur, actions taken by the homeless, as well as their relationships with family, other homeless people, and service providers over time (May, 2000; Mayock, Corr & Eoin O'Sullivan; 2013; Fitzpatrick, 2000; Anderson & Tulloch, 2000; Clapham, 1999, 2003; Mc Naughton, 2008; Anderson, 2001; Jones, 1999; Anderson & Christian, 2003; Edgar et al., 2004; McKenzie & Chamberlain, 2003; Mayock & Carr, 2008).

Within this framework, the study of the *careers, trajectories or pathways* (O'Sullivan, Mayock & Sheridan, 2008; O'Sullivan, 2009; Clapham, 2002; Fiztpatrick, 1997, 2000; Ravenhill, 2008; Hutson & Liddiard, 1991; Sosin *et al.*, 1990; Mc Naughton-Nicholls, 2008; Snow & Anderson, 1993; May, 2000; Clapham, 2003; Parsell & Parsell, 2012; Somerville, 2013; Johnson & Chamberlain, 2008; among others) of homeless has meant a substantial advance in the conceptual development of homelessness research (Mayock & Corr, 2013).

Those approaches aim, from different theoretical perspectives and methodological rationale, to account for the processual character that underlies homelessness and the experiences of the people over time (Pinkney & Swing, 2006; O'Sullivan, 2008; Fitzpatrick, 2000). Broadly, the referential literature points to three types of analytical models that seek to account for the process underlying homelessness.

Briefly, the first group of research studies, from the interactionist approach (Becker, 1963; Goffman, 1961) study the identity changes that take place in individuals who go through experiences of homelessness (O'Sullivan, Mayock & Sheridan, 2008: 35).[43]

From this theoretical perspective, Becker (1963; 2009) proposes the term career to understand how deviant behaviour originates, contemplating the changes that occur over time in individual identity. By analysing a sequential model of deviant behaviour, he introduces the concept of *"career contingency"*

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[43] The studies based on this approach are characterized by the application of qualitative techniques such as, interviews and direct or participant observation of the places where these people live.

(O'Sullivan, Mayock & Sheridan, 2008: 35) in order not to focus solely on those who focus only on those who *"follow a career path that leads to ever-increasing deviance and eventually deviance and who eventually adopt an extremely deviant identity and way of life. We must also consider those who have more sporadic contact with deviance, and whose careers lead them away from the conventional way of life"* (Becker, 2009: 44).

Theoretically, the individual so labelled by the "agents of control" experiences the following as a result of this labelling: i) altered personal identity, (ii) exclusion from access to conventional opportunities, and (iii) promoting the repetitious behaviour (Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989: 376).

A second "positivist" approach (O'Sullivan, Mayock & Sheridan, 2008: 38) centres on residential instability, which is associated with shelter use and living rough (Sosin *et al.*, 1990; Piliavin *et al.*, 1996; Kuhn and Culhane, 1998).[44] Residential instability research suggests that homelessness is not a lifelong experience, but also that exits from homelessness may not be sustained. Early studies (Piliavin *et al.*, 1993; Sosin, *et al.*, 1990) produced a number of novel findings.

Firstly, when analysing the factors influencing the likelihood of short or extended, Piliavin *et al.* (1993), pointed out that: i) previous experiences in child care institutions increased the duration of such a career, ii) some individual and expected factors as determinants (e.g., consumption of alcohol, drug use, etc.), iii) some individual and expected factors as determinants (e.g., use of alcohol, drug use, etc.) had little explanatory weight on shelter entry (O'Sullivan, 2008: 40). Some work suggests a pattern of increasing duration and periodicity of homeless episodes over time (Piliavin *et al.*, 1996), with homelessness becoming a semi-permanent state (Culhane *et al.*, 2013).

Along these lines, as has been highlighted in Chapter 2, Kuhn & Culhane (1998) found few shelter users with poor mental and physical health, but with limited or no informal support, who were not getting access to the right services (Pleace, 2016: 27), stressing with their finding that cross-sectional research had over-sampled a high-need minority who were the most likely to be sleeping rough or in services, while anyone experiencing homelessness for a shorter period tended to be missed (O'Sullivan, 2008, cited in Pleace, 2016: 27). Longitudinal analysis found a much larger, transitionally homeless population who were poor and who tended not to have high support needs (Culhane *et al.*, 2013, cited in Pleace, 2016: 27).

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[44] These studies tend to use multivariate analysis on large datasets (O'Sullivan, Mayock & Sheridan., 2008).

Finally, the third perspective emphasizes that the study of homelessness must be explained considering the personal and accommodation history of homeless over time.[45] The pathways analysis of once, intermittent or sustained homelessness enables for a joint examination of constraints and opportunities of housing market, interpersonal level (family relationships, close ties, close elements that operate at an interpersonal level (family relationships, close ties, etc.) and the subjective individual experience (Clapham, 2003; May, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 1997, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 1997, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 1997, 2000; Ravenhill, 2008; Pillinger, 2007). Whilst recognising the diversity of experiences that shape the process underlying homelessness, this approach seeks to move away from case studies in order to generalise from case studies to generalise models of pathways to this situation (O'Sullivan, 2008; Pinkney & Swing, 2006). In this vein, it underlines the existence of a multiplicity of pathways underlying this situation, which are associated with different stages in which this process is accelerated and activated, as well as highlighting the importance of individual decision-making.

3.3.2.1.   The homeless career metaphor

From a homeless 'career' perspective, individuals who experience homelessness arrive at a final stage- the 'chronic homelessness phase' in which people readapted to this subculture, through extended exposure to homelessness, and daily contact with other peers', who teach them survival strategies, providing them with a 'place' and a sense of belonging and "camaraderie" (Chamberlain & Jonhson, 2011: 72). Homelessness, in accordance to the literature, becomes "a way of life" (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1994; Hutson & Liddiard; 1994; Auerswald & Eyre, 2002; May, 2000; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011).

This thesis is also known as the 'cultural identification thesis' (Piliavin et al., 1996; Westerfelt 1990, cited in Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2013: 443) or the 'social acculturation account' (Wallace, 1965; cited in Chamberlain and Johnson, 2011: 62) suggest a predictable downward spiral, "a progressive decline", towards chronic or long-term homelessness (Hutson & Liddiard, 1994: 127):

"the longer a person is homeless the more likely they will adapt, behaviourally and cognitively, to the contingencies of homelessness – what is commonly termed the acculturation thesis. Some common adaptations include using drugs, involvement and identification with other homeless people, use of

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[45] This approach predominantly involves the use of qualitative survey techniques, such as in-depth interviews, life stories or biographical approaches (Pinkney and Ewing, 1996; cited in O'Sullivan: 2008: 40).

welfare agencies and criminal behaviour. These changes, while helpful for survival, make it more difficult for people to get out and stay out of the homeless population. Many of the 'pathologies' commonly linked to the homeless actually emerge as a result of prolonged exposure to homelessness" (Johnson, Gronda & Coutts, 2008: 5).

There are three different stages of a downward spiral. According to Hutson and Liddiard (1994), they are the early stage, middle and late. According to Chamberlain and McKenzie (1994; 2001), they are the short-term, long-term and chronic, by which a progressive deterioration of personal and housing conditions happens until they end up with no possibility of returning to mainstream society, associated with a marginal subculture, are suggested by those studies. Nevertheless, Chamberlain & MacKenzie (1994) show that there are young people who have a short-term homeless career and, in later research (2011), the authors emphasize that the explanatory power of the social adaptation thesis is useful to account for what happens to specifically, two "ideal types" of pathways into homelessness: substance use, and youth to adult pathways of the five pathways founded (the remaining three were domestic violence, housing crisis, mental health).

Their analysis shows that movements into a homeless subculture are "quick" for those in the substance abuse pathway due to relations with other drug users, who experience the most issue concerning access to basic resources (food and places to sleep), and social services available (2011:70). The use of boarding houses, squats, and sleeping rough to avoid victimization suffered while living in squats, was common amongst substance abusers

For those in the youth to adult pathway, traumatic family experiences, from different types of violence (sexual abuse, physical victimization, parental excessive control), to drug addiction parents, were the motives for the onset of homelessness experience (2011: 66). People in this pathway take part in the homeless subculture through substance use which can be considered as "a 'rite of passage' into the homeless subculture (Auerswald and Eyre, 2002; Fitzpatrick, 2000; Hartwell, 2003) or as 'coping response' to homelessness circumstances (Kennedy and Fitzpatrick, 2001; Reid and Klee, 2000)" (cited in Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011: 72).

Despite the unfavorable living circumstances, the authors emphasize that the illustrated pathways are not careers without interruptions. Notwithstanding, there is sound evidence as to the accuracy of the social adaption theory: extended exposure to homelessness leads to habituation, and getting out becomes a much more complex process due to the increasingly complex needs of people in those pathways. However, according to the authors, the theory exaggerates *"the extent to which people on*

the substance abuse and youth to adult pathways normatively accept homelessness as a 'way of life'. People pragmatically accept their situation, and their 'acceptance' is 'continually being constructed and reconstructed over time' (Zufferey and Kerr, 2005: 346). This pragmatic acceptance can change fastly, once people perceive that alternatives are available and then they want conventional accommodation" (Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011: 72).

The authors also assert that long experiences of homelessness are also affected by the services offered, their resources available disposal, early prevention strategies, and the labor and housing markets functioning.

Along these lines, the ethnographic study of Snow & Anderson (1993) in the USA suggests *"five possible career trajectories for the homeless. Some have only a brief career on the streets. Others sink into a pattern of episodic homelessness* [predominant pattern]. *A third career entails permanent embeddedness in a liminal plateau, typically in an institutional niche that provides a place to stay that is not on the streets but remains outside conventional society yet. A fourth career leads to chronic, unrelieved homelessness. And a final possibility involves permanent, or at least relatively long term, extrication from street life and return to conventional society after years, or perhaps even a decade or more, of homelessness"* (1993: 277).

This study of incalculable foundation highlights the failure of rehabilitation and restorative organisations to assist the homeless *"develop a life permanently off the streets"* (1993: 276) and prevent them from embracing an intermittent pattern of homelessness. This is due to the fact that these organizations have stringent policies and *"severe restrictions on personal freedom"* that emphasise modifying clients' attitudes, behaviours, and beliefs that are at odds with their identities as clients (1993: 286- 289). It is emphasised that returning *"to the streets and increasing physical, social, and psychological engulfment in homelessness"* is a cycle of going in and out of homelessness with no possibility of remaining out (1993: 276).

Longitudinal studies have over time sought to shed light on exit movements into unstable housing circumstances, leading to a route of re-entry homelessness, as well as "successful" and stable housing conditions from a route out of homelessness.

The criticism of previous empirical research on the dynamics of youth homelessness which has tended to present a "*homogeneous picture of young homeless people experiencing a uniform 'downward spiral'* (for example, Chamberlain and MacKenzie, 1994; Hutson and Liddiard, 1994, cited in Fitzpatrick, 1997: 26), it has been widely accepted that progress in longitudinal empirical evidence allows explanations and characterizations considering transience, routes out of homelessness, the accommodation movements of people experiencing homelessness, individual decision making when faced with trigger events, and the different perceptions associated with these experiences (Fitzpatrick, 1997; Fitzpatrick et al., 2011) are considered integral to the problem.

It is documented the access to affordable housing and/or obtaining financial assistance to maintain such housing (Piliavin et al. 1996, Wong et al. 1997, Dworsky and Piliavin 2000, Zlotnick et al. 2003; cited in Mayoc, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2012: 445) are factors that increase the probability that individuals will exit homelessness.

Longitudinal and follow up studies in the UK, Ireland, Australia, and the USA have contributed not only to perceive a better understanding of individual paths, ways of life, feelings, experiences, and social relationships of homeless. Furthermore, longitudinal research has contributed in in policy terms to inform on the multiple factors that enable a sustained pathway out of homelessness at "*the earliest possible juncture*" (Mayock & Corr, 2013: 20).

A study of great importance in the field was Fitzpatrick's research (1997) which is rooted in the dynamics approach to housing (Clapham *et al*, 1994) through biographical interviews and tracking individuals was based on exploring housing and homelessness pathways of a sample of young men and women living in Glasgow. Fitzpatrick's study aimed to distinguish different patterns, experiences, and routes through homelessness (Fitzpatrick, 1997: 26)[46].

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[46] Background to this and later studies on homelessness pathways is the research of Stokley *et al* (1993) in the counties of Surrey, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight (England), in which over 70 homeless and young homeless at-risk were followed. The study came to quite positive conclusions, noting that after periods of living in unstable or inadequate housing, young homeless people moved to safe and sustained accommodation. In this regard, Fitzpatrick (1997) criticizes Stockley's (et al) reflection on homelessness as *a "normal and not necessarily*

Fitzpatrick's study relates transitions and movements engaged in other transitions such as education from employment, examining the family dynamics that can accelerate the 'leaving the home process to live independently', and meanings associated with "home" and "homelessness" for the studied sample.

The pathways elaboration was based on *the status* of the young person's accommodation as official (including social facilities for the homeless, hostels, and temporary flats) or unofficial (rooflessness, staying with friends, squatting, returning home for some time). The *stability* of the young person's accommodation (how wide and often accommodation circumstances change) and *location* (if they were staying in their local area as homeless o in another city) (1997: 111)[47].

Research's findings involved three key factors associated with positive progress for a route out of homelessness: 1) remaining in the community near established social networks and avoiding the homeless subcultures in city-wide hostels and city centre streets, 2) receiving competent help from formal agencies, and 3) being female (1997: 165- 166).

Other two crucial longitudinal studies, Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan (2008) and Mayock & Corr (2013), in Dublin, followed over 6 years of 40 (23 young men and 17 young women) aged between 14- and 22- years young people trajectories into, through and out of homelessness. The findings posit that despite differences among young homelessness experiences, three homeless pathways considering their housing situations and transitions were identified as: *Independent Exits from Homelessness (including to home or privately rented sector; Dependent Exits from Homelessness (Transitional Housing, State care); Continued Homelessness (Adult Hostels, sleeping rough, prison, other)* (2008: 115). Women prevailed among the "two *movements out of homelessness·* in contrast to those who remained homelessness, where there were more men than women.

For those in the sample who remained homeless, the research emphasized that long-term homelessness, in unstable types of accommodation, and the process of institutionalization (in State

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problematic experience for many young people" (Fitzpatrick, 1997: 166). On the contrary, she points out the traumatic and terrified was experience even for those who have been able to leave homelessness.

[47] The six types of homelessness pathways found in the study were: Unofficial homelessness in the local area. Alternating between the official network in the local area and unofficial homelessness in the local area; Stable within the official network in the local area. Alternating between unofficial homelessness in the local area and the city-wide official network. Staying within the city-wide official network and homelessness in the city center. (1997: 111).

Care or detention centers) started at a very early age: *"a pattern which extended beyond the age of 18 years when they transitioned to adult homeless services. In contrast to those who had exited homelessness, they did not move to stable accommodation at an early juncture. And their ability to exit and sustain tenancies became more challenging as time progressed"* (2013: 55).

Over time, pathways out of homelessness became more difficult and challenging for them, and drug abuse and crime involvement increased, followed by prison stays which are the *'interruption' to their stays in homeless hostels" (2013: 55).* Truncated and unsustainable homelessness emerges at crucial times, such as prison release or following drug treatment, when there is a lack of financial and emotional assistance, which is untenable for these young people. However, the authors do not adhere to the idea of acceptance of homelessness as a way of life. Instead, *"they aspired to conventional goals – a job, a relationship, children and stable housing"* (Mayock & Corr, 2013: 55).

The research highlights the failures of social service in meeting people's real needs and offering temporary stays in multiple institutions provoking young people from a very early age. This pattern of frequent moves is *"'providing no base from which to lead one's life' (Quilgars et al, 2008, p. 54), which [results] in young people feeling that their lives are 'on hold'"* (Mayock, Corr & O' Sullivan, 2013: 456).

On the other hand, evidence from longitudinal research (Karabanow 2008; Kurtz et al, 2000; Mallet et al, 2006; 2010; Mayock & Sheridan, 2008) shows the crucial role of family and friends in restoring family and social ties for those who manage to find ways out of homelessness and into stable housing. It is important to note that one of the foundations of this issue is the availability of individual support from social service providers and experts in the field.

Karabanow (2008) conducted interviews with 128 young people (90 males and 38 females) and 50 service providers in six Canadian cities (Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, Calgary, Ottawa, and Vancouver), focusing on the pathways and processes involved in "getting off the street" (2008: 772). She proposed "an exit process" composed of: 1) precipitating factors that *initiate thinking of street disengagement*, such as extreme boredom with street survival activities or experiencing a traumatic event (p. 775); 2) gaining *motivation to change* (increased responsibilities, parenthood/intimate partner/family and friends support, (having someone who cares, building personal motivation and commitment); 3) securing help (using services, searching for a job and housing, building personal motivation and commitment); and 4) transitioning from the street, which proved to be *a complex and difficult stage of street disengagement* (by gradually severing ties with peers) (p.781); 5) altering daily routine (by restructuring employment routine, education, and housing); 6) increasing self-esteem sympathetic

employer or landlord, missing street culture, and 7) "successful" exiting (incorporates and primarily embodies emotional and spiritual sense of identity of the young people, as demonstrated by a sense of *"being in control"* and *"having direction in life"* (2000: 785).

The study by Mayock & Corr (2020) in Dublin and Cork (Ireland), followed forty young people from 2013 and 2016 involved the data collection at two points in time. Firstly, to capture temporal dimensions of the homeless experience and to examine the dynamics that shape homeless housing transitions over time (p. 464). This study aims to explore the challenges and difficulties of young homeless "*in seeking housing and their responses to a housing market and service system perceived by them – particularly over time – as thwarting their attempts to navigate a route to housing stability*" (p.461).

Research's findings suggested three trajectories through homelessness: linear (7 participants); non-linear (13 participants), and chaotic (9 participants), the last two characterized *"by high levels of residential instability"* (p. 469). The study suggests that individuals in those non-linear and chaotic pathways *"continued to move in and out of homelessness services even if many had exited at one or even several junctures. The extent to which young people entered into situations of concealed homelessness – that is, living temporarily with family members, friends, and acquaintances or in a partner's house – is striking for the sample as a whole"* (p.469). Insecure, informal housing arrangements, overcrowded conditions, and hidden homelessness characterized young homeless pathways through homelessness. According to the research, young people actively participate to find a route out of homelessness into secure housing, particularly when they are overwhelmed by temporary stays in social services and feel them threatening to their safety due to its environment. However, the structural barriers they face from the private housing sector, which are beyond their control, prevent them from achieving an adequate, sustained, and not temporary housing response.

The chapter lays up an overview of criminal pathways after reviewing some of the most significant studies on paths leading to homelessness.

3.3.3. Crime pathways

In a similar vein to homelessness pathways, understanding offenders not as static entities, the problems of how measuring recidivism, as well as the ideas of persistence and desistance from criminal activity (Bottoms & Shapland; 2011; Sampson & Laub, 2003; McNeill, 2016; Farrington, 2007; Maruna, 2001; Bushway *et al.*, 2003) identifying different offending trajectories (Nagin & Land, 1993) have led

to new understandings of the crime of how individuals move into and out of crime at different points in their lives (Farrington 2005; Thornberry & Krohn 2003; cited in Cullen *et al.*, 2012); risk and protective factors of criminal activity and toward desistance (Farrington, 2003; 2007), the occurrence of turning points or life events which can lead to crime, reoffending, or desistance, the role of human agency, disruptive childhood and victimization experiences, among others.

Strong longitudinal empirical foundations have shown that some offenders experience *zig-zags* in and out of criminal behaviour in their trajectories. The behaviour movements from offending to non-offending charges span several cross-cutting factors, which include marriage, employment, having children, informal social control, modifications in self-identity (Piquero, 2004; Glaser, 1969; Sampson & Laub, 2003; Maruna, 1999; 2010). Those aspects are useful to discern the temporary abstinence (intermittency) from criminal activity and to distinguish different types of offenders (i.e. frequent and occasional) (Piquero, 2003; 2015) Therefore, dynamic structure and retrospective structure address levels of involvement in criminal activity as well as life circumstances that influence more or less intermittent life trajectories (Piquero *et al.*, 2015).

According to Elder (1994), the life course perspective looks interconnectedly at the individual path, its developmental paths, and the consequences within the temporal context. The notion of interdependent lives refers to the embeddedness of *"human lives in social relationships with kin and friends across the life span. Social regulation and support occur in part through these relationships. Processes of this kind are expressed across the life cycle of socialization, behavioral exchange, and generational succession"* (Elder, 1994: 6). Changing conditions, individual and family transitions, life events and turning points, historical time, life experience are crucial in analysing the different life domains and crossing levels that shape lives.

Sustained by life course theories, the study of crime pathways moves away from static person-based conceptions, emphasizing that crime is a dynamic concept, especially when studied across time (Cullen *et al.*, 2012; Morizot, 2018; Sampson & Laub, 2001). Hence, the study of risk and protective factors, turning points and life events, social transitions, and the timing of changes are crucial for a deeper understanding of the life trajectories of offenders.

Extreme deprivation concerning socioeconomic position, early abuse and victimization experiences, disruptive families, drug use, negative social capital, housing marginalization, disruptions in the academic realm are some of the issues pointed out by both bodies of literature as risk factors for early stages (childhood and adolescent) involvement in homelessness and offending experiences.

Protective factors and risk factors are seen as primarily social problems. The antisocial pathways individuals are exposed to antisocial opportunities for interaction, internalizing antisocial values, lacking effective social bonds and emotional skills and consequently leading to social bonds with deviant peers, and offending behaviour or prosocial pathways. Pressure factors, such as position in the social structure, places youth in differential opportunity contexts (e.g., an inner-city marked by concentrated disadvantage versus an affluent neighbourhood). Genetic factors (difficult temperament, cognitive ability, hyperactivity), and the extent to which youth face social norms and expectations are essential in explaining prosocial behaviour. Youths with these traits are, without intervention, less likely to be successful in prosocial interactions and find more reinforcement and attractive bonds from antisocial peers (Catalano *et al.* 2005; Hawkins *et al.* 2003; Hawkins *et al.* 2007).

Sampson and Laub (1993) have developed an age-graded theory of informal social control to explain trajectories in crime and delinquency over the life course of offenders and desisters (Sampson and Laub 1993; Sampson 1997; Laub, Nagin, and Sampson 1998; Laub and Sampson 2003). Following the life course approach already described, the study of Sampson and Laub (1993) consists of: *"1) a focus on the historical time and place that recognizes that lives are embedded and shaped by context; 2) the recognition that the developmental impact of life event is contingent on when they occur in a person's life –that is timing matters; 3) the acknowledgment of intergenerational transmission of social patterns –the notion of linked lives and interdependency; and 4) the view that human agency plays a key role in making choices and constructing one's life course"* (Sampson & Laub, 2003: 47).

The main argument of this theory is that the strength of bonding on attachments to parents, school, and (deviant) peers is the major source of informal social control that influences the likelihood and degree of involvement in crime or relation on a conventional trajectory. Informal social control has more direct implications than structural background variables (e.g., social class, ethnicity, large family size, criminal parents, disrupted families) and individual cognitive abilities.

As their theory is age-graded, the major sources of informal social control change all over the life course from parents in childhood to friends in youth. If kids have strong family ties, they will be less inclined to behave in an antisocial way if they have deviant peers as friends. As they enter into adulthood, employment and marriage (turning points) are potential sources of informal control which play a crucial role in changing routines, redirecting engagements towards conformity norms and desistance process, accompanied by a transformation of the self, a process that encourages to "cut off with the past from the present" (Bushway *et al.*, 2003).

Offending desistance and homelessness

Life-course criminology has focused on understanding continuity (persistence) or change (desistance) in the life paths of offenders' (Sampson & Laub, 2003; Maruna, 2010; Piquero, Farrington & Blumstein, 2003). The idea of desistance generally does not ask *what works* to change lives but asks *how* the process works and *why* people stop committing a crime. (Burnett, 1992; Maruna, 2001; Farrall, 2002; cited in Maruna *et al.*, 2012; Ronel & Segev, 2014). Maruna & Mann (2019) stress the importance of placing the person at the centre of the process: *"The desistance paradigm suggests that we might be better off if we allowed offenders to guide us instead, listened to what they think might best fit their struggles out of crime, rather than continue to insist that our solutions are their salvation"* (Porporino, 2010: 80).

Theoretical and empirical advances on this subject have outlined that it is not the events themselves that enable criminal offending, as previously suggested by Sampson & Laub (2003), it is the perceived strength, stability, and quality of social bonds and relationships (Healy, 2010; cited in Sapouna *et al.*, 2011; Farral & Bowling, 1999; Sampson & Laub, 2001).

The participants' understanding of their actions through narratives and "personal agency looms large" (Laub & Sampson, 2003: 280), are central to comprehending how desisters are framed as active participants in constructing their lives' breaking from their past lifestyle.

McNeill (2017) argues that desistance is more than a self-transformation process and suggests that identity and changes in behaviour are closely linked to the perception that released have of their place in society. Indeed, "*from its origins, desistance is understood as a process of community reintegration, a two-way street between individuals and the wider community (McNeill, 2006; Weaver, 2012). Both understand crime like all human activity to be enmeshed in social networks and relationships, not the result of bad choices of atomized individuals*" (Maruna, 2016: 292).

Along these lines, the desistance process focuses on factors exogenous to criminal justice, cannot be studied without taking into account the socio-temporal context of individuals, nor can it leave out the active role of the individual in this process, provided it is supported and sustained by "generative" activities and motivations (LeBel, Richie & Maruna, 2015).

Therefore, desistance encompasses the interrelationship between social factors such as access to employment and housing, marriage, parenting, income, and dynamic subjective factors. In this context, changes in motivation aspirations, self-perception, and self-efficacy are taken as examples, to

understand *"how individuals who internalize a criminal or deviant label can create a new self-understanding for themselves"* (Lofland, 1969; cited in Maruna, 1997: 8).

According to scholars, desistance process involves three stages. Primary desistance, which is a period with no offending, *"any lull or crime-free gap (see West, 1982) in the course of a criminal career"* (Maruna, *et al.*, 2004: 274). Secondary desistance which involves a *"reorganization based upon a new role or roles will occur"* (Lemert, 1951: 76). People assume a "new role and identity" of non-offender. Tertiary desistance (McNeill, 2016) a pivotal aspect to maintain role change, consisting in the recognition by others that one has changed and the development of a sense of belonging (2016: 201).

As was previously stated, accommodation difficulties are related to a higher risk of re-offending and also are mentioned as a significant obstacle to desistance from crime for offenders (May 1999; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002; Burnett, 2004; Farrall, 2002; cited in Seymour, 2004: 5). Burnett (2004) found that persisters when compared to desisters tend to not have satisfactory accommodation nor strong social attachments, and were more likely to be using "hard" drugs. Farrall (2002) established from quantitative analysis in his research that *"stable accommodation especially when combined with a stable employment was associated with desistance"* (Seymour, 2004: 5). However, as was also previously reported here, ex-offenders released from prison with multiple needs are those who are in an unfavourable situation concerning family links, housing, and employment opportunities, who experience social isolation as well (MacNeela, 1999; cited in Seymour, 2004: 5).

The negative prison experiences with other obstacles and troublesome events before and after release, and the key role of the criminal justice system in their paths aggravate previous needs and their involvement in a criminal career path.

Labelling theory focuses on the consequences that the rule enforcement has on the identity of people who are directly affected by labels (e.g. deviant, delinquent, dysfunctional), inducing, as a result, a more deviant character, a more deviant lifestyle, and congruently, a deviant career (Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989).[48] Consequently, several longitudinal studies have shown that the criminal justice system far from having a deterrent effect on offenders increases their criminal involvement and

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[48] The main theoretical roots of the Labelling theory are the Conflict theory and the Symbolic interactionist approach. The core principles of this theory is that economically and politically powerful groups determine what and who are offensive to social order, directing their rulemaking against identified groups involved in those activities (Schur, 1971; cited in Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989).

creates career criminals (Bernburg and Krohn 2003; Bernburg, Krohn and Rivera 2006; Chiricos *et al.* 2007; Spohn and Holleran 2002; Nieuwbeerta, Nagin and Blokland 2009; see also Nagin, Cullen and Johnson 2009, cited in Cullen *et al.*, 2012).

However, the evidence is not clear-cut. There is robust empirical evidence that supports the idea that labelling precedes criminal career and sources of crime "*lay more fully in other social experiences, including dysfunctional families, delinquent peers, and disorganized or inequitable communities*" (Braithwaite, 1989; cited in Welsh & Farrington, 2012: 34). Nonetheless, they did not mean that criminal justice labelling is not implicated in stabilizing criminal involvement, at least under some circumstances (Palamara, Cullen and Gersten, 1986). Andrews and Bonta (2010) have revealed that *"high-quality correctional rehabilitation programs reduce recidivism, but that punitive programs, especially when applied to low-risk offenders, produce high rates of reoffending"* (Cullen, Johnson & Mears, 2016: 48).

Let us see in more detail this theoretical framework.

3.4. The criminogenic and labelling effect of imprisonment

Different criminological theories have defeated the deterrence argument (Nagin, 1998), in which prison has a deterrent shaming effect through physical isolation (incapacitation) of offenders and, consequently, with the effects that will reduce criminality.

In addition, a substantial literature has indicated the pains and deprivations of prison life (Sykes, 1958; Liebling, 2011), such as the deprivation of goods and services, the sexual frustration, the deprivation of autonomy, security, and freedom, family relationships absence, or the diminution of outside social contacts cause a mortification of self and identity dispossession (Sykes, 1958; Goffman, 1961).

Furthermore, it is suggested that the experience of imprisonment may reduce the incarcerated offender's legal prospects by foreclosing pathways for conventional development (Nagin & Waldfogel, 1998; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Western, 2002). It may cause imprisonment to increase rather than decrease the imprisoned offenders' future criminal involvement (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Hagan & Palloni, 1990, cited in Nieuwbeerta, Nagin & Blokland, 2009).

Indeed, strong evidence highlights that the first-time imprisonment has a criminogenic effect in the long road of released people associated with an increase in criminal activity in the three years following

release (Nieuwbeerta, Nagin & Blokland, 2009). Along these lines, prisons can operate as schools of crime for those who have weak pro-social ties outside the prison and where inmates *"learn new crime skills even as their non-crime human capital depreciates"* (Nieuwbeerta, Nagin & Blockland, 2009: 230).

Associating with other more experienced inmates would lead new inmates to adopt the older inmate's deviant value systems or enable them to learn "the trading tricks" (Adams, 1996; Hawkins, 1976; Steffensmeier & Ulmer, 2005; cited in Morizot, 2018). The social influences and interaction in the prison environment have important consequences for how offenders cope with these violent experiences: *"individual inmate characteristics, such as personality and psychopathology, may in some cases lead directly to violent behavior, but [they] also affect, and are affected by, other aspects of the setting (emphasis added)"* (Winer, 1994; cited in Bottoms, 1999: 248).

By the same argument as in the labelling theory, legal punishment through Criminal Justice System works accentuates the involvement of released offenders on future criminal behaviour excluding offenders from conventional society resources and opportunities (education, employment, housing) likely to occur following the label of the offender being internalized by the individual (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Bushway, 1998; Farrington, 1977; Hagan, 1991; Lanctot, Cernkovich, & Giordano, 2007; Tanner, Davies, & O'Grady, 1999; Sampson & Laub 1993; Restive & Lanier, 2015; Lopes *et al.*, 2012).

3.5. Prison quality life and resettlement

A large body of international prison literature has focused on the effects that the prison's social climate has on resettlement pathways of inmates, also considering the type and characteristics of the prison (Liebling, 2004; 2011; Auty & Liebling, 2020; Tonkin, 2015). In this regard, moral and emotional dimensions of prison-related to the prison quality and physical conditions, decency, fairness, humanity, relationships with staff, and the use of authority have emerged from a human rights approach as the *"differences that matter"* of the core of prison life dynamics (Liebling, 2011: 3).

Consequently, they acquire fundamental importance since their absence, or their negative manifestations, are experienced as psychologically painful and can lead to depression, suicide and or anger, frustration, and violence (see Liebling, 2011; cited in Auty & Liebling, 2020: 6).

It is worth saying that studies have shown that inmates behave differently depending on their interactions with others. It might be whether by the prison system and the prison structure they are in, ways of dealing with conflict or institutional responses to conflict, and numerous situational factors

(Bottoms, 1999; Edgar, O'Donnell, & Martin; 2003; Rocheleau, 2015). Along these lines, Bottoms (1999) points out that the incidence of acts of interpersonal violence within the prison is influenced by the characteristics of the inmates but also by environmental aspects, and by the continuous dynamic interaction of prison staff, and the physical context and prison social.

Different studies have focused on different components of imprisonment that can be associated with recidivism: moral quality of prison life (Liebling, 2004). According to Liebling (2004, 2011) there are prisons which are more survival than others. Moral and emotional climates inner prisons concerning interpersonal relationships and treatment, the use of authority, perceived fairness, legitimacy and safety, dignity and humanity of prisoners, trust, relationships, have emerged from a human rights approach as the "differences that matter" of the core of prison life dynamics (Liebling, 2011). Liebling suggests that prisons should be evaluated based not only on their financial management but also on the degree to which they produce spaces for social reintegration, given that they are "special moral" environments where the notion of justice, authority and order of justice is experienced in special ways (Sykes, 1958; Goffman, 1961).

In this regard, acquire pivotal significance the experiences lived during imprisonment. The life course approach has shown far away from the *"deep freeze hypothesis",* whereby prisons are described as having little or no influence on behaviour after release (Liebling & Maruna, 2013; Zamble & Porporino, 1988). The prison implies a turning point in the lives of the incarcerated people (and their families), closing possibilities and future development (Nieuwbeerta, Nagin & Blokland, 2009). The prison violence literature has emphasized that prisons are a violent setting per se, and suffering victimization experiences have harmful impacts on the physical, psychological, and well-being of the imprisoned population, the prison staff, and the penal system itself (King, 2001; Bottoms, 1999).

Empirical evidence has assessed that addresses the negative consequences of being a direct victim or on the psychological well-being of the released offenders (higher levels of stress, anxiety, and low level of self-control) aggravates barriers associated with the community resettlement (substance abuse, lack of family support, access to employment and sustained housing) (Listwan, Hanley & Colvin, 2012; Kilpatrick, Saunders & Smith, 2003).

The lack of personal autonomy over the physical space and the daily routines struggles for scarce resources (Sykes, 1958; Sykes & Messinger, 1960). The oppressive physical conditions, overcrowding,

social interaction between inmates, staff, and the prison environment generate a high anxiety level, depression, stress, and frustration among inmates (Randol & Campbell, 2017). These conditions could explain not only the events of intrapersonal and collective prison violence, but also justify high suicide rates among the incarcerated population (Rocheleau, 2015; Gaes, 1992; Liebling, 1999; Bottoms, 1999) (Moos, 1976; Glass & Singer, 1972; Suedfeld, 1977; cited in Huey & McNaulty, 2005).

Interpersonal violence in prisons refers to violent behaviour or acts (violent deaths, homicides, physical self-harm, verbal assaults, sexual abuse, theft of belongings) that generate considerable fear among those affected or those who witness assaults on others. But nevertheless, unlike collective violence (riots, mutinies) do not pose any challenge to the continued functioning of the prison as an organisation (Bottoms, 1999).

Even so, such violence is a serious problem, with detrimental effects on the physical and mental health of victims and witnesses, their families and prison staff (Randol & Campbel, 2017)

Two different explanations concerning prison violence are found in the literature to explain the higher incidence of violence in prisons.

On one hand, Irwin & Cressey's (1962) *the importation model* emphasizes that violence in prisons is a result of the overrepresentation of people with dysfunctional individual characteristics. These are mental health problems, severe substance abuse, and lack of individual capacities that make them more prone to engaging in violent behaviours since they cannot cope with the stressors proper of that environment. From this perspective, individuals transfer from violent attitudes to prison related to a sub-culture before prison experiences; (Gaes & McGuire, 1985; Akers, Hayner & Gruninger, 1977; Ellis, Grasmick & Gilman, 1974; Bierie, 2012). From this point of view, certain studies indicate that the probabilities of maladjustment and violent behaviour of individuals during incarceration are influenced by exposure to events of violence and direct victimization suffered in childhood (physical, sexual abuse) by known adults (Meade & Steiner, 2013).

On the other hand, the deprivation model sustains that prison conditions and management of prisons itself create threaten the dignity and integrity of life with high costs for people and the penal system itself (Sykes, 1958; Liebling & Arnold, 2004; Farrington & Nuttall, 1980; Gaes & McGuire, 1985). Overcrowding, administrative control, and severity in rules application, the composition of the prison staff, relationships between inmates and prison officers, the scarce provision of rehabilitation

programs, etc., are considered the explanatory structural and institutional factors for the prevalence of prison violence.

The oppressive conditions of the prison environment, the scarcity of resources, added to the loss of autonomy, generate negative effects on a psychological level (depression, anxiety, stress, frustration) and an environment that prevents the inmates from adapting to life in reclusion. Broadly, this approach argues that the most hostile prison conditions lead inmates to experience coercion, which in turn creates various problems for inmates, their families, and for the penal system as well (DiIulio, 1990; Bierie, 2012; Cao *et al.*, 1997; Camp *et al.*, 2003; Drago *et al.*, 2011).

Much research shows that inmates behave differently depending on their interactions with others, the type of prison and prison structure they are in, ways of coping with conflict, institutional responses to conflict, and myriad situational factors (Bottoms, 1999; Edgar, O'Donnell & Martin, 2003; in Rocheleau, 2015). Along these lines, Bottoms (1999) points out that the incidence of interpersonal violence within prison is influenced by the characteristics of inmates but also by environmental aspects, and by the ongoing dynamic interaction of prison staff, and the physical and social context of the prison.

Incidents of violence in prison have negative consequences on the physical, psychological and social well-being of imprisoned offenders, aggravating also the problems associated with community re-entry of release (Listwan, Hanley & Colvin, 2012).

The consequences of victimization and abuses during imprisonment (stress and emotional harm, loss of self-esteem, health and mental problems) conjoined with the complexities mentioned of restoring life after prison: finding a place to live, restoring family ties and close ties, finding a job, etc. aggravate the transition from custody to community increasing presumably social isolation experiences (Gouvis, 2004; Herbert *et al.*, 2015; Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2003; Arditti, *et al.* 2003; Hagan & Foster, 2012; Petersilia, 2001; Baldry & Maplestone, 2003).

3.6. Latin-American Background

In the Global South, an incipient amount of empirical and theoretical research on homelessness on this side of the world, mostly from Anthropology, and Psychology, has been produced in recent years to gain knowledge and better understand the characteristics, and its dynamics in order to contribute to a better design of public policies to counteract this privation (e.g. Bachiller, 2015, 2016, 2021; Eismann, 2020, 2018; Piña Cabrera, 2019; Di Iorio, 2019, 2015; among others).

Particularly, in Uruguay, In Uruguay some of developing research coming also from Economy, Sociology, Social Work, Anthropology and Psychology, has dealt with typologies of homeless people (Santandreu, 2003; Ceni, *et al.*, 2005; Ciapessoni, 2009; Chouhy, 2006; Aloisio, 2010); pathways analysis of (ex) shelter users (Evans, 2019; Chouhy, 2010; Ciapessoni, 2013); homelessness and gender (Aguiar, 2021); migration and homelessness (Rondan, 2021); street homelessness and sheltered (Cárdenas, 2021); homelessness and drug abuse (Rossal, *et al.*, 2019); street culture and homelessness (Baldriz, 2015). More empirical research has been focused although emerging as well on crime and related issues, e.g. crime and social safety (Paternain, 1996, 1999); reoffending and desistance (Trajtenberg, Rojido & Vigna, 2009); crime explanations (Trajtenberg, 2004, 2008, 2017); desistance and gender (Vigna, 2011); drugs and crime causation (Musto, Trajtenberg & Vigna, 2012); the role of prison officers and the exercise of power (Vigna, 2020), among others.

At regional level and local context, there is very scarce background knowledge about the subject matter, focused mostly on homelessness criminalization policies (Sinhoretto, Schilittler & Silvestre, 2016; Oliveira & Mazzuoli, 2018; cited in García, 2020: 101). Garcia's research (2020) shows how since the mid-1990s the street population in Brazil has not stopped increasing, reaching almost 100,000 in the country as a whole. Hand in hand, with this criminal policy on drug and property crimes have been intensified, falling heavily on the most vulnerable, in particular crack users, blacks, the poor and the street population (2020: 3). The study also shows how the street homeless population in San Pablo is the victim of violence and abuse by police officers during arrests. This situation has led to overcrowding in prisons, as the minimum penalty for drug trafficking offences has been raised and has favoured the interpretation of self-consumption behaviour as drug trafficking, criminalising it, a growing prison overpopulation has worsened the detainees (Ghiringhelli & Cifali, 2016; cited in García, 2020: 103).

In this vein, in Uruguay an essay by Camejo *et al.* (2014) argues that the implementation of the law on misdemeanours that criminalises the use of public spaces has led to the stigmatisation and exclusion of the most vulnerable people, together with state practices that seek to restore the rights of the most disadvantaged. Along the same lines, Ciapessoni and Vigna (2018) reflect on the role of housing in the process of desistance from crime, linking it to the growing criminalization policies for homeless. Finally, Ciapessoni (2019) reflects about prison violence linked with homelessness experiences at post prison trajectories.

In short, despite the academic contributions that are still isolated and incipient, up to now there is a very scarce amount of knowledge in many areas of homelessness research. The subject of homelessness and penal systems nexus is one such area.

3.7. Concluding remarks

Throughout this chapter, the main theoretical approaches on which this research is based were exposed. Through pathways analysis, this study is therefore able to incorporate a dynamic, multidimensional perspective, changes in the multidimensional perspective, and changes that occur at various points along each individual's trajectory while taking into account connected personal and institutional experiences, prior circumstances, and vulnerabilities in a particular location to gain depth.

Taking into account the political context and trends regarding homeless people, penal system and resettlement policies in Uruguay that were introduced in Chapter 1, the theoretical perspectives introduced above enable this study to explore in a new way the nexus mentioned above. In this regard, the coordinated union of this range of conceptual contributions together forms a harmonious whole from which it is possible to consider the relationship between homelessness and penal system nexus as a complex social problem that involves different aspects that go beyond individual circumstances or simply structural forces (Kemp, *et al.*, 2006; Pleace, 2016).

The different aspects to explore ranging from institutional system failures, community resettlement, environmental settings, patterns of housing exclusion, situational factors, as personal life story data, patterns of stability and change, meaningful relationships, peer influences, community participation, role changes, movements into or out of homelessness associated with drug abuse and offending, among others, are the basis for its construction as a sociological problem to which this study is devoted. Furthermore, contributions from labelling approaches, and prison conditions allow this study to consider their implications on the array of circumstances concerning people's living conditions, transitions and trauma implications.

Chapter 4

Methodological approach

4.1. Introduction

The present chapter looks into the detailed methodological approach selected for this research. It begins by introducing the research design as a guide to the fieldwork and data analysis on the fieldwork itself, an outline of the fieldwork conduction, introducing the limitations of the data collection methods. Following that, I will also present the data sources on which further this analysis relies. Therefore, semi-structured qualitative interviews alongside a quantitative technique, the life history calendar (LHC), were the privileged specific tools for studying connections between homelessness and penal systems through vital time. Then, the chapter examines the sampling procedures, gaining access, and discussion on ethical considerations in recruiting participants. The chapter ends with a description of the data analysis and coding process strategy followed.

4.2. Research aims

This research explores and examines a social realm in the urban context of Montevideo, Uruguay. It presents a thick description of social events (Gerring, 2007) through collecting quantitative and qualitative data retrospectively, relying on memories to understand their present lives and has oriented the methodological approach (Schwarz & Sudman, 1994; cited in Glen & Elder, 2013).

As outlined in the introduction, the main objective of this study is to explore the existence of the homelessness pathways with the penal system and its particularities for a sample of former inmates living in Montevideo. Along with this, the study explores in depth the potential factors and aspects that can be associated. Considering that, the implications of the outcome will contribute, and inform policy and practice in this area are discussed.

The aims and research questions of this study are explored within the context of Montevideo, Uruguay.

There are three specific objectives developed:

1. To explore the dynamics of homelessness, and contacts with the penal system over time, identifying similarities and differences in their pathway;

2. To study any role for the penal system in potentially increasing the risk of involvement in a homeless pathway after release;

3. To examine the existence and particularities of a 'revolving door´ for the sample of homeless former inmates.

To fulfil these ambitions, the research questions were:

1. How pathways through homelessness and imprisonment might be associated with one another over time?

2. How do lived experiences in prison impact the homeless pathway after release?

3. Does this association enable the existence of a revolving door between the night shelter and the penal systems with particular features from the Anglo-Saxon world?

To answer these questions, twenty in-depth interviews and twenty LHCs were conducted with homeless people who have already been arrested, for pre-eminent information sources.

4.3. Methodology rationale

The most relevant data of the thesis seeks to address a better understanding from a sample of life experiences of former homeless inmates. This approach entails echoing the participants' voice from problems and the realities regarding homelessness, imprisonment experiences, and related issues in their lives whatsoever. It also shows the processual unfoldment aspects and factors interrelated to achieve an in depth understanding of the homelessness association and the penal system. Thus, it presents a temporal term, and a multi-dimensional research approach has been proposed to provide a deep understanding of subtle aspects of the subject matter under scrutiny.

The research design took a concurrent embedded strategy of mixed methods research approach by which data was simultaneously collected (Creswell, 2009). The concurrent embedded strategy of mixed methods in this research allowed for gathering in chorus quantitative and qualitative data despite the qualitative methods predominating. As the purpose of this research is to shed light on those "hidden connections" (Morgan, 1988) by providing an understanding and interpretation of changes over, a qualitative approach was the leading method of the embedded research design. An embedded approach in mixed methods entails collecting data, at the same time or in parallel, with the

one already applied. However, the quantitative or qualitative primary method guides the research, and the second one provides a supporting role (nested or embedded) in the procedure, as depicted in Illustration 1 (Creswell, 2009).

Illustration 1. Concurrent embedded strategy from Creswell

qual	quan
QUAN	QUAL

Analysis of Findings   Analysis of Findings
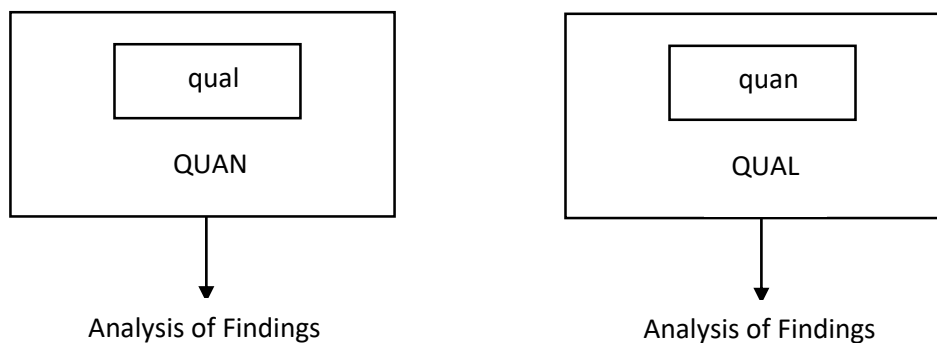
Source: Taken from Creswell (2009) adapted from Creswell *et al.* (2003)

The combined method approaches have helped for compensating the limitations and weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative methods acting single-handedly. During this process, they have enhanced the strengths of both, since its use intends to expand the scope of this research, to understand in-depth the complexities under study by using statically and qualitative techniques as well (Axinn & Pearce, 2006; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Creswell, 2014).

From an epistemological point of view, quantitative research seeks regularities from deductive reasoning, using statistical techniques for the generalizability of results from samples to the total population (Holland, Thomson & Henderson, 2006; Payne & Payne, 2004; Bryman, 2012). Nonetheless, the quantitative approach does not cover human perceptions, beliefs, and costumes (Gray & Costello, 1987), nor how people interpret their actions and others (Blaikie, 2007). Nor is it capable of providing the aims of this research a comprehensive depiction and understanding concerning the intricate housing exclusion and imprisonment experiences, neither respondents' assessments and feelings about personal experiences about that.

At the same time, the qualitative method relies on the inductive perspective, which draws attention to the specific context and its particularities. That includes perceptions, interrelated factors and motivations, reasons, and attitudes underlying biographical cases (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Qualitative methods enable knowing "*situation-specific experiences affect people's lives giving rise to illuminate*

important micro-social processes, such as how people subjectively negotiate the changes that occur in their lives at times of personal life transition" (Henwood & Lang, 2003: 49). However, among its weaknesses is often mentioned that qualitative research approaches exclude contextual sensitivities focusing more on meanings and experiences (Silverman, 2010), neglecting the social and cultural constructions of the variables studied (Richards & Richards, 1994). The analysis cases take a considerable amount of time, and, as expected in time, results in generalization from a larger population can be done in a very limited way (Flick, 2011).

Within this context, the decision of using mixed methods data collection has been based on the attempt to provide a more complex understanding of the subject matter, to counterbalance the weaknesses of each method with the strengths of the other (Kang, Kruttschnitt & Goodman, 2017).

In mixed methods research theoretical perspectives "guide the entire design" as an orienting lens that shapes the types of questions asked, who participates in the study, how data are collected, and the implications made from the study (Creswell, 2009). Furthermore, this investigation raises questions about the view on prison, resettlement barriers and pathways for the homeless, housing deprivation, and related disadvantages. In addition, there is an additional advantage of combining insights and procedures from both methodological approaches as regards the chance to deeply explore the dynamic interaction of human agency, subjective experience, and exogenous factors concerning specific contextualized social circumstances.

The proposed methodological approach combined quantitative and qualitative methodologies in order to accomplish an in-depth analysis of the intricacy of the problem being studied and to produce a multifaceted image of the subject matter.

In order to achieve the goals of the research, the rationale behind the multi-method approach used aimed to give this study from the triangulation *"more width, depth, diversity, interpretative richness and sense of understanding"* (Chaves-Montero, 2008: 16). As a result, the data generated by the variety of approaches employed provided a framework for its interpretation in a thorough, retrospective, and integrative manner, addressing some context-specific knowledge gaps.

The combination of the qualitative and quantitative data analysis *"provided an inductive lead to the analysis, preserving the value of the open, exploratory, qualitative inquiry but incorporating the focus and specificity of the quantitative data"* (Moran- Ellis et al, 2006: 54). Together with structural data gathered through quantitative methods, meanings, experiences, transitions, and behaviours derived

from qualitative interviews helped to construct a fuller and in-depth analysis for the participants' routes. Additionally, the analysis of the deprivation and its intertwined nature of sheltered and unsheltered homeless from official data street (introduced in the next chapter) allowed for a more in-depth analysis of the deprivation of the sheltered and unsheltered population, a general picture of the associations between homeless people's needs and deprivations addressed in various ways.

For the sample of this study, qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis allowed for the unravelling of the relationships and unobserved processes between homelessness and the penal system, which would not have been possible if a single research method were used due to their respective, above-mentioned limitations. Through the reconstruction of participant journeys into, through, and efforts to escape homelessness, housing, the penal system, shelters, and other institutions, the multi approach permitted the examination of the interplay between structure, institutional elements, and agency level (Kelle, 2001).

4.4. Data collection techniques

The methodological strategy followed the encompassed one that was used to compile accurate chronological information of the complex process between homelessness and the penal system pathways. Thus, qualitative semi-structured face-to-face interviews, as the primary method that led the research, together with the LHC method, as the second supported the former for complementarity, validity, and reliability of the data while it was collected. But, first, a brief structured questionnaire (presented in Appendix A) was applied to all the participants for this study. The data collection used in this research is detailed below.

4.4.1. Structured questionnaire

The brief questionnaire gathered cross-section socio-demographic information, employment & education, and homelessness & prison aspects were gathered to have instantaneous cross-section data, facilitating obtaining longitudinal and retrospective information afterward. The purpose of using the questionnaire was to have an overview and description of the basic information of the respondents. After that, LHCs and face-to-face qualitative interviews were made.

4.4.2. Qualitative interviews

Following Patton (2002) *"Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit. We interview to find out what is in and on someone's mind, to gather their stories"* (cited in DeVilbiss, 2014: 16).

Semi-structured interviews shed light on subtler aspects of respondents' experiences and their paths, heightening an overall understanding of their lived experience, meanings, needs, feelings, and concerns about the barriers they face. The qualitative semi-structured interviews provided deep insight into the subtle aspects of the factual circumstances collected, such as emotions, values, practice, the motives for behaviours, and attitudes. This type of interview *"stimulates discussion about past experiences and underlying processes that help explain behaviors, attitudes and emotions"* (Nelson, 2010).

In this way, there is the clearest insight into their perceptions of their pasts (Harding, *et al.*, 2016). An interview guideline was used (see Appendix B), which allowed us to explore the thematic areas of this study, allowing the interviewees to elaborate their visions and interpretations of the past, their self-conceptions, and subjective experience in the world (Harding, *et al.*, 2016). The orientation of the interview, supported by the construction of rapport, was used from then on to gather data on sensitive issues that marked the trajectories of the interviewees, which cannot be performed by the structured questionnaire of the LHC techniques. Empathy, respect, commitment, dedication, consideration in listening to people's experiences were the pillars underneath the use of interviews.

4.4.3. Life History Calendar

The LHC has been used to collect complex life history data in examining subjects related to patterns of criminal activity. The offender life course and desistance, deviance and homelessness patterns, people with troublesome lives, victimization, partner violence, drug use, and drinking for people who present reading difficulties, memory problems, or/and multiple changes over their life-course (Engel, Keifer & Zahm, 2001; Zahm, *et al.*, 2001; Sutton, 2010; Kruttschnitt & Goodman, 2017;; Horney *et al.*, 1995; Horney, Osgood & Marshall 1995; Roberts, Mulvey, Horney, Lewis & Arter, 2005; Yacoubian, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Caspi, *et al.*, 1995; Freedman, *et al.*, 1988; Kruttschnitt & Carbone-Lopez, 2006; Searles, *et al.*, 2000).

The LHC visual format enables participants to describe their own- experiences episodically (Yoshihama & Bybee, 2011). Also, it helps to improve the accuracy and completeness of the data by showing gaps and inconsistencies that can be corrected immediately (Axinn, Pearce & Ghimire, 1999). The information gathered through the LHC method is used to provide more accurate retrospective data based on auto-biographies and memory of respondents be supported by visual aids to help to remember (Freedman, *et al.*, 1988). In used conjointly with a qualitative interview it allows the researcher to use the LHC as a "guide" (Kang, Kruttschnitt & Goodman, 2017) since respondents are more "open" to refer to past and present experiences, providing information on the social contexts surrounding lives as well.

The LHC techniques were constructed with a two-dimensional grid, whose horizontal axis is related to the timeline (months, years) and age, and the vertical axis to the life domains of the respondents (Freedman, *et al.*, 1988). LHC method enriches the retrospective recall of events since respondents by using the grid and receiving visually contextual can easily locate in time relevant life events and attitudes associated with those events (Freedman, *et al.*, 1988; Belli, 1998; Axinn, Pearce & Ghimire, 1999; Nelson, 2010). Its visual nature helps interviewers be sure they have collected complete data (Axinn, Pearce & Ghimire, 1999).

Based on the LHC format of Freeman, *et al.* (1988), one LHC was built including different domains of life, such as criminal offense, prison, housing, and life situation, family, education, and health. The next data collection strategy was to address the data on early life situations, completing the typically necessary LHC sections and then moving between the various domains of life (Kang, Kruttschnitt & Goodman, 2017).

The LHC technique covered the whole period of the life course of respondents from childhood up to December 2017 (interviews were held from February 2018 up to July 2018). A long period of investigation can be considered as a methodological limitation, since the interviewees may present record problems, or confusion of time, as will be seen later in the analysis of the chapter, the information collected was crucial to understanding the issues dealt with, the dynamics and experiences that shaped their ways of living and imprisonment.The LHC variables previously defined were: 1) *living arrangements* (house/flat rented by prisoner or partner; rent-free in a house or flat rented or owned by someone else; house/flat owned by prisoner or partner; paying board in a house or flat owned by someone else; homeless/sleeping rough; homeless before custody, not homeless before custody,

paying board in a house or flat rented by someone else; homeless/temporary accommodation; house/flat part-owned); 2) *lived with whom* (both biological parents, biological mother on her own, biological father on his own, adoptive/foster parents, etc.,); 3) *place of residence* (Montevideo, other cities in Uruguay, rural areas, abroad); 4) *criminal activities* (assault, fraud, blackmail, vandalism, gender violence, child neglect, etc.); 5) *Criminal Justice involvement* (prison, probation/parole, served community work, home detention, etc.); 6) *employment categories* (permanent/fixed-term employee, self-employed, unpaid employee, casual employee, unemployed); 7) *health issues* (anxiety, depression or bad nerves, psychiatric problems, alcohol or drug-related problems or misuse, epilepsy, stroke, hepatitis, tuberculosis, HIV, giving up drugs, multiple drugs); 8) *social services* (health/care services, training/employment, etc); 9) *significant events* (parents split, parent(s) disabled, witnesses gender violence, experience family violence/abuse, death mother/father, run away from home, left School, start involving in criminal activity/anti-social behaviour, etc).

This method was enhanced and polished as the interviews went on in an effort to capture accurate data, which would then allow for a better analysis and interpretation of the data collected. In the LHC, codes that were not previously specified were added as a result of testimony that frequently mentioned subtypes of criminal behaviour, various forms of victimization while homeless, and health issues.

4.5. Limitations of methods

To accomplish the outlined research aims, I conducted by myself all the structured questionnaires, qualitative interviews, and LHCs with homeless former offenders living in night shelters, public places, and in the hostel for release in Montevideo. This meant an invaluable turning point in my life since gathering by myself first-hand information enabled me to delve into diverse, difficult, and complex realities of respondents' lives which were of utmost importance for the analysis and interpretation of the findings.

One of the driving forces behind the mixed methods approach selected for this research was methodological curiosity, and in this concern, the application of LHCs together with qualitative interviews allowed to gain an all-embracing knowledge of the subject matter, considering to hitherto ignored issues in the association of homelessness and imprisonment research. In these lines, it is important to mention that information gathered was restricted to interviewees' self-report and narratives. No attempt to verify their past criminal records and prison sentences were made.

Despite this, as the main objective here is to obtain data on distant events, on the paths of the interviewees, and their narratives about homeless and prison experiences, the methodological decision is validated within the research design. The mixed-methods approach enables exploration and analysis of thoroughly participants' pathways issue retrospective data related to complex contextual circumstances, the implications of imprisonment on homeless pathways, the consequences of institutional violence, the lack of social support, and resettlement policies, among others that will be presented.

Given that the respondents might have been distressed since they remembered stressful events along with their lives during the interviews, special care was taken when asking questions to avoid a detrimental psychological impact (Pickering, 2003). Taking this into account, the distance between researcher and respondent already exists. There is clarity and transparency in the questions, there is sensitivity and empathy to give them a voice, and also the interpretation of their views from their own lived experiences.

The methods approach used allowed to apart from stereotypical views about homeless with prison experiences generally based on individual failures and behaviours as explanatory causes. In doing so, providing insights on the complexity of the association by shedding light on peoples' pathways and demystifying any stereotypes contribute to informing social policy about the need to overcome the implementation of punitive and exclusionary measures to tackle the problem. In this regard, this study contributes not only by innovating methodologically and theoretically concerning the association between homelessness and criminal justice, but also informing policy and practice with evidence-based information for the local case.

However, despite the embedded strategy providing the advantage to collect high-quality qualitative and quantitative data simultaneously, some drawbacks and limitations inherent to the collecting process of a different kind of data concurrently arose during fieldwork.

Firstly, the methodological decision of adding data gathered, from the LHC technique to the qualitative interview, was based on O'Carroll (2010) to improve the capacity to link qualitative stories more precisely to the chronology of individuals and their context. Nevertheless, gathering quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously by myself was a complex task but generated insights (Creswell, 2009). Contradictions, gaps, omissions, or underreporting of events in a graphical-temporal regarding housing moves were a constant in filling out the LHC. This meant at the beginning of fieldwork was a process a bit frustrating for the researcher. However, when the interviewees did not remember about their

homes or prison paths or, still, life experiences, they were reminded (through photos) about the different periods and social events in Uruguay, as the beginning of the dictatorship in 1973 and the end of it (1984). Several Presidents (1989, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015) and the 2010 FIFA World Cup were also brought to the fore to minimize memory errors associated with time (presented in Appendix C).

Second, it was a complicated and time-consuming process to complete the LHC by myself while I had to go more in-depth in important topics of concern at the same time (e.g. especially those concerning traumatic events or significant positive ones). Other drawbacks were related, for instance, to resuming the dialogue after a significant event that required going in deep.

Finally, it is important to mention that the difficulties that arose in the collection of data in the public space, as well as in the connection between the researcher and the participant, since contingencies inherent to this specific scenario (for example, walking people, loud noises) generated more conflicts in the process. It is important to mention that, for the following chapters of analysis, the interviews, LHCs, and structured questionnaires were translated from Spanish into English, since they were performed at the study site and in the native language.

4.6. Sampling

This study focuses on "visible" and official homelessness, as was stated previously. A purposive sample consisting of twenty-five male participants with an age range of twenty-five to fifty- five who have had (at least) a conviction sentence in the adult penal system for (at least) an offense committed by themselves was used. The official homeless venues for social services purposes in Montevideo are public night shelters, streets/public spaces, and hostels for released homeless, where research participants were residing at the time of the interviews. Purposive sampling is employed in exploratory research such as this study because it permits the exploration of novel or unexplored social phenomena and the illumination of key elements necessary for a deeper comprehension of social problems (Dezin & Lincoln, 2000). Purposive sampling is a sort of non-probability sampling in which the items picked for the sample are chosen in accordance with the researcher's criteria (Sautu et al, 2005). As Patton (2002) makes clear: *"The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term purposeful sampling. Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations"* (Patton, 2002: 13).

This, therefore, is not (and could not be) an attempt to represent the entire population of homeless ex-offenders; rather, it is an attempt to gather and analyse broadly typical and in-depth experiences.

According to previous studies examined in Chapter 2 (Hopper et al., 1997; Kuhn & Culhane, 1998; Culhane, 2018), a small number of research participants have ever experienced chronic homelessness (few episodes lasting several long years), and a few have ever experienced episodic homelessness (multiple and more so shorter stays). They share many of the same complicated needs as the previously described homeless groups who were studied in the baseline research, including issues with substance addiction and mental health, among many others.

The results should now be understood in light of the previously mentioned factors. The sampling does not include temporary homeless people or people who have successfully found a long-term solution to their homelessness because it is concentrated on extreme homelessness pathways with criminal justice issues. These two categories of homeless former convicts may have different needs, difficulties, and experiences with homelessness and resources.

4.7. Recruitment of the participants and conducting fieldwork

Fieldwork, participant recruitment, and interviewing happened through approved means for conducting research in Montevideo (Uruguay). Based on the social services that the homeless use periodically (night shelters, outreach teams, hostels for released), and through formal requests to the participating institutions, the participants were recruited. The recruitment of respondents was made possible by the support of the Ministry of Social Development (MIDES) who facilitated the interviews with respondents in night shelters and with unsheltered respondents. DINALI facilitated the interviews with respondents in the hostel for release.

The Homeless Program and Monitoring and Evaluation Unit from MIDES provided me with a list of potential respondents, and a list of substitutes, both taken from night shelters representative survey 2017 and census of unsheltered homeless 2016 according to the eligibility criteria mentioned. The data base was completely de-identified, containing only information by age, prison experience, and the night shelter where he was sleeping. Afterward, the Homeless Programme Director informed personnel from night shelters and the outreach team that this research was going to take place. A complete information sheet for the staff of night shelters, and the outreach team explaining the research aims, as well as the need to do the interviews at an agreed time and date was given.

Telephone calls were made to the different night shelters supervisors and personnel from the outreach team, asking for participants with the criteria selected registered in the census. If a respondent or his substitute were no longer in the shelter, the management was consulted about other potential respondents who complied with the criteria. The same procedure was followed with people sleeping rough through the street outreach team. The street outreach team contacted ten respondents to take part in the research. Those who did not participate outlined that they did not want to talk about their personal lives, including prison experiences.

The literature about hard-to-reach populations has shown great difficulty in accessing street homeless mentioned the problems of recruiting them for a no misrepresented for research, policy, and service purposes (Sydor, 2013; Agadjanian & Zotova, 2012; Atkinson & Flint, 2001).

Accessing and establishing trust among difficult-to-reach socio-disadvantaged or stigmatised people (Lutfun, 2020) is a challenging undertaking without the aid of "trusted referents" or "gatekeepers" (Reeves, 2010; Russell, Touchard, & Porter, 2002). In this vein, access to potential study participants as well as entry into daily places are challenges that are currently being discussed and reported in accounts of the research field (Murphy & Dingwall, 2001; Harris, 1997; Mulhall, 2003). The difficulties in collecting data from marginalized and vulnerable populations are highlighted in referencing literature about interactions with gatekeepers to perform fieldwork as these gatekeeper roles have an ethical impact on human subjects (Campbell et al, 2006; Reeves, 2010). Those who grant access to information, resources, and people are referred to as gatekeepers in general, and their actions directly affect how individuals enter and access a field (Campbell *et al*, 2006; Reeves, 2010).

After the outreach team approved the potential interview subjects, the researcher was informed of the participants' availability, and a time and day were chosen for meeting the subjects in person to conduct the interviews. It is important to stress that I have never been close to anyone on the outreach team either personally or professionally. Moments before starting my fieldwork, I knew the staff. The Street Program administrators advised the researcher to arrive interview locations (public places) frequented by street homeless people along with two other members of the outreach team in order to prevent the awkward scenario that could arise from the researcher's lack of familiarity with the respondents. This recommendation was accepted, but not before examining the effects on the accessibility conditions in terms of benefits and negatives.

Being a stranger might have made it more difficult to establish trust with the interviewees, which is a potential drawback. It might have certain drawbacks, such respondents being hesitant to share key

information or leaving out other vital material for analysis because they assumed I was from MIDES or another official organisation. Nevertheless, the outreach staff was involved in facilitating access to interviewees who were homeless on the streets right away. I informed the possible volunteers that I was an independent researcher working on my doctoral thesis and that I had no official role in MIDES or affiliation with any governmental organisations.

Additionally, it was expressly stated to the interview subjects prior to data collection that the researcher did not already know the members of the outreach team, nor did she collaborate with them or participate in the homeless street programme. It was also brought up that I knew nothing about their life save for the study criteria that had been used to choose them (age, imprisonment experience). They were informed that the information they provided would not be made public and that, as sheltered interviewees and those from the hostel who were being released, they would not be eligible to receive any MIDES assistance or other government benefits as compensation for participating in the interview.

I also considered the benefits of using the outreach team to reach the people, such as the fact that the interviewees were already familiar with the staff. The outreach team's strategy is compassionate, respectful, and supportive—far from being punishing, as in the case of the local police.

The following steps were taken in the interview situations when doing fieldwork in public areas: *first*, unsheltered homeless were approached in a first instance by a social worker from the street outreach team due to being frequently in contact with them, providing social support, and following-up. They asked once again if he wanted to participate in the research (more detail in the Ethics procedure section) explaining that it was not compulsory to participate. After the respondents' agreement, *second*, I approached to the participant, and introduced myself explaining the research aims and the usage of the data. *After* the interviewee gave me his consent, the outreach street team left the interview site, respecting the need to establish a private dialogue between the interviewee and the interviewer. In some instances, they remained close by (about 100 metres away). Occasionally, the staff members went to see another adjacent street homeless person as I was completing the interview.

The researcher's task was to try to establish rapport while also trying to build trust, which made it difficult to gather sensitive data. It was a difficult task that was *"fraught with ethical and emotional challenges"* (Reeves, 2010: 329). The researcher aimed to instil a sense of trust in the respondents so they would feel comfortable sharing their past experiences.

Finally, it is important to consider how middle-class women approach the fieldwork by interviewing homeless men who are socially disadvantaged and have numerous needs. Women are seen as *"protecting"* and less threatening than men, which makes it easier for them to conduct fieldwork with vulnerable male populations, according to some studies. However, female researchers may also be viewed as less qualified or reliable (Gurney, 1991: 379; cited in Reeves, 2010: 320). In order to reduce the inherent challenges of access among the population, as was previously indicated, it was crucial to build a relationship with the respondents through the *"researcher positionality"* (Jaffe & Miller, 1994; referenced in Russell, Touchard & Porter, 2002: 15).

From a methodological perspective, it is important to keep in mind that the information gathered is constrained and circumscribed by the fact that the data was gathered by a woman in a hostile atmosphere from an excluded community. However, it should be noted that, with the exception of one interview (described below), where the respondent verbally abused the researcher while under the influence of drugs, the interview situations were felt to be comfortable and confident (considering differences in age, gender, and social class).

Three out of six interviews were held at that time the venue the person was encountered; the other two interviews were set up for the next day at the venue respondents frequently sleep. The interviews were conducted in the morning or in the early afternoon without the presence of members of the street team. I decided that six interviews with street homeless were adequate since they covered the whole range of topics of this study (theoretical saturation), considering, also, that contacts with people sleeping rough with criminal justice problems were difficult to establish, and the opportunity of building rapport was even more complex than with the rest of the interviewees.

After meeting with the hostel director and the director of DINALI to discuss the study's objectives and selection criteria, I performed the final five interviews. Twelve recently released homeless people were residing in the newly opened hostel for released a week before the interviews. After being consulted by the hostel team, five of them who fit the sampling requirements for this research gave their consent to take part in the research. Only one interview per person was held as follows: fourteen interviewees with homeless former inmates in night shelters, six interviewees with homeless former inmates in streets/public places, and five interviewees in the hostel for released offenders.[49] The end of fieldwork

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[49] Regarding the dissimilar number of interviewees, that the vast majority of homeless people sleep in night shelters, and therefore, a good number of possible interviewees were there.

was manifest after reaching data saturation, the point in data collection when no additional issues are identified, data begin to repeat, and further data collection becomes redundant (Kerr, Nixon & Wild, 2010; cited in Hennink, *et al.*, 2017). Five of the twenty-five interviews were discarded for analysis of the chapters for the following reasons. First, an interview with a homeless ex-convict living on the street was interrupted within 10 minutes during the questionnaire because he was on drugs. As the risk assessment document highlights, the interview has to be canceled to avoid greater risks to the researcher's safety. The interviewee began to respond aggressively to my questions and make inappropriate comments about me. Secondly, other interviewee sleeping rough did not agree with the recodings on audio. In this case, as the Ph.D. ethics procedure highlights, detailed notes were taken during the interview. However, this interview was discarded from the analysis because he did not provide clear answers about his experiences relevant to this study. Finally, three interviews held in night shelters were eliminated, since the interviewees did not feel comfortable talking about their experiences in prison and they asked to finish the interview. Thus, the interviews were completed as requested.

Interviews in night shelters and the hostel lasted approximately 1 hour and 20 minutes each. Those held in public places took less time to complete, lasting around 40-50 minutes for each one of them.[50]

According to the information collected in the structured questionnaire for all the selection sampling, the average age of respondents in this study is 39.8 years old. The average age of the respondents from the night shelters is 42 years, while for the rough sleepers it is 40 years, and for those living in the hostel for released is 35 years. Only two respondents are over 50 years old (52 and 56) and the youngest is 26 years old. Regarding formal schooling, nineteen of the total respondents stated that they had attended elementary school (six years of education), two of the respondents never attended primary school, and four of the respondents stated that they had incompleted high school basic education.

Concerning the marital status of the interviewees, the broad majority described themselves as single, followed by single/divorced, and one declared himself as married. Almost half of the interviewees worked as parking attendant. The average age of their first crime was at 15 years-old for the

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[50] The Table E.1 in Appendix E shows the timescales and the activities for the fieldwork held.

respondents in night shelters, followed by those who sleep rough with an average age of 20 years at the time of their first crime, and 24 years old for those respondents who inhabit the hostel for released.

4.8. Ethical implications

Ethical approval for the project was granted by the Department of Social policy and Social Work Ethics Committee at the University of York on August, 2017.

The research was explained to every participant and they were asked if they were interested in taking part in the study. As specifically stated in the ethical application (approved by the SPSW ethics committee), no payments, reimbursements, expenditures, or other incentives were given to participants in this study[51].

It was made clear during the recruitment process for this study that individuals' involvement was completely voluntary and there was no payment involved. Taking into account the socio-cultural context of the research and the nature of the study, three key justifications for not providing monetary incentives, vouchers or gifts, or other presents were taken into account.

First, because participation in academic research is strongly and deeply ingrained in socio-cultural practise in Uruguay, human subjects are typically recruited voluntarily. Therefore, there was no need to provide compensation to make participation easier. Additionally, a methodological justification stated that after reaching the saturation point, it was not required to encourage or seek out new homeless participants because this research project did not work with a statistically representative sample of homeless ex-offenders. Finally, by not providing financial incentives, the risk of engaging in unethical behaviour such as *"exploitative behaviour" (taking unfair advantage of a person or group in a transaction or relationship)* (Wertheimer, 1999: cited in Resnik, 2015: 5) or *"unduly inducing"* (Resnik, 2015: 3) or *"bias in the study results"* was minimised to the maximum (Russell et al, 2000: 128).

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[51] It is crucial to keep in mind that while providing financial incentives to human subjects is a common practise in English-speaking nations like the UK and some Central American nations like Costa Rica, it is less common in Uruguay, especially when subjects are involved in academic theses or student research projects. Incentives and little snacks are frequently given as tokens of appreciation for participants' time and cooperation in market research conducted by consulting firms.

Afterward made agreements for an interview, for an agreed time and day with the respondents were done. At the moment of the interview, the researcher introduced herself and explained again the purposes of his participation in the research, the confidentiality and anonymous character of the data to be collected. Each participant was provided with the Thesis Information Sheets, and the Consent Form (translated into Spanish, as interviews were conducted in Spanish). Interviewees were informed that the information collected from the questionnaire, LHC, and face-to-face interviews will be used only for the research.

It was also clarified from the beginning that before they agreed to their participation, they understood the research aims, what was involved, and how the data was going to be used. Also, it was stated that they did not have to participate in the research if they did not want to, emphasizing that there was no penalty for not participating in it. It was clarified to the respondents that they would not feel pressured to participate in the study and if they could withdraw from the study at any time from the interview. It was explicitly mentioned to them that no personal names or other identifiable data would appear to protect their anonymity and the state of confidentiality of themselves.

The consent form explicitly states that if a participant suffers emotionally or physically during face-to-face contact with the researcher, the interviews will be interrupted. Thus, participants had the option of interrupting the interview if they felt distressed. The researcher would pause the interview or change the subject explicitly when a respondent was emotionally sensitive to certain questions.

The explicit written consent form, so that they could participate in the survey, was given to the interviewees before the data collection of the questionnaire. Participants were asked for authorization to record the interviews (audio). If this request was denied (as it happened in one interview), hand-written notes were taken. Also, participants were informed that from the recordings some direct quotations were going to be extracted for the thesis, thesis papers, and dissemination activities.

Interviews were identified with subsequent numbers and were saved securely protecting the identities of the interviewees. Data gathered was stored securely, kept safe, making interviewees clear that information was used only for this thesis (extracted papers and dissemination activities).

4.9. Data analysis

It is essential to remember that an inherent characteristic of this research is the small number of participants in the sample. The validity of the analysis is restricted to the particular cases studied, without generalizing the results to a larger population of homeless with Criminal Justice problems.

As previously shown, the structured questionnaire provided descriptive data on the individual attributes of the interviewees. It was the first step towards a more in-depth and highly elaborate analysis of the LHCs data and qualitative interviews.

The analyses presented in the following chapters draw from the two data sources used in this research: the qualitative interviews and the LHCs techniques. The chance of having drawn together information from each of the two detailed data sets allowed one to gain a rich chronological understanding of housing movements, several disadvantages, trauma experiences, events and transitions, stressors that respondents faced in several life domains. Also, the manners that they made sense of the shapes and turns of their lives in a particular temporal and institutional setting. In what follows, the different analysis strategies for each data source, and the data integration strategy are described.

4.9.1. Qualitative analysis

To get insight into the participants' life experiences and how they perceive the world, it used a narrative analysis of the retrospective qualitative data (Roberts, 2002; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Cohler, 1982). Personal histories become the *"raw data or its product"* (Bleakley, 2005: 534) in the social sciences when using the narrative approach, an interpretive and *"storytelling methodology"* (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003; Richte *et al.*, 2019). This type of qualitative research is focused on individual experiences (written or verbal) and the meanings ascribed to them, as well as activities framed within a particular space-time (Polkinghorne, 1988; Laslett, 1999; Mc Adams, 2008; Gill, 2001; Riessman, 1990; 2004). Oral histories, memoirs, letters, and interviews are among the many ways to gather narrative information about people's lives (Sparkes & Davies, 2007: 51).

The narrative approach's strength comes in its ability to intend *"to understand our subjects better"* (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000: 32) by offering social representations of complete and extensive accounts of significant experiences. Feelings, emotions, setting and time, interpretations of the past, and *"uncertainty, complexity, and dynamism in personal stories"* (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003: 5) all play a significant part in the narrator's account: *"Stories recreate an experience in ways that allow the*

personal, cultural, and historical ground to remain present" (Gill, 2001: 339). Narratives are essentially temporal, unfolding life key events (Fronzosi, 2010; Harding, et al., 2016) stressing some crucial events, scenes or ''themes'' and the individual perceptions of them (Orbush, 1997).

Since narratives focused research aims to comprehend vital experiences as narrated by those who live them (Chase, 2011; cited in Ogden, 2014: 54), going beyond merely "what" happened (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012; Orbush, 1997; Cohler, 1982) were of utmost importance in this research revealing subtle aspects of participants' intricate lives, between the homeless and experiences in prison, as well as their narratives of emotionally sensitive events, and the meanings attached to those experiences.

As was stated at the beginning of this study, the association with the penal system in Montevideo remains understudied. The narrative approach was appropriate for this research because it allowed for the deconstruction of the scope of peoples' experiences along their pathways, shedding light on sufferings, complexities, but also pointing at their capacity for action, from their testimonies. The idea put forth by Langellier is that "*Embedded in the lives of the ordinary, the marginalised, and the muted, personal narrative responds to the disintegration of master narratives as people make sense of experience, claim identities, and 'get a life' by telling and writing their stories"* (Langellier, 2001: 700; cited in Riessman, 2005: 14).

In addition, narratives are an effective methodological tool for analysing how participants make sense of the relationship between the past, present, and future (Riessman, 2005) as well as how structural and cultural processes influence social identities and attitudes (Harding, et al., 2016: 262). Additionally, the personal accounts from a highly unusual and remote setting to conventional approaches on the topic provided the potential for previously overlooked significant parts and dimensions of the problem. As a result, the narrative technique allowed the researcher to delve into and develop individual lives while also enabling them to "*forge connections with social structure"* (Riessman, 2005: 6).

One of the drawbacks of narrative analysis highlighted by the referential literature is its overemphasis on personal subjectivity, which can distort the narratives and can be avoided by using a complementary method of acquiring objective data (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997; Bury, 2001; Ferber, 2000). In this instance, as was emphasised above, the life history calendar technique served to supplement the provided meaning, sentiments, and past experiences by gathering factual personal history data.

An interview guideline was used to elicit narratives, which allowed us to explore the thematic areas of this study, enabling the interviewees to elaborate their visions and interpretations of the past, their self-conceptions, and subjective experience in the world (Harding, *et al*., 2016) "*complementing with the probing questions*" (Butina, 2015: 192) of the life history calendar technique also applied. Verbatim transcripts of every interview were made in order to handle the vast volume of qualitative material, and sections of the transcripts were then picked for close inspection in accordance with the dimensions of analysis (Riesmann, 2005).

Following Thomson (2007), a *"case history"* of each respondent was created, detailing how specific events played out, their own experiences, and how they changed over time (2007: 574). Vignettes from biographical data were used to illustrate how narratives were arranged according to themes, patterns, and categories (Riesmann, 2005; Sparks & Devs, 2007). The narrative analysis followed, was interpretative in nature (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003), identifying differences and similarities in experiences and actions (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003: 5).

Following the study aims, the main thematic areas of qualitative analysis were: housing/homelessness, offending activity, criminal justice system, health issues, community resettlement. Qualitative information was analysed using *Nvivo*, a software for qualitative data analysis. This software allows the researcher to fully visualize, connect and analyse the vast and complex information collected. This way, there is greater validity and the research becomes more robust and complete.

The first coding stage (see Appendix D) consisted in addressing descriptive codes concerning events, transitions, and turning points in the mentioned areas (e.g. family relations, poverty, victimization, antisocial opportunities, housing instability and drift and out of homelessness, feeling, thoughts, consequences of the rule enforcement and prison conditions on respondents' identity, living situations after release, changing complex needs, life circumstances, feelings of coming back, social support, drug use/abuse, among others).

As the information on the temporal ordering and timing of life events, tuning points, risks and transitions was already provided by the LHC technique, the coding process was focused on emotions, feelings, evaluations, social interactions and context, process, motives, attitudes, self-appraisals, barriers, meanings, opinions, etc., associated with those experiences.

I labelled with descriptive codes relevant fragments of the interviews, and then in the second wave of coding, I moved away to a more categorical analytical and theoretical level of coding (Gibbs, 2003).

Soon after, from the interpretative approach, the way they understand and the meaning of their life experiences were evaluated, summarizing the main relative topics on housing changes, prison experiences and homelessness shelter, resettlement events, and transitions. Similarities and differences in housing and imprisonment pathways were taken into consideration together with the age and timing of those experiences.

4.9.2. LHCs data analysis

As was highlighted earlier, the LHC quantitative technique helps to increase the quality of records about different axes that interact in a complex way and simultaneously over time (Roberts & Horney, 2009). These instruments that guide recall play a crucial role when it comes to people with "high levels of volatility" in their activity patterns, such as people who have suffered periods of incarceration or critical situations of housing vulnerability (Sutton, 2010; Horney, *et al.*, 1995). As previously described, the LHCs were used to explore the objectives of the differences between the pathways relative to what happened, in terms of movements across different living situations through participants' whole lives.

A central piece of information in the LHCs is on what happened in terms of housing after the first prison sentence or the first homeless experience and before the entrance to some of these living situations. An analysis of the LHCs in Chapter 7 attempted to describe how different living situations tend to be associated in the life trajectories of the interviewees, at the moment of crucial events, entries and exits of homelessness, prison and precarious housing; changes from one housing situation to another, among other issues. The main purpose of chapter 7 is to provide a descriptive study of the LHCs and to detail the specifics of a cycle of homelessness and the penal system.

According to Maxwell (2014), "*the main objective of coding in quantitative research is to obtain frequency counts of the items in each category by applying a pre-established set of categories to the data in accordance with clear, unambiguous norms*" (Maxwell, 2014: 144). In light of this, regarding the LHCs coding process, a quantitative description of LHCs was based on a set of criteria for the codification of imperfectly structured information.

The applied LHC recorded the corresponding codes for all the situations that each respondent declared to have experienced in each year regarding each of the nine considered fields. The information contained in the LHCs required a detailed consistency check, mainly seeking coherence among the sequence of reported changes in different variables. In the cases where inconsistencies were found,

or errors were suspect, a revision of the corresponding interview was carried out to reach the most coherent overall recording of the problematic period.

The description of the main results became more illustrative after aggregating response categories in several variables since there is a considerable degree of detail captured within recorded information. Thus, a recodification was carried out, joining the most similar items, and dropping some codes corresponding to categories that were not observed in the LHCs sample.

It is important to bear in mind that even if events were recorded yearly, a respondent was able to report several events in the same variable for a particular year, and they frequently did so. In that case, all the reported events were recorded and duly ordered within that year, so the sequence of events or situations was respected. One limitation of the resulting database is that the precise duration of events or situations is unknown, but even if some instruments were used to guide recall, this fuzziness of specific dates is a constraint that is shared by most retrospective approaches.

In several cases, the respondents declared more than one (and up to eight) different situations within a person-year-field cell. In these cases, the order of the corresponding codes is informative on how situations followed each other, but there is no information on the duration of each situation within that year. It could be, for instance, that the first situation recorded lasted only a few days in January, and the second situation was experienced during the rest of the year, and we cannot differentiate this situation from the opposite one where the second situation lasted only the last few days of the year. Chapter 7 needs to be interpreted taking into account this limitation for describing the duration of each situation within a year. The issue of multiple situations within a year has important consequences on the time structure of the data.

Chapter 7 is focused on movements across situations, and not on each one's duration. Hence, it was choosen to transform the data from person-year-field observations with multiple situation codes within a cell, to person-year-field-situation observations, where in some cases the duration could be shorter than a year, but how much shorter it really was unknown. Except for the issue of multiple codes within a cell, the original structure of the LHC allows for a simple description of frequencies and also for the analysis of individual trajectories and how they move across different situation during their life course.

4.9.3. Data integration

A concurrent integration strategy for analysis was used from the complementary sources of data before the conclusions of the study were made (Bazeley & Kemp, 2011; Bazeley, 2012). Quantitative and qualitative data were analysed separately but concurrently during the analysis to obtain an understanding enriched and elaborated on the phenomenon under study. Personal and background life story data, situational contingencies, patterns of stability and change, environmental settings, meaningful relationships, peer influences, among others, were some of the themes and categories analysed from the qualitative interviews and LCHs.

The complementary data sources inform each other and allow the researcher to look at patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, and make interpretations (Hatch, 2002). Following Greene, Caracelli & Garraham's (1989) concept of triangulation, the data analysis and interpretation procedures sought convergence or corroboration through the use of different methods, for complementarity. Results from one method were used to elaborate or clarify results from another method, and development used results from one method to develop or inform the other method.

Taking into this account, the analysis of the information served in a first stage to: 1) establish a complete picture of the respondent housing pathway since childhood, pointing out the types of living arrangements he remembered having lived in and with whom, episodes of homelessness (hidden), housing instability or extreme precarious conditions being alone or with his family, homelessness risks and factors, age of the first homelessness episode, use of shelters, etc.; 2) understand the implications of childhood experiences (poverty or severe income poverty, health problems, institutionalization, violence at home, childhood trauma and deprivation, physical and mental health problems, rejection or child neglect, family conflict, abusive experiences, type of peers, close relative homeless or offender, among others; and 3) explore the beginning of offending and homelessness experiences during childhood, youth or adulthood (age of involvement, age of first homelessness episode, types of crimes, drug use, the role of meaningful relationships, street culture activities).

In a second stage data was used to: 4) explore the complexities in the intersection of homeless and offending pathways (street-hidden experiences, social capital of the street, the relevance of the immediate context, street culture activities, begging, survival shoplifting, health problems, misdemeanour law, zig zags in and out of criminal activity, family and institutional support, etc.); 5) explore the role of the criminal system in homeless pathways of the interviewees (impact of prison experiences and consequences of the rule enforcement and prison conditions on respondents', prison

visits, prison activities, intrapersonal violence or police abuse, consequences of victimization and/or abuse during incarceration, stress and emotional harm, health and mental issues, social support, rehabilitation programs, type of penalties like solitary confinement, feelings of restoring their lives after prison, the moment of release; and 6) establish the difficulties of the community reintegration process (factors affecting desistance, identity changes, agency capacity, experiences of social isolation upon leaving the prison, the impact of previous homelessness experiences, institutional social support and family support).

4.10. Concluding remarks

This chapter has offered the methodological stance to address the study questions, the data collection methods, sample methodologies, getting access, and ethical considerations in participant recruitment. Additionally, the study's limitations and scope were discussed.

This importance of the research strategy that combines the use of qualitative interviews with LHC techniques has also been demonstrated in this section. This strategy enables the researcher to address the dynamics, changes and complexity of the subject under scrutiny in accordance with the research goals set. Achieving confidence and positive rapport were of a pivotal importance to feel participants accepted and respected by the researcher (Tewksbury & Gagne, 1996, p. 128; cited in Russell, Touchard & Porter, 2002: 4). From their generously openess about life events that are naturally sensitive participants' accounts provided this study not only the experiences and meaning associated with homelessness pathways, but also, the chance to identify particularities and issues regarding the interconnectedness existing between homelessness, criminal justice, and a broader exclusionary circtuit in their journeys.

The next section provides a general overview of the relationships between the needs and deprivations of homeless persons across a variety of dimensions, including housing deprivation and prison experiences, as a preliminary introduction to the chapters' study.

The intent is to present important data regarding various deprivations experienced by homeless users of the public shelter system and those sleeping rough, as reported by MIDES's Montevideo-based Census of Unsheltered Homeless (2016) and Sheltered Survey (2017). A comparison of the two groups was thought to be helpful for setting the background and shedding light on the differences and

similarities between them in core areas as this was the first time that official data on the characteristics of persons sleeping rough was available.

Chapter 5

Providing context: accumulation of privations among homeless people in Montevideo

5.1. Introduction

As we saw from Chapter 1, the official definition of homelessness in Uruguay encompasses two groups that share many characteristics but are also different in many senses. In the analysis of the dynamics of homelessness and prison experiences, the distinction between sheltered homeless and population sleeping rough will be necessary to provide context to individual paths. Henceforth, this section describes the differences and similitudes between sheltered and unsheltered homeless, relying on deprivations stated by previous literature. The analysis gives a general picture of the associations between deprivations and needs in multiple dimensions, including housing deprivation and prison experiences[52].

As has been emphasised throughout this thesis' earlier chapters, the international empirical evidence asserts that single homeless people have multiple and interrelated problems (poverty, very scarce education attainment, high levels of alcoholism, mental health needs, multiple drug use, few income and financial difficulties, break up family ties, and problems with criminal justice (Neale, 2001; Pleace, 1998; Brown *et al.*, 2012; Kemp *et al.*, 2006; Bramley *et al.*, 2015; Parsell, 2009).

Rough sleepers have even worse indicators on health and wellbeing due to a greater health deterioration (e.g. heart problems, muscle and skeletal diseases, or digestive and respiratory disorders), a high prevalence of infectious-contagious diseases (e.g. tuberculosis) (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2000; 2011), and use of hard injecting drugs (Kemp *et al.*, 2006; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2012).

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[52] It is worth noting that these are two groups from the point of view of the data and the analysis. However, the division between them is fuzzy, because for a given individual alternating between the two groups can be frequent (while it is not for some of the members of each group). In any case, it is safe to say that for one person in one given night, it is mostly a matter of choice to be in one or the other group because there is almost no unmet demand for shelter beds, especially during the period considered here.

There is also evidence that rough sleepers are at higher risk of harassment, physical abuses and victimization, and show elevated levels of life-threatening behaviours, including high-risk injecting practices, suicide attempts, and different forms of self-harm (Greene & Ringwalt 1996, Reid & Klee 1999; cited in Kemp *et al*., 2006: 320). Furthermore, they have difficulties in access to support, which aggravates securing both drug treatment and more general health services (Fitzpatrick *et al*., 2000; Craig *et al*., 1996; Pleace *et al*., 2001; Greenwood, 1992; Neale *et al*., 2001).

5.2. Single homelessness in Montevideo in 2016 and 2017

As was previously stated in Chapter 1, the 2016 census on homeless during one given night in Montevideo, conducted by MIDES, exhibited a significant increase in the number of homeless people compared to the 2011 census, both in sheltered and unsheltered homeless. Only five years had passed between them, and homeless population sleeping rough increased by 26%, reaching 556 street homeless. On the other hand, population in night shelters augmented by 59% in the inter-census period, attaining the unprecedented figure of 1,095 sheltered people in Montevideo (MIDES, 2016)[53].

At that time, administrative records of homeless people not living in night shelters were really scarce. Apart from the count of occupied beds, almost no other information was preserved, and collected socio-demographic information was limited to sex and age. The 2016 census was complemented in 2017 by a survey study applied to a representative sample of sheltered homeless in Montevideo. This survey was also conducted by MIDES, defining a sample that was relatively large, since 471 users were surveyed out of 974 users estimated at that time in Montevideo. The questionnaire was mainly focused on inquiring about respondents' evaluation of night shelters.

It is crucial to note that, in accordance with the DINEM[54] (MIDES) Working Document 2019 *"Number and characteristics of homeless people: count and survey results (2016 2017)"* the surveys of the characteristics of unsheltered and sheltered homeless were carried out at two different times, the first one on June 21, 2016, or "*count day"*, and the second between September and November of 2017.

The sampling techniques used in the two surveys varied as well. While a representative sample of night shelter users was polled, in the case of those who were unsheltered homeless, all people who had

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[53] No children under 17 years old were found sleeping rough in Montevideo in this census (MIDES, 2016).

[54] National Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate

been recognised as rough sleepers were only included after they gave their consent (MIDES: 2019: 9). Before continuing, it is crucial to note that, on one hand, although the data collection times were different, it was believed that the problem's structural characteristics wouldn not change considerably in such a short period of time, allowing for a comparison of the two populations. On the other hand, even though it is not a census, the survey's coverage includes about half of the population living in shelters at the time, which represents a sizable fraction of the population at the time. And this ought to make it possible to accurately describe this group's traits. Last but not least, it is recognised that identifying the deprivations, their severity, and the relationships between them can provide a reasonably accurate picture of the characteristics of homelessness in both categories.

Combining the 2016 census and the 2017 survey, an official report from MIDES (2017), titled *"Presentation of survey results of homeless people (rough sleepers 2016 and in shelters 2017)"* highlights that the great majority of rough sleepers were adult single males (94%), while this figure dropped to 78.4% for sheltered people. Regarding age, unsheltered males were on average almost 10 years younger than sheltered men (38 and 46 years old, respectively).

Broad figures do not show marked differences in the duration of homelessness. Slightly more than 50% of those sleeping rough have been homeless for less than a year (MIDES, 2016), while among people in night shelters almost half have been homeless at least for one year (MIDES, 2017). The study also gave some evidence on the links between the two groups, since three out of four shelter surveyed users had previously slept rough at least once in the past. However, it is surprising that no cases were found of people sleeping in shelters in 2017 that have been surveyed in the 2016 rough sleepers' census (MIDES, 2017).

Regarding reasons for being homeless, about 50% of the respondents in both groups stressed that a family tie breakdown was the main reason for being in the street or living in a shelter. Although family breakdown is the most common response as the triggering issue for being homeless, 55% of rough sleepers and 66% of people in shelters declared having regular contact with family members (parents, brothers and sisters) who are not homeless (MIDES, 2017). More specifically, this regular contact in the case of unsheltered single homeless meant that around 50% declared they had been in contact with family members in the previous 7 days, and 70% during the previous month (MIDES, 2016).

Figure 3 shows that 56% of people sleeping in shelters declared low income/unemployment as the main reason for being homeless whilst only 20% of people sleeping rough mentioned these economic motives as the main reason (MIDES, 2017).

Around 30% of people sleeping rough mentioned drug misuse as the main reason for being in the streets, whereas this proportion fell by half (attaining 15%) for respondents in shelters. The percentages of people who mentioned experiences of violence, prison release, and mental health problems as the main reasons were much lower and pretty similar for both populations. However, it is interesting to note that almost 20% of the respondents in shelters mentioned other unspecified problems.

Figure 3. Main reasons for being homeless for sheltered and unsheltered people
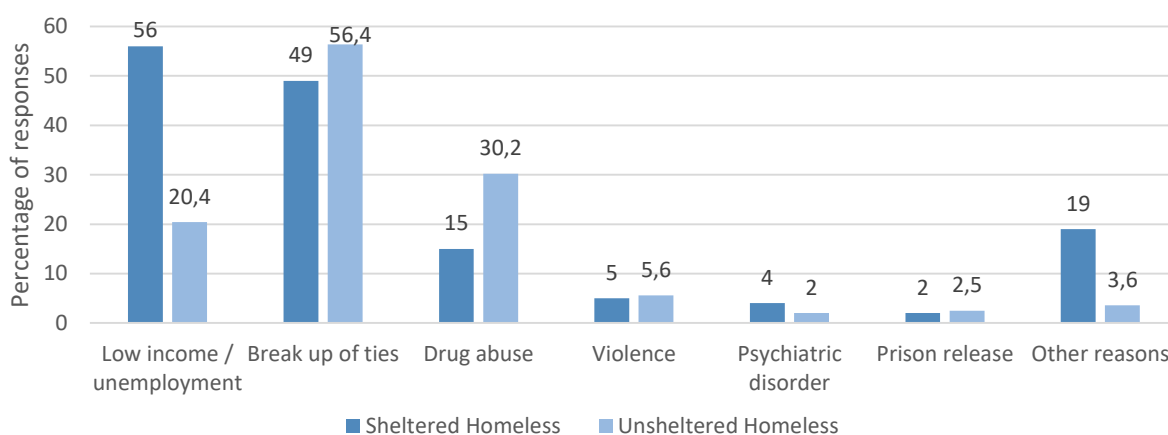
Source: Taken from MIDES (2017), "Presentation of survey results of homeless people (rough sleepers 2016 and people in shelters 2017)".

Three issues deserve special attention in describing and comparing these two populations, involving dimensions that will be relevant in the following sections. As we will see, and similarly to internationally research, among other things experiencing homelessness is closely related to different experiences of institutionalization, problematic use of drugs, and to unfavourable education and labour backgrounds.

Approximately 60% of surveyed homeless reported having some experience of institutionalization. Four out of 10 street homeless people declared having previous prison experiences, whereas this figure falls to two out of 10 among people in shelters. Almost 50% of people in shelters reported previous

admissions in psychiatric institutions, while this rate decreases to 20.9% among unsheltered males (MIDES, 2017).

While still high compared to the general population, the rate is surprisingly lower among those who were sleeping rough. Finally, regarding the specific policies and services intended for homeless people from MIDES and MI (night shelters, law of minor offenses, and outreach team), eight out of 10 respondents sleeping rough informed they had had contact with some of them. Also, three out of 10 respondents had been early institutionalized in youth care/youth prison (MIDES, 2016).

With respect to substance use, 80% of respondents in the streets declare using some psychoactive substance without receiving treatment, and 60% report daily drugs intake (problematic use), while this proportions fall to 34% and 15% respectively of people in shelters (MIDES, 2017). Seven out of 10 people sleeping rough use at least one substance daily, and one out of two use more than one substance daily. The most frequently used drugs were alcohol (64%) and "paste base" (62%), followed by marijuana (44.8%), and far back by cocaine (13.1%), inhalants (4.6%), and fuels (3%) (MIDES, 2016).

Around 56% of those who use any drug had received treatment in the past for this reason, 37% never received treatment, and 5% currently do (MIDES, 2016). The high frequency of drugs consumption is particularly concerning in the context of other health issues that are also prevalent, since 45% of sheltered people report having physical disabilities and 21% state having psychiatric disorders (rates that fall to 21% and 17% respectively for those living in the streets) (MIDES, 2017). On the positive side, the census' report also indicates that more than 75% of the interviewees have access to healthcare coverage through the National Integrated Healthcare System (MIDES, 2016).

Regarding educational attainment, people in shelters have higher education levels than people in the streets, although most cases in both groups did not complete 9 years of formal schooling (MIDES, 2017). Concerning employment/work activity among people in both homeless populations, it is especially striking that unsheltered homeless declared more labour activity than men in shelters (with activity rates of 70% and 47%, respectively). Around 60% of rough sleepers work as "cuidacoches"[55], followed by 20% of street sellers. Sheltered men mostly declared to be working as pawns and

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[55] "*Cuidacoches*" are independent workers who subsist on the handouts of vehicle owners, who tend to give tips for guarding cars while parked on the streets (Trade Union Experiences in Formalization Through Organizing and Social Dialogue in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2015). "Parking attendant" is the formal translation from Spanish.

construction workers (MIDES, 2017). While almost three out of 10 sheltered people do not work, this number reaches almost five out of 10 among rough sleeping (MIDES, 2017).

Table 1 compares the most distinctive features of both groups. Summarizing, unsheltered homeless population is male-biased and younger in average, they were much younger at their first homelessness experience, and they have lower education and less support from family ties. Drug abuse and prison experiences are far more frequent than for sheltered homeless, and healthcare access and use is more scarce.

Table 1. Comparison between unsheltered homeless and sheltered homeless

	2016 Unsheltered Homeless	2017 Sheltered Homeless
Males percentage	93%	78%
Average age	38	46
Elementary School completed	44%	58%
Contact with family	55%	64%
Aid from neighbours/community	26%	12%
Health reference centre	68%	96%
Health care in the last 6 months	31%	79%
Mental health problems	34%	45%
Disabilities	17%	28%
Prison previous experiences	47%	24%
Drug abuse	59%	17%
Average age of homelessness first experience	25	39

Source: Taken from DINEM-MIDES report, based on DINEM surveys ("Street homeless census 2016"; "Survey of care centres, 2017").

Besides the comparison between the two groups, Table 1 shows a high prevalence of needs in multiple dimensions for both populations. The following sections propose a general overview of how frequent and intense these deprivations are in each group, and then proceed to briefly describe some associations among them. A better understanding of how several problems in different dimensions interact for homeless people in Montevideo is useful as a context in which the analysis presented in the following chapters shall be interpreted.

5.3. Main deprivations and their intensities

Some of the main dimensions of deprivation reported in the homelessness literature are family ties breakup, health problems and lack of healthcare, mental health issues, low education levels, disabilities, unemployment or precarious work, drug abuse, prison experiences, and housing deprivations. Using information from the questionnaire applied to people sleeping rough in 2016 in Montevideo (street homeless census from MIDES), and the questionnaire applied to sheltered homeless in 2017 in Montevideo (representative survey of sheltered homeless by MIDES), variables measuring the severity of each deprivation were created.

Severity indices were constructed qualifying the seriousness of the reported situation in each dimension. Table 2 reports the details on how each index was built, where the best efforts were done to gain variability and increase sensitivity to the severity of each deprivation. In the case of homelessness, two indices are proposed, one measuring intensity and the other quantifying duration in homelessness situations.

It is never easy to turn a qualitative situation into a quantitative index, but it is especially tough in this instance because the task requires leveraging data that has already been gathered through census or survey questions. Even though the majority of the survey's and the census's questions were similar, a few small variations placed an extra constraint. Higher values are anticipated to indicate that problems are more significant because variables are always defined as severities. The ranges of the variables varied from [0,1] for the Criminal Justice dummy to [0,10] for the severity of being homeless for a prolonged period of time due to variances in the information that was available to be used in each case.

Table 2. Definition of the severity index for each deprivation

Deprivation	Values of the Severity Index
Ties breakup	**1.** if declared reason for homelessness was lack of social ties **2.** has no contact with housed family relatives, and/or the last contact was between 6 months and one year **3.** the last contact with a housed family member was between 1 and 3 years ago **4.** the last family contact was more than 3 years ago **+1** declares not receiving any help from people (relatives, friends, neighbours, marketers)
Low Education	**1.** has less than 3rd grade in high-school (education<9 years) **2.** has up to complete primary school (education =6 years) **3.** has incomplete primary school (education <6 years) **4.** has up to 3rd grade in school or less (education <=3)
Unemployment	**1.** does not work at the moment **2.** never worked
Diseases	Number of reported health problems (blood, infectious, circulatory, digestive, cancer, endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases, nervous, respiratory, orthomolecular) **+1** declares lacking any health coverage or had last medical appointment more than 2 years ago **+2** had last medical appointment more than 5 years ago
Mental health issues	**1.** declares having problems of psychiatric disorders **+1** declares psychiatric disorder as the reason for homelessness **+1** declares having a mental disability **+1** the interviewer registers respondent's presumed psychiatric problems or psychiatric problem is considered as disability **+1** was hospitalized for psychiatric problems
Drug abuse	Number of substances that the respondent declares to consume on a daily basis **+1** declares that the reason for being homelessness is drug abuse **+1** received drug treatment in the past **+2** is currently receiving treatment
Disabilities	**1.** declares having a disability (visual, auditory, motor) **+1** the interviewer assumes respondent's disability
Criminal Justice experiences	**1.** was ever incarcerated
Homelessness intensity	**1.** interviewed in the night shelter and in the last 7 days slept at least one other night in a loaned house or boarding house **2.** interviewed in the night shelter and has slept the last week in a shelter **3.** interviewed in the night shelter and in the last week has slept rough at least one night **4.** interviewed in the street and has slept rough between 1 and 6 nights **5.** interviewed in the street and has slept rough the 7 days of the last week
Homelessness duration	**1.** slept in night shelter for less than a week **2.** slept in night shelter more than a week and less than a month **3.** slept rough less than a week or in night shelter between 1 and 6 months **4.** slept rough more than a week and less than a month or in night shelter more than 6 months and less than 3 years **5.** slept rough more than a month and less than 6 months or in night shelter more than 3 years and less than 10 years **6.** slept rough more than 6 months and less than 3 years or in night shelter more than 10 years **7.** slept rough more than 3 years and less than 10 years **8.** slept rough more than 10 years **+2** is sleeping rough and never been in a shelter **+2** is in a shelter but he has slept rough in the past

Source: Own elaboration based on the Street homeless census 2016 and Survey of sheltered homeless 2017 (MIDES).

In the simplest case the index is just taking the value of a dummy variable (see Criminal Justice experiences). In some cases, the severity index is based on the mutually exclusive categories of an ordinal variable (see indices for deprivations in education, unemployment, or homelessness intensity). All other indices combine two or more variables, and some of them are based on a count of problems (as in the diseases or drug abuse dimensions). Specific circumstances or problems can provide additional proof of the severity of a deprivation, and in such instances one or two points were added, depending on the severity of each situation (marked using "+" in Table 2).

As an example, a person with incomplete primary school that is working, and whose last contact with his family was two years ago and declares not receiving any help from people, would receive a score of 4 in the "Ties breakup" deprivation dimension, a score of 3 in the "Low education" dimension, and a score of 0 in the "Unemployment" dimension. If he declares having circulatory, digestive and respiratory diseases together with no visits to any physician in the last five years and no current health coverage, he receives a score of 6 (three health problems, one additional point for lacking health coverage, and two additional points for having the last medical appointment more than five years ago). The score in "Mental health issues" would be of 3 if, for example, he reports having psychiatric disorders (1 point), due to which he has been hospitalized in the past (+1), he answers that these problems are the reason for being homeless (+1) but the interviewer dos not observe any presumed psychiatric problem and the interviewee does not declare having any mental disability. He would receive a score of 4 in the "Drug abuse" dimension if, for example, he consumes marijuana and base paste (2 points), he is not currently receiving treatment but had received in the past (+1) but he replies that drugs are not the reason for being homeless. A score of 2 would be attained in the "Disabilities" dimension if the person declares having a disability of any kind and also the interviewer observes an undeclared presumed disability. Finally, if the person has slept rough the last three weeks, following a period of two weeks sleeping in a night shelter, then the "Homelessness intensity" dimension would take a score of 5, while the "Homelessness duration" dimension would reach a score of 4.

The indices listed in Table 2 are open to criticism as an arbitrary solution and undoubtedly have an impact on the outcomes that will be discussed in the following sections. However, I simply use these indices to provide a brief overview of the distribution and interaction of deprivations in the population under study. The primary descriptive results reported in this Chapter should remain unaffected by slight modifications to the criteria behind Table 2.

5.3.1. Frequencies of severe deprivations

Severity measures were obtained for a total of 378 roofless people and 486 sheltered homeless (single adult males in all cases), and their frequencies are presented in Figure 4. The overall picture that emerges is that consistent with the international literature, unsheltered adult single homeless men have not only a higher proportion of people with the main deprivations, but also more severe situations when compared to those sleeping in shelters.

To illustrate, as can be seen in Figure 4, single adult male sleeping rough present the worst situation regarding ties: 14% not only had their last family contact more than 3 years ago, but also, 11% do not receive any help from people, while these proportions are only 1.4%, and 0.8% respectively for males in shelters. In fact, people reaching indicators as high as four or five are almost exclusively sleeping rough. Regarding education attainment, as was mentioned in the official comparative report, men in shelters have lower proportion of deprivation situations, and this happens in all severity categories. This same pattern can be observed when the drug abuse or diseases dimensions are considered. Additionally, as the report 2017 showed, imprisonment was experienced by more of four out of 10 single men sleeping rough, compared to two out of 10 adult males in night shelters.

A striking feature, as was previously pointed out, is that regarding mental health problems single male in shelters exhibit worse indicators compared with roofless males, in line with earlier research on hospital discharges that showed those with mental health issues utilized public use more the public shelter than those who have not mental problems (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998; Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010). Figure 4 shows, again, that the proportion of people with mental health deprivations is also more frequent for people sleeping rough when the most serious situations are considered. A possible explanation is that the used variable is sensitive to whether respondents were previously diagnosed or not, so mental health issues might be under-declared in the case of unsheltered respondents.

Figure 4. Severity distributions (in percentage), by sheltered (blue) and unsheltered (red)
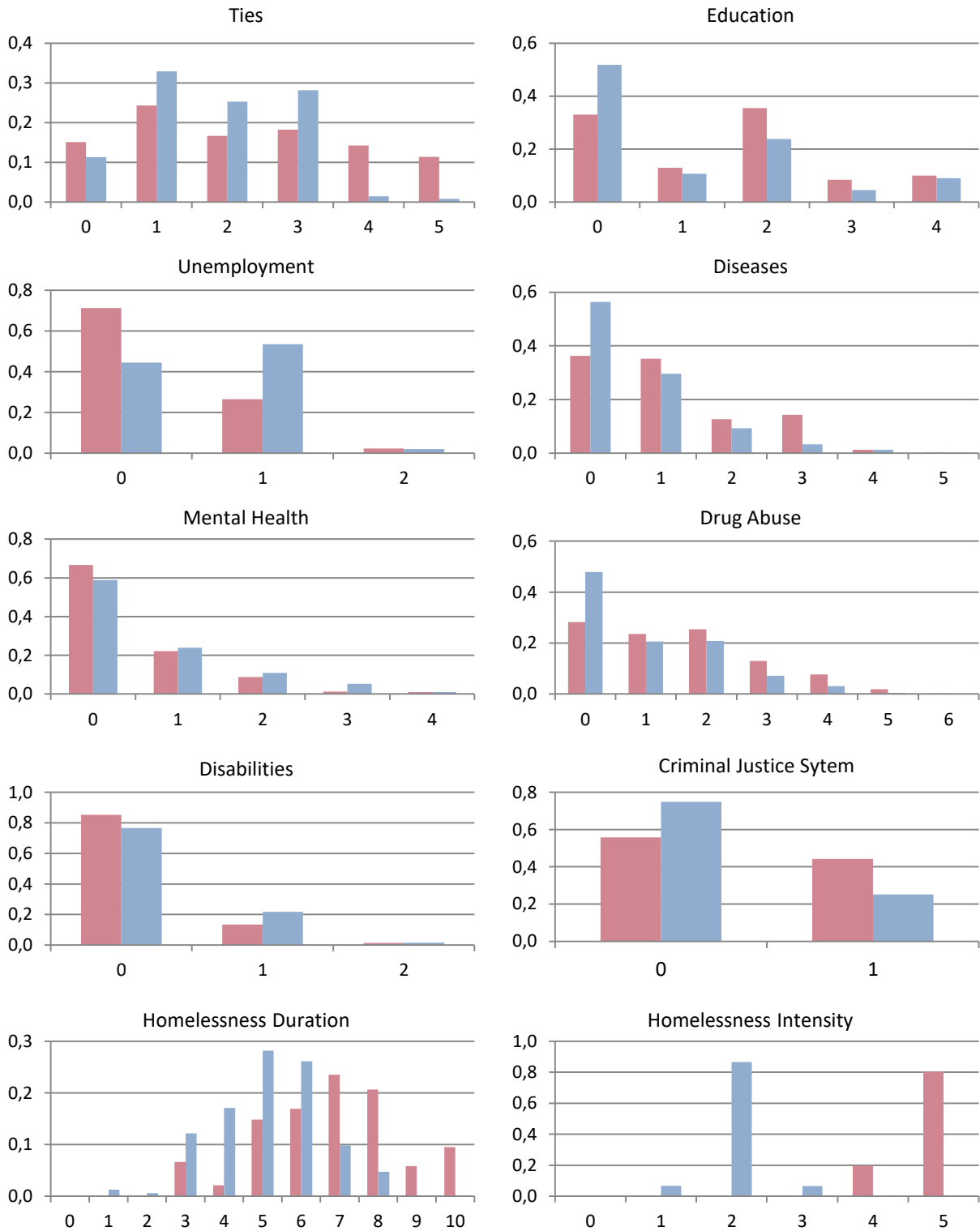
Source: Own elaboration based on the Street homeless census 2016 and Representative Survey of sheltered homeless 2017 (MIDES)

It is also noteworthy that five out of 10 people in night shelters do not work compared with around two out of 10 single unsheltered males. A potential hypothesis could be that insufficient and extremely precarious jobs or day labouring (e.g. "*cuidacoches*") are related to street activities by which a group of roofless men present worse social condition than those who are unemployed in night shelters.

Homelessness intensity and homelessness duration come from questions that were specific for people seeping rough or people in nigh shelters. For that reason, the variable definitions required to combine two different questions in a single variable (this can be seen in the last two rows of the Table 2). As the figures show, most people in the two groups declared sleeping in the same place the last seven days: sheltered people having slept in public places or unsheltered male who have slept in shelters are rare. Finally, regarding homelessness duration deprivations in the two groups, intermediate durations are prevalent, most cases are between one month and six months, and between six months and three years.

5.3.2. Severe deprivations multiplicity

Data reveal that an average homeless single man accumulates many deprivations, either being sheltered or sleeping rough. Around 70% of the respondents in both groups accumulate deprivations in three, four, or five dimensions from a total of eight (housing deprivation is excluded in this count because by definition this deprivation is present in all cases). Figure 5 shows the number of severe deprivations that unsheltered and sheltered single male interviewed have, revealing that low numbers are infrequent. Unsheltered men tend to have a higher number of deprivations, as can be appreciated in the higher proportion of people with five, six, and seven severe deprivations.

Figure 5. Number of Severe Deprivations

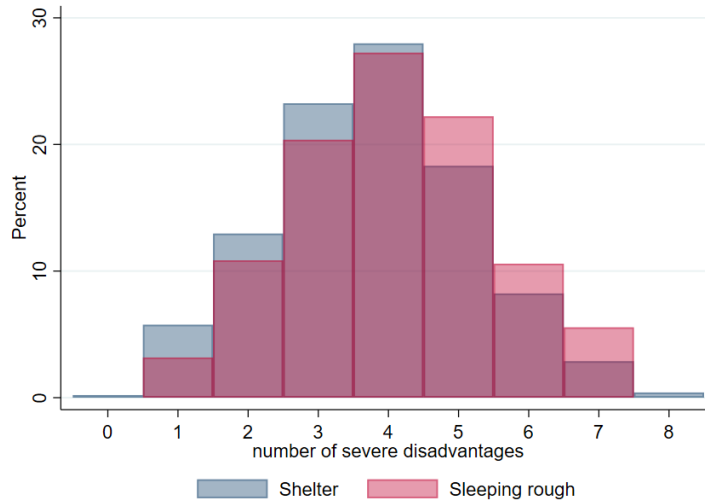Source: Own elaboration based on the Street homeless census 2016 and Representative Survey of sheltered homeless 2017 (MIDES). Population includes single sheltered and unsheltered homeless male in Montevideo, totaling 864 observations. Homelessness deprivations are not counted.

5.4. Associations among deprivations

Having established that in average homeless people accumulate deprivations in several dimensions, the question that arises is whether deprivations in some particular dimension tend to be associated with other specific deprivations. The simplest way to detect any association is to estimate simple correlations between the set of 10 dimensions presented in the previous subsections. These correlations are computed using the same 864 observations coming from Street homeless census 2016 and Representative Survey of sheltered homeless 2017 (MIDES).

Results are presented in Table 3, which highlights that all other deprivations are significantly associated with homelessness duration and/or homelessness intensity.[56]

Also, there are some significant associations among the other deprivations. Specifically, imprisonment is positively associated with deprivations related to diseases, drug abuse, and education, and also is negatively associated with unemployment (at first glance this could be counter intuitive, but it can be

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[56] Proportions in dark grey represent significant associations at 99% confidence, while light grey represents 95% confidence. Unshaded cells indicate 90% confidence intervals. Insignificant correlations are not reported. Unadjusted significance levels correspond to a t-test using n-2 degrees of freedom.

justified because older sleeping rough are those who work as "*cuidacoches*", and/or street sellers). Moreover, mental health issues are associated with diseases, education, drug abuse, and unemployment, but not with prison experiences. Thus, it seems that severe deprivations related to diseases, low education levels, drug abuse, and unemployment channel the relation between mental health and imprisonment.

Table 3. Correlations among deprivations for all cases

	Homeless duration	Homeless intensity	Ties breakup	Low education	Unemployment	Mental health issues	Diseases	Drug abuse	Disabilities	Prison
Homeless duration	1									
Homeless intensity	0.45	1								
Ties breakup	0.18	0.17	1							
Low education	0.13	0.18	0.09	1						
Unemployment	-0.13	-0.23			1					
Mental health issues		-0.09			0.20	1				
Diseases	0.16	0.22	0.15	0.06		-0.11	1			
Drug abuse	0.15	0.21	-0.11		-0.06	0.24		1		
Disabilities	-0.07	-0.10			0.17	0.12	0.07		1	
Prison	0.10	0.19		0.09	-0.14		0.10	0.23		1

Source: Own elaboration based on the basis of Street homeless census 2016 and Representative Survey of sheltered homeless 2017 (MIDES). *Notes:* Values are Spearman's rank correlation coefficients between the corresponding severity indexes (see Table 2). Cells in dark grey represent significant associations at 99% confidence, while light grey represents 95% confidence, unshaded cells indicate 90% confidence intervals and insignificant correlations are not reported. Unadjusted significance levels correspond to a t-test using *n-2* degrees of freedom.

One remarkable result is the negative association found between drug abuse and the absence of ties, which questions about the nature of the ties that are being reported and is suggestive in regard to the role of social capital and how street activities like drug dependence might be problematic in some circumstances (Neale, 2001; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011; Baron, 1998; Fitzpatrick, 2012).

This same analysis has been carried out separately for sheltered and unsheltered homeless, finding that significant correlations become scanter. This result is partially due to the fact that sample sizes of each subpopulation being smaller, the statistical tests lose power compared to the whole sample correlations. Also, the result tells that variations between the two groups are required to capture the associations between dimensions, and few associations can be detected from variations within each of the two groups.

Table 4 reports the results for sleeping rough homeless, revealing two remarkable changes with respect to the results for the whole population. First, significant correlations become rarer, especially for homelessness intensity which is still associated with prison experiences in the past (at a 90% confidence level), but loses association with the other deprivations except for family ties. Second, prison experiences are no longer correlated to other deprivations like those in education or diseases and is still strongly correlated with drug abuse in this group, and more weakly associated to unemployment.

Table 4. Correlations among deprivations for unsheltered homeless

	Homeless duration	Homeless intensity	Ties breakup	Low education	Unemployment	Mental health	Diseases	Drug abuse	Disabilities	Prison
Homeless duration	1									
Homeless intensity	0.16	1								
Ties breakup	0.22	0.14	1							
Low education	0.17			1						
Unemployment					1					
Mental health issues	-0.15				0.21	1				
Diseases	0.16		0.21				1			
Drug abuse			-0.21			0.15		1		
Disabilities	-0.09					0.22			1	
Prison		0.09			-0.10			0.25		1

Source: Own elaboration based on the basis of Street homeless census 2016 and Representative Survey of sheltered homeless 2017 (MIDES). *Notes:* Values are Spearman's rank correlation coefficients between the corresponding severity indexes (see Table 2). Cells in dark grey represent significant associations at 99% confidence, while light grey represents 95% confidence, unshaded cells indicate 90% confidence intervals and insignificant correlations are not reported. Unadjusted significance levels correspond to a t-test using *n-2* degrees of freedom.

Considering the group of sheltered homeless, Table 5 shows that imprisonment is no longer associated to homelessness intensity or duration, but is still positively correlated with drug abuse, education and diseases, and negatively associated to ties and unemployment. Consistent with the findings in the preceding subsections, mental health issues are positively correlated with homelessness duration, while it was negatively correlated with homelessness duration in the unsheltered group.

Table 5. Correlations among deprivations for sheltered homeless

	Homeless duration	Homeless intensity	Ties breakup	Low education	Unemployment	Mental health issues	Diseases	Drug abuse	Disabilities	Prison
Homeless duration	1									
Homeless intensity	-0.11	1								
Ties breakup		0.08	1							
Low education		0.10	0.09	1						
Unemployment			0.08		1					
Mental health issues	0.10		0.08		0.17	1				
Diseases						-0.15	1			
Drug abuse	0.09		-0.08			0.34	-0.13	1		
Disabilities					0.18		0.13		1	
Prison			-0.09		-0.08			0.15		1

Source: Own elaboration based on the basis of Street homeless census 2016 and Representative Survey of sheltered homeless 2017 (MIDES). *Notes:* Values are Spearman's rank correlation coefficients between the corresponding severity indexes (see Table 2). Cells in dark grey represent significant associations at 99% confidence, while light grey represents 95% confidence, unshaded cells indicate 90% confidence intervals and insignificant correlations are not reported. Unadjusted significance levels correspond to a t-test using *n-2* degrees of freedom.

Comparison of tables 4 and 5 shows that deprivations have different associations among each other within the two groups. While the breaking up of ties seems to be associated to several other deprivations for unsheltered homeless, it is only moderately related to other deprivations in the case of sheltered homeless. Homelessness duration correlates related to breaking up ties are related to completely different dimensions in the two groups, except for drug abuse deprivations, with which they are negatively correlated in both groups. When focusing on unsheltered homeless, ties deprivations are also related (positively) to unemployment and diseases. Oppositely, when looking at sheltered homeless ties breakup comes with education deprivations and is negatively correlated with drug issues or prison experiences (two issues that are likely related to criminal networks).

Following these results, it can be argued that consistent with the official comparative report, males in night shelters have prison experiences to a lesser extent than unsheltered, and also much more family support and/or regular contact. In addition, it seems quite clear that men in night shelters have more

mental health issues together with longer trajectories in the shelter system, coinciding with the chronic users' profile (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998).

5.5. Concluding remarks

The aim of this section was to describe the cumulative nature of the deprivations experienced by single homeless people in Montevideo, as well as how they interact with one another. This description revealed how homelessness and prison experiences are associated with each other, and with deprivations in other dimensions.

Consistent with previous international empirical evidence, the analysis has pointed out that in average unsheltered people have deprivations in more dimensions than sheltered homeless, and severity in their case is in average higher. However, the analysis has shown that homeless in both groups accumulate severe deprivations in multiple dimensions. Significant correlations between most of the severity indices denote that problems in one dimension tend to be associated to problems in other dimensions. In sum, this approach shows that both groups are in an extremely vulnerable social condition, and emphasises the complexity and interdependency of their needs.

In spite of the fact that it is a constrained analysis due to the limitations of the official and type of statistical information available, a broad description of homeless people living in shelters and homeless people sleeping on the streets was provided in this section, along with an emerging picture of the interrelations between these situations and between them and other deprivations. As a result, there are many unanswered questions in this section regarding personal pathways into, through, and out of homelessness as well as the use of the shelter system, processes, and institutional dynamics and functioning; crucial events, relationships, and transitions across services and institutions; and the implications, sensitivity, and meanings associated with the experiences of homelessness and incarceration, among many other topics.

The following chapter examines homelessness pathways associated with Criminal Justice problems using a qualitative approach, allowing for a deeper comprehension of the relationships between homelessness and the penal system for the sample of this study. The essential issues and elements surrounding the specified association, the underlying patterns, how and why events are unfolding, and participants' meanings and experiences according to their descriptions are illustrated using selected quotes from the interviews and personal stories of the participants.

Chapter 6

Taxonomy of pathways

"`Thief, you are a thief', but maybe the person is not a thief. He made a bad choice, just a bad choice. I want to 'make my life'; I am 26 years old. Rebuild it, at least try." (David, 26 years old, twice in prison, living in the hostel for released for a month)

6.1. Introduction

The research questions #1 and #2 are addressed in this chapter in accordance with the research's stated objectives. Additionally, the final section of this chapter provides initial insights into the revolving door specifics connected to study aim 3, which will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 7.

Following a biographical analysis (Rosenthal, 1993; Fischer, 1982) of the twenty life stories in the sample of this study, this second chapter of the analysis below introduces the analytical distinction between two types of pathways.

Given that the biographical analysis enables researchers to reconstruct the relevant past experiences *"embedded in a coherent, meaningful context"* (Fisher, 1992; cited in Rosenthal, 1993: 59), the rationale in using method of analysis is given by the chance to problematize the aforementioned relationship by considering aspects not explored conjointly in the literature yet, nor in an underdeveloped context, in multidimensional and temporal terms.

Furthermore, understanding the biography as a "social entity" (Rosenthal, 1993) from a biographical analysis approach it is possible to *"reconstruct the interconnectedness of institutional aspects and social processes that constitute biographies*" (Fischer & Rosenthal, 1991: 253): *"Social structures provide opportunities and constraints for human agents at the same time as showing how individuals, with their own beliefs and desires, take actions despite the social structures that underlie the immediacy of their experiences*" (see Hubbard, 2000; cited in Fischer & Rosenthal 1991: 253).

In this regard, the life histories reconstruction enables us to delve into connections regarding housing deprivations, offending, prison experiences, family background, health issues, and subtle aspects and related topics as well of pivotal relevance to achieve the aims of this research.

For the reconstruction of the life histories it was followed by a thematic analysis to identify, analyse, and report patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clark, 2006). The aim of this thematic analysis is to do a dense description (Geertz, 1993) of the data information gathered by first hand being particularly useful for unexplored subject matter.

6.2. Identifying the pathways

The elaboration of the groups of pathways followed a strategy of analysis of the qualitative data supported by the quantitative information particularly concerning the age and timing of transitions and life events. By reconstructing participants' life histories, it was possible to adopt a comparative qualitative strategy of the experiences to identify similarities and differences in the studied pathways. The procedure followed was:

First, it was observed for each interviewee the timing of the first homelessness experience, age of first offending, and their first prison experience. Consequently, following the referential studies stated in the introductory chapters, groups of pathways were identified covering people who had these experiences before 20 years old, between 21 to 30 years old, and after becoming 30 years old.

Second, by following Elder (1998) *"transitions are always part of social trajectories that give them distinctive meaning and form. Historical forces shape the social trajectories of family, education, and work, and they in turn influence behavior and particular lines of development"* (Elder, 1998: 2), the focus was placed on the transitions in different life stages considered relevant to understand interviewees' experiences of homelessness and the penal system, together with the aspects that composed that association. Consequently, interviewees were grouped by similarities concerning their experiences, behaviours, and feelings, appraisals, of *pre prison experiences during childhood and adolescence*, related to family, housing, education, peers, health, drift in and out homelessness, offending zig zags, victimization experiences, drug use/alcoholism, mental health issues.

Then, it was taking into account feelings and valuations of the *transitions and experiences of imprisonment* (and the multiple prison experiences), family visiting, rehabilitation and/or recreation

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employment programs, differences between prison experiences, relationship with the other inmates/police, victimization, social climate, prison conditions.

Finally, it was taking into consideration the *transitions into community resettlement* considering implications of prison conditions at release, living situations, barriers for resettlement, events of reoffending, drug abuse, adverse life events, employment/housing opportunities. Feelings of restoring life after prison, the moment of release, factors affecting desistance, zig zags and ins and outs of offending, subjective internal identity, agency were also considered. The analysis through vital time enabled the researcher to explore in their pathways how certain institutional, interpersonal aspects and circumstances interrelate with each other, gain momentum, increase, decelerate and descend, causing (repetitive) movements of in and out homelessness with the penal system.

Two main groups with similar life pathways and lived experiences concerns regarding homelessness with the penal system contacts were identified:

A first group, named *"convoluted pathways"*, composed of eleven interviewees who present the most extreme and complex homelessness pathways with contacts with the penal system, who experienced both experiences in a context of extreme deprivation, childhood trauma, housing marginalization, and multiple needs. Prison experiences accentuate a pattern of social housing exclusion in which they are immersed from the very beginning extending repeated homelessness experiences. The life stories of Joseph, Connor, Oliver, Josh, Adrian, Charlie, Robert, Mark, David, Adam, Harry embrace this group of pathways.

A second group, *"falling down pathways"*, composed of nine interviewees for whom the intersections of homelessness and the penal system occur under circumstances of a certain degree of a weak safety net and housing stability. However, after imprisonment experiences, those pathways will be enmeshed in a *downward trajectory*. The life stories of Michael, Noah, William, Tom, Steven, Toby, Daniel, Angus, John embrace this second group.

Then, important themes and noticeable patterns connected to experiences with homelessness and involvement in crime prior to the first prison experience are introduced. Each theme is illustrated with a collection of personal accounts and a few typical quotations. The responders are given fictitious names.

Certain aspects, crucial life events, turning points, housing and homelessness episodes, institutional constraints, choices, agency, and components which influenced all the participants' pathways with the

penal system experiences were identified from the reconstruction of individual life reviews of pivotal importance themes.

6.3. Convoluted pathways

> *"What can you expect from a child that has already been hit at home, runs away to improve and life ends in chaos? And when you are a grown up you continue because you don't believe in anything, you believe in yourself, you shut yourself off and you even turn into a selfish person, your personality changes, everything. It's really tough"* (52 years old, six times in prison, living in a night shelter for the last time for 10 months since the last homeless episode)

> *"…and who am I? I'm nobody. I am not from anywhere"* (38 years old, eight times in prison, living in a night shelter for a month)

As we have seen in the introductory chapters, poverty is a strong predictor of homelessness (Pleace, 2016; Johnsen & Watts, 2014, Bramley & Fitzpatrick, 2018) more than any individual factor widely mentioned (drug abuse, mental health problems). Also, several evidence highlights that in certain impoverished urban neighbourhoods, structural characteristics of concentrated poverty and absence of social resources show high rates of crime due to a high residential instability and low social cohesion which may operate as a prevent factor of crime (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2001). Empirical evidence points out that adolescents who come from *"poorest neighbourhoods are involved in criminality from an early age and continue offending for a longer period than those who come from more prominent ones"* (Morizot: 2018: 57).

According to the analysis of the life calendars and interviews of this group of interviewees, the residential trajectories show that from the early years they have been living in circumstances of severe housing exclusion, or precarious housing in segregated and impoverished areas of the city, with sudden changes in relation to accommodation, suffering others poverty related issues as well, e.g. not having enough to eat at home, moving to child care institutions, changing school, among other things, that

exacerbate child anxiety, worry, and stress (Wadsworth & Santiago, 2007). Particularly, poverty and housing problems are the result of intergenerational hardships, economic strains and deprivations carried forward years ago in their families. Furthermore, it can be appreciated from the life history reconstruction that there are also a series of child stressors and interpersonal traumas from the very beginning (Turney & Goodsell, 2018: 148).

For this group of respondents, rough sleeping experiences and offending onset occur in an extremely disadvantageous structural and interpersonal context where victimization, extreme poverty, long term instituzionalization, and not having a pro social safety net acquire a particular relevance in shaping their *convoluted pathways.* These pathways and its key dimensions are discussed in greater detail below.

6.3.1. Childhood trauma, extreme deprivations, and antisocial opportunities

The analysis of the childhood stage stresses the severe implications of constraints of social structure in shaping waves of destitution from the early years in particular, for this first group of trajectories. In addition, other stressful and poverty- related factors operate as critical negative life events pushing for homelessness and offending pathways from an early age.

A startling account is that respondents' long-term housing exclusion pathways and experiences in the adult criminal justice system appear to be shaped by a loop of persistent housing marginalization and prolonged or numerous periods of child institutionalization. This is true despite some differences among respondents related to personal experiences. Contacts with state services at a young age characterize the process of remaining homeless as one moves into adulthood, which is consistent with previous writings on youth paths to homelessness (Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2008; 2012; Mayock & Corr, 2013).

Nearly all of the participants describe how, between the ages of 7 and 14, they repeatedly experienced running away from their homes or institutions of care. The participant's stories show that the earliest stages of homelessness are marked by living in conditions that severely restrict housing options (such as a ranch in a slum with extreme overcrowding) or in child care facilities for several years, with episodes of fleeing from one's home or place of care, by rough sleeping, by entering the juvenile justice system, by squatting or rough sleeping again: *"we lived in a little ranch, in a little house that she [his aunt] made for us. The five of us [brothers and sisters] slept there together, in a slum zone. My older*

sister was going to school... I used to go to her school to eat" (Harry, 32 years old, more than six times in prison, living in the hostel for released for two weeks since the last homeless episode).

"We lived in a ranch" in the northwest of Montevideo "I had a friend who lived across the street from my place and we slept on the streets. We spent three days and nights on the streets and we slept wherever we were, as soon as the night fell. I used to look a place covered by an overhang roof or something, I used to grab a cardboard and I jumped in". (Mark, 28 years old, five times in prison, sleeping rough steadily for about three years but he has been intermittently rough sleeper since he was 15 years old coinciding also with drug abuse and offending activity.

While living in extreme deprivation settings, some of them report having been exposed to several traumatic distresses at home (gender based violence, gang and drug activity, criminality, parental incarceration, victimization, and child maltreatment) pushing them to unsupported environments without informal social control (Sampson & Laub, 2001):

"My mother used drugs and she was a prostitute. I was born and raised under delinquency. I started stealing because I needed money, it was out of necessity, but I was a kid raised in that environment, I was always on the streets. I already had that instilled in my head, as they say (…) At 12 years old [living] on the streets you are not going to become a lawyer, that's impossible. A kid with 12 years old on the streets... It was like that until I was caught and charged at 18-year-old, that was my first record for assault (…)" says David, 26 years old, twice in prison, living in the hostel for released for a month.

The cycle of homelessness and offending emerges and travels through as a chaotic path throughout interviewees' lifetimes, which is consistent with previous international analyses of long-term or "unrelieved" homelessness reviewed (Snow, Baker & Anderson, 1989; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011; Mayock & Corr, 2013; Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2008; 2013). According to the reviewed literature, long-term homelessness experiences that frequently start before the age of 16 are a sign of serious issues that could push a person toward extreme forms of exclusion, criminal involvement, and a life on the streets (Fitzpatrick, Johnsen & Bramley, 2013; Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2012).

As a result of running away or a traumatic life event (parents' deaths), rough sleeping episodes were experienced by some participants after the onset of delinquency while still living at home. However, other participants report an almost simultaneous onset of rough sleeping and offending experiences after having experienced parental or institutional violence that will continue in the adult justice system.

Related to child victimization, having been exposed to child maltreatment, under physical and psychological abuse, have been pointed out by previous studies as catalysts of severe symptoms of PTSD (post- traumatic stress disorder) in children and adolescents' lives, which increase the risk to homelessness experiences and offending involvement (Koegel, Bassuk, Ravenhill, 1998; Craig & Hodson; 2008; Martjin & Sharpe, 2006; Anderson & Tulloch, 2000).

Trauma has been characterized as one factor that can lead to Post-traumatic stress disorder PTSD defined as ''*The person has been exposed to a traumatic event in which both of the following were present: (1) the person experienced, witnessed, or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others, (2) the person's response involved intense fear, help- lessness, or horror.*' (American Psychiatric Association (APA), 2000; cited in Martjin & Sharpe, 2006: 4).

The stories of Adrian, Mark, and Harry highlight the long-lasting effects of victimization and physical and emotional abuse that led to their homelessness, crime, and, in the case of Mark and Harry, further abuse (Fisher, Colson, & Susser, 1996).

Adrian's story

Adrian (52 years old, six times in prison, living in a night shelter for the last time for 10 months since the last homeless episode) started doing offending and sleeping rough when he was seven years old, countless times as a child in a detention centre during a dictatorial period, been in the adult penal system six times charged with thefts.

He explains his "career" as an offender and how he was stuck in housing insecurity, residential instability, detention centres, and homelessness that persisted until adulthood.[57]. He was raised by a foster family at his nine months of age who were with him until he was seven years old: *"I lived in slums. There, I became an offender. I grew up in a violent environment, hit, punished, scolded, moaned, there were lots of criminals, too much alcohol. My father has never been in prison but had a lot of contacts (…) I didn't know what a cinema was like, I've never been taken to a small square …since then I protected myself by putting up a front, very hard to get through"*.

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[57] He had five children living with their mothers with whom he maintains weekly contact.

During childhood he and peers entered and stole in houses or in shops at night when nobody was there. He continuously escaped from the detention centre being a child going to the streets and sleeping rough, as well as in balconies located in the city centre, or in abandoned houses: *"I was gaining experience and turned into something that was not supposed to happen. And I realized now, with the time. I was admitted to Consejo del Niño [Child council][58] several times"*.

Victimization experiences during his childhood at home and in detention centres being minor during dictatorial period had left deep emotional scars on him: *"I suffered many things that are difficult for some people to understand, they cannot believe them, they don't know what I'm talking about. I suffered and experienced them. As kids, we were handcuffed and put into vans without knowing where we were taken. We couldn't see the sunlight, dormer windows had bars and a metal mesh, and measured 12 to 15 so a pale small ray of sunshine would appear around 5pm, we were aware of the time… we were kept all day long 9, 10, 11, 12 13 years, with a bolt, a chain and locked. At maximum security you go from an open space to a cage… all alone, all alone, all alone, there was no TV, no radio, no drink mate, no magazines, there was nothing. I've been there for two weeks. Without visits, nobody, nobody"*.

Adrian was released from juvenile prison release at 18 years old (1985), and a few months later he was imprisoned for a month in the adult penal system charged with theft. Since then, and up to three years he continuously entered into the penal system (ex-Comcar, Penal de Libertad) for thefts for less than 6 months' sentences.

It can be seen from Adrian's account that child centre experiences are made worse by institutional violence and physical and emotional abuse, which will persist in the adult penal system later, supporting the claim that care services do not address young needs in order to prevent pathways into adult homelessness (Karabanow; 2008; Quilgars et al, 2008; Mayock, Corr & O' Sullivan, 2012) and criminal activity, and more seriously in this case damaging identity, self-confidence, and future opportunities. And tragically, prison violence will be a significant issue for everyone interviewed.

Following these lines, a positive child rearing context has been shown as necessary to support healthy biological, emotional, social, and cognitive development of children (Cicchetti & Valentino, 2006).

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[58] Previous body of wellbeing of childhood and adolescence. Current body: INAU - Instituto del Niño y Adolescente del Uruguay [Institute for Children and Adolescents of Uruguay].

Consequently, in the interaction between a "safe base" provided by a secure parental attachment bringing child support and protection enhance child capacities to *"basic trust, ego resilience, self-control, emotion regulation, empathy, perspective-taking, social understanding, interpersonal problem-solving, mastery motivation, executive functions, and moral judgment"* (Cicchetti & Toth, 2005; cited in Morizot & Kazemian, 2015: 182). On the contrary, suffering abuse and neglect at home, being exposed to gender based violence, compromise mental health, identity formation and interpersonal relationships contributing to homelessness experiences, high-risk behaviours, offending, and drug abuse (World Health Organization, 2020; cited in Kerig & Becker, 2018: 181).

Mark highlights the long lasting impacts of victimization suffered as a child at home. He barely finished primary school and spent his childhood in a very poor neighbourhood, living in unsanitary conditions in a slum zone. He was first time in prison at 18 years old for theft, and for more times for theft, and personal injuries. All of his prison experiences have lasted about a year in ex-Comcar prison and Canelones prison, having been a victim and perpetrator as well of interpersonal violence during prison sentences.

He reported having suffered physical and psychological violence at the hands of his father, as well as witnessing gender-based violence up his parents split up: *"He was a very abusive person. He used to beat me up, to judge me a lot. He used to put me to work, he used to send me away to sell things for him. He used to hit my mother, he put a gun in her mouth and I saw it when I was a kid, and after that I grew up and I used to beat him up a lot. When I grew up I looked for him (…) He used to steal and do arms trafficking, he used to rob banks. He was in prison, and I took the same path as my old man, unfortunately"*.

Chronic and repeated maltreatment suffered in the hands of an adult who should be a figure of attachment impact on the individual security system, the ontological security, understood as "*the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of their social and material environments. Basic to a feeling of ontological security is a sense of the reliability of persons and things"* (Giddens, 1990: 92).

Low self-esteem, expectations of rejection and loss, anxiety, depression, aggression, self- mutilation, substance abuse are some of the symptoms and dysfunctions stressed by referential studies on complex trauma which involves chronic or multiple traumatic events and which is often interpersonal in nature (Briere & Spinazzola, 2005). Parents' severe alcoholism, parental incarceration or substance abusing parents exacerbated trauma, stigma, instability, long term stays in child care institutions,

poverty and experiences of homelessness from an early age (Wildeman, 2004; Foster & Hagan, 2007). Also, related to the intergenerational influence of crime some of them narrate that criminal behaviour influenced by their father was already run as differential association theory suggests (Sutherland, 1939).

It is well addressed by the referential literature that running away from abusive parents and frequently entering and exiting the juvenile justice system since childhood are overwhelmingly negative experiences that cause people to experience *"high levels of instability and disruption"* (Mayock & Corr, 2013: 23). Furthermore, young *escapers or running away* (Johnson *et al*, 2008; Simons & Withbaker, 1991) from recurrent physical abuse and family violence "*probably have been severly compromised their ability to attain ontological security"* (Giddens, 1991; cited in Stonehouse *et al*, 2021: 1054); which "*affect[s] the individuals' capacity to trust, form lasting relationships and relate to peers, adults and people in authority"* (Richardson & Bacon, 2001; cited in Ravenhill, 2008: 100).

In explaining and supporting the cycle of juvenile detention, reoffending, and an increase in drug usage after release from juvenile prison, Harry's narrative paints a fairly complete picture. His history is marked by early institutionalization, traumatic events like his mother's death, his father's imprisonment, a lack of food at home, and extreme social deprivation conditions. His unsolved drug problems, long-term homelessness, and paths to institutionalization for criminal activity have all been influenced by these occurrences.

Harry has been more than six times imprisoned but he did not remember very well due to drug use problems which caused him memory leak. His childhood passed between child institutionalization (when his mother died) and living in extreme social privation conditions. When he was 15 years old, his father was imprisoned, and simultaneously he committed his first offence related to the abuse of drugs and solvents. He entered the juvenile prison system at 16 years old, being released while aggravating his drug problems: *"I wanted to smoke it all the time, it was always more and more... cooked cocaine. I got out and it was the same things, drugs, stealing, and trying not to get busted".* Months later he went back to the juvenile prison for about 8 months. When he reached the age of 18 he was sentenced to Penal de Libertad prison for five years and six months for assault.

The life stories introduced exhibit that child victimization has severe implications for a proper cognitive, behavioural, emotional, and social development of young children. In the same vein,

previous studies have shown that long term child institutionalization and a care history negatively affect children (emotionally and behaviourally) as they develop (Browne, *et al.*, 2006).

Experiences of child victimization (abuses, gender based violence) may diminish social ties, limiting the accumulation of positive human and social capital, and exposing adolescents to *"behavioural scripts"* that facilitate future participation in high-risk behaviour (Haynie, *et al.*, 2009: 283) (Simons & Withbaker, 1991). Going further, those lived experiences from early years increases susceptibility to post-exposure traumatic stress (Ravenhill, 2008; Whittlesey, *et al.*, 1999; Levendosky & Graham-Bermann, 1998; Erel & Burman, 1995; cited in Collins et al, 2010: 12) affecting respondent's lives long-term interpersonal, cognitive, and emotional, leaving them vulnerable to experience severe disadvantages regarding self, interpersonal relationships, academic attainment, etc.

For this group of respondents, the pathways into homelessness and crime overlap with early school dropout and non-return, strong deviant affiliations, inadequate emotional and material support, and family conflicts in a highly unfavourable structural and interpersonal environment. In addition to faster transitions into distress and considerably more severe social deprivation conditions characterised by developing "criminal and homeless careers", these factors exacerbate complex needs related to an increase in drug use during adolescence.

6.3.2. Street, criminal peers, and substance abuse

In addition to numerous of rough sleeping experiences, living in abandoned homes, overcrowded conditions (slums), squatters, and tenements from a young age, they also suffered an upsurge in drug usage, street, and criminal peers' affiliation. International empirical research emphasises the link between rough sleeping or unstable living situations (such as squatting), which in turn serve as impediments to seeking proper treatment for drug use, and the shift from occasional to addictive drug use with serious health consequences (Johnson & Chamberlain, 2011; Mayock & Corr, 2013). At this stage of pathways' development, criminal behaviour with heavy involvement and drug use patterns are addressed.

The majority of those who were interviewed in this group admitted to using drugs (alcohol, paste base, and cocaine) starting around the age of twelve, and few of them reported drug overdose incidents before the age of fifteen. Early drug use and criminal activity start *while* they are still living at home with their parents, with drug misuse increasing when they leave or are released from a care facility (Mayock & Corr, 2008; 2013; Mayock, Corr & O' Sullivan, 2012): *"Consumption of drugs started before*

it [offending]. I started with marijuana and solvents. My group of friends already consumed it, ...burglary, thefts, robberies, it all was done for consumption" (Harry, hostel for released)

"At 15 I got together with a girl, then we lived together. By 12 or 13, the classic routine of going out for two or three nights on a roll and then back, walking around in the slums, sniffing solvents. By 13 I was doing coke" (Connor, 35 years old, three times in prison, entering at 19 years old in 2002, in ex-Comcar prison and Libertad prison, for attempted assault, handling stolen things, and theft, and several times as a minor in the juvenile penal system living in a night shelter for two months since the last homeless episode).

At this developmental stage antisocial peers and criminogenic neighbourhoods reinforce deprivations and pathways of destitution. Growing up in a context of extreme poverty (not having enough to eat) and social privation, raised in a dysfunctional family, living in poor or unstable housing (tenements, slums) in very disadvantaged neighbourhoods, disengaged from school about early adolescence, contacts with the juvenile justice system (as children or very young teenagers), becoming even more vulnerable to deviant peer pressure and temptation to engage in offending activities (Baldry, *et al.*, 2012):

"I was a tremendously naughty boy, 11, 12, 13 years old, with thefts of houses, farms, premises, we always used to get together with a band of kids, I had already left school. Since I was 12 years old I spent on the streets …They [parents] always spoke to me, the good advice parents give you, but I didn't have the brake as I had to have it in me." (Robert, 46 years old, three times in prison, sleeping rough for about 13 sustained years)

Numerous studies have demonstrated the high rates of drug and alcohol abuse among the homeless population, and as we saw in the previous chapter, official data likewise demonstrates these rates among the surveyed homeless population at the local level (as imprisoned as well).

Longitudinal and retrospective research has made it feasible to shed light on the social and situational aspects beyond drug use for homeless people, which have long been regarded to be an individual factor closely associated to the commencement and subsequent involvement in both street and crime (Mayock & Sheridan, 2013; Auerswalda & Eyre; 2002). In particular, it has been claimed that abusing alcohol or drugs can serve as "self-medication," as this is the most effective response or "coping

mechanism" to lessen experiences of depression, and anxiety conditions resulting from victimization experiences (physical abuse) (Fox, *et al.,* 2016; Ravenhill, 2008).

In some situations, a transition to problematic usage appears to happen quickly due to personal and emotional fragility brought on by catastrophic circumstances (such as the death of a parent). Additionally, as previously noted by research, those who are homeless frequently have little access to "*emotional and practical support available due to a limited support nertworks, thus, it is not surprising that for most individuals, interpersonal conflicts or losses were direct precipitants to homelessness to them"* (Morrell-Bellai et al, 2000: 592).

The narrative of Oliver emphasises the significant losses endured as well as the emotional distress and despair experienced at this point, which creates an environment that is conducive to further drug use. Oliver (35 years old, three times in prison, living in a night shelter for 7 months since the last homeless episode) has been in prison three times for thefts and personal injuries, and since late adolescence when his parents died, he has had severe drug abuse problems. He was living alone with his twin brother, and soon after, they lost the house, *"I consumed drugs, I had always been related to [cocaine base] paste… to alcohol as well [when I was searching out for things] ...committing offenses, pickpocketing, do you understand? ...all theft. I didn't do other things, it was always theft, except for serious offenses".* The absence of supportive and protective factors (close family support, school, pro social networks), as well as out of time transitions (e. g living alone, subsisting by their own) aquire a pivotal role by making them exposed to risks of involvement in offending (Elder, 1998; Hawkins, *et al.*, 2005) substance use, and escalation of drug use, "*and other critical transitions that interact with housing and homelessness experiences over time"* (Mayock & Corr, 2013: 13).

Consistent with a premise of the life course theoretical approach, the timing of experience acquires pivotal importance in the life course development (Elder, 1985), and the early onset of deviant behaviours or lifestyles (e.g. drug use, criminal activities) cannot be easily recovered if developmental options, choices, and resources are not available at time (Hsert, *et al.*, 2017: 519): *"From 12 to 14 years old I kept leaving home, I went to live with my daughter's mother, I had started working but it lasted for a couple of months"* (David, hostel for released).

With no formal control at all (family, school) individuals adopt criminal definitions and engage in crime when this exposure exceeds contact with non- criminal attitudes and behaviours (McCarthy & Hagan, 1998). Antisocial affiliations (deviant peers and gang membership) from school and from the neighbourhood standing out as salient features, becoming a *push factor* of involvement in drug use

and offending. Some of them mention peer pressures to use drugs: *"Because the drug thing was my downfall when I was a kid. I know when my friends start putting fire on me, "come on, come on!"* (Mark, rough sleeper)

Adam describes how he started to be associated with 'deviant' peers and involved in delinequent activity after his mother died and his father abandoned him and his six siblings. His childhood passed far from Montevideo, living in poverty and in a child care institution from which he repeatedly escaped from. Street homelessness (sleeping rough) experiences began a year later mother's death and quitting school at 14 years old: *"When I was a little boy we were very poor. In the morning I went to school, and in the afternoon I worked in the tannery. I stopped studying after my mother's death, I slept on the streets, I begged at the street markets, I used to work helping people here and there as a handyman, but when I was alone on the streetsI started to hang out with the wrong people, so to speak. For the people who live at night, they understood that a boy alone, that I was, they had to teach me to be like them, to do certain things like stealing, for example"* (Adam, 44 years old, three times in prison, living in the hostel for released for two weeks).

For the majority of respondents of this group, criminal behaviour begins throughout adolescence and is characterised by nonviolent, minor infractions that are linked to relationships with antisocial friends and "survival crimes" (Gowan, 2002; Snow & Anderson, 1989) as thefts, drug dealing, in order to obtain material goods, electronic devices, drugs, assuring economic survival as a potential source for homelessness and offending experiences (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Kaufman & Widom, 1999; Kerig & Becker, 2012: quoted in Kerig & Becker, 2015: 187). In this vein, offending onset and involvement is learned in a specific setting through connections with people who provide motives, techniques, rationalizations that facilitate crime (Hagan & McCarthy, 1997).

Joseph's story

As previously mentioned, adverse events during childhood and adolescence are likely to result in a family structure that is unable, reluctant, not capable of providing support (Koegel *et al*, 1995). As was previously emphasised, parental abandonment and physical abuse damage respondents' ontological security (Giddens, 1991), which persists into adulthood and manifests in unstable relationships and personal life.

For the respondents whose fathers expelled them from the house when they were twelve or thirteen years old owing to drug use and criminal activity, this crisis event erodes their basic sense of identity,

self-worth, and belonging. This catalyst will be the crucial event in a persistent pathway into homelessness and pattern of sustained criminal conduct (Mallet et al., 2009).

Joseph's story reveals his buried family collapse, how he became homeless and an offender, and the role model of father that will constraint his own fatherhood. He narrates his parent- child relationship strongly affected by father's alcoholism and a mother who does not interfere. He details the numerous increases and drops in drug usage that have occurred throughout time as a result of crisis moments, environmental factors, and homelessness drifts and outs starting from a very young age.

Joseph (38 years old, has been in prison eight times, has been living in a night shelter for a month for the first time) is one of the few who has commited violent criminal activity (assaults) since the beginning of their criminal involvement. He reflects on the role played by peers on its career criminal prematurely: *"There were bigger kids who inserted me into the world of crime, so to speak, they taught me what is done, what is not done ... bigger people who gave me the weapons to handle me in that area (...) then you give yourself account, he taught me to steal, but I stole for him practically"* (Joseph, night shelter).

He has three children but he does not have contact with them nor his family. He narrates having suffered from mental disorders from childhood, which worsened due to the fact that he used to drink alcohol since he was eight years old when he had to go to the pubs to *"rescue"* his father, a severe alcoholic. They lived in a precarious situation, in a boarding house at that time, moving forward to a rented house in a neighbourhood located east of the centre of Montevideo.

When he was 12 years old his father threw him out of the house after arguing violently because Joseph's first theft: *"I began using cocaine, it also goes hand in hand and my father told me: if you are a man for robbing and becoming a drug addict, you are also big enough to support yourself. In this house there's no room neither for thieves nor for drug addicts, only working people. I told him OK, I turned around and left. I headed myself to the street, to Parque Rodó [local park], all by myself. First time sleeping rough. A month living in Parque Rodó".*

After a month he returned to the family's home, but drug abuse worsened. He had a drug overdose at 14 years old, and after being compulsory hospitalised in a mental health private clinic, he went to live on the streets for 2 years: *"I didn't talk with my father. I had resentment, such a pain. How worried she* [her mother] *was going to be?! If she never went to look for me".*

Joseph survived committing (violent) robberies with his criminal peers: *"I kept increasing the levels of cocaine consumption. At that moment my criminal career started. I robbed, climbed the balconies, entered people's houses while they were sleeping. I stole their gold, silver. I stole handbags, pickpocketed. We were generally 2, 3 up to 4 people. It was due to the neighbourhood where I was raised. At that time, it was crowded with tenements … that kind of middle-class that discriminated against me because I never had money and the others that we punched hard every day to have a snack with the boys of the tenements. And that's how I ended up living in this environment (...)".*

A group of older alcoholic men, whom attempted rape him while he was sleeping one night. When he was 19 years old he moved with criminal peers to an occupied tenement (overcrowded and in poor physical conditions) located in a neighbourhood in the south part of Montevideo. Drug abuse (paste cocaine) increased while he kept stealing: *"all I wanted was to get high".*

Three years later, Joseph's first baby was born, comes his first prison sentence in the ex-Comcar prison charged with theft where he was for about a year, *"2004 was the worst year of my life. I was sent to prison for the first time. While I was being in prison, [names the girlfriend], she prostitutes herself. When I was out of jail, I beat her almost to death. My son was sent to live in my mother's house, he was a tiny baby. There, things got worse; I descended to seventh hell and started to go to jail more often".*

As strong empirical grounds show in the introductory chapters, victims of physical and sexual abuse and victimization suffered at home run away from home are risk factors for problematic use and homelessness as well (Kemp, *et al.*, 2006). And for some cases those intertwined risk factors were strongly associated with certain and accelerated violent criminal activity (assaults with weapons). However, as the statutory age of adulthood which is 18 years old was approached and with that a long prison sentence (no less than 5 years) it is decided to do a shift by moving away towards a lesser serious crime (e.g. property thefts) in order to avoid violence and longer prison sentences if they were caught.

Consistent with referential studies on drug abuse and homelessness when they occur together, they can reinforce each other, and cause or intensify other problems (Hutson & Liddiard, 1994; Fitzpatrick, *et al.*, 2000; Neale, 2001; cited in Kemp, *et al.*, 2006: 320). Furthermore, being expelled from home by a figure of detachment and protection accentuates an acceleration in their drug use career and

offending involvement (Anglin, Hser & Grella, 1997; Hser, Hoffman, *et al.*, 2001; cited in Hser, *et al.*, 2017).

Furthermore, sustaining previous international findings on homeless youth and offending activity posit that young people socialized in dysfunctional family featured by loss of affection, and parental rejection, running away from home, have higher risks of rejection by conventional peers, and higher chances of be in closer association with deviant peers group, more involvement in delinquent activity and drug abuse (Simons & Withbaker, 1991).

But also, as Parsell & Parsell (2012) note, that *choices* can be understood as an expression of agency and a commitment to a "normal" identity. The above cases were used here to illustrate consistent with the literature how family violence is a leading factor to leave home at youth stage (Janus, *et al.*, 1987; cited in Hagan & McCarthy, 1997: 110).

Also is important to mention coinciding with Parsell & Parsell (2012) argument that beyond trauma, deprivations, and social disconnection, "always feeling out of place", "feelings of being out, not belonging to nowhere" *"are ways of taking ownership over their current situation: their choices, [represent] a powerful assertion of agency and personal individuality"* (Parsell & Parsell, 2012: 430).

Going further, Fitzpatrick (1997) has illuminated the negative implications of fathers who are violent, alcoholic mothers who "does not interfere" to mediate the conflict or prevent the son from leaving home on young people in their pathways into homelessness by highlighting that: *"The dysfunction in most of these households stemmed from the natural father, and demonstrates how male 'role models' can be negative influences in children's lives"* (1997: 193) provoking deep emotional pain, and loneliness, and negative impact on their own fatherhood transition.

6.3.3 Fatherhood, a turning point?

Between the ages of 16 and 24, a number of respondents became parents. This is a crucial transition into adulthood that takes place in a temporary space environment marked by a lack of financial resources, marginalization and instability in housing, a significant negative social capital (Portes, 1998), and extreme drug abuse conditions. Fatherhood as a turning point (Giordano et al., 2002) or as increasing responsibility that motivates change to leave homelessness (Karabanow, 2008) was insufficient to stop their process of marginal and economic conditions (Snow & Anderson, 1993), which was started by long-term placement in juvenile institutions, structural poverty, family violence, and

residential segregation. Growing offending engagement and peer group implications are indicative of the process of acculturation to the street milieu in which they are engaged.

A possible explanation is that intra familial violence exerted by the father (insults, being expelled from home by him) produced *"attachment-style problems and distorted internal working models of relationships that go on to negatively affect the next generation"* (Collins, *et al.*, 2010: 42) and consequently, in the interviewees father role.

Henceforth, despite the positive influence mentioned by evidence of these turning points (e.g., parenthood) which may have on helping the desistance offending process (Bottoms & Shapland, 2014; Laub & Sampson, 2003), the disruptive relationships with which they share their daily lives, reinforce a pattern of continuity and deepening in offending activity. Further, the linked lives principle from the life course perspective, which holds that individuals in significant relationships with one another, "*such as parents and children, occupy mutually influential interlocking developmental trajectories that extend throughout their lives"* (Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003; cited in Greenfield & Marks, 2006: 443) is severely harmed.

The first prison experience in the adult penal system occurs for practically all the interviewees at between 18 and 19 years old. This critical transition will accentuate a pattern of social housing exclusion in which they were immersed a long time ago.

At this point, it may be emphasised that for this group of paths, the causes of structural inequality, extreme poverty, and social exclusion have a significant impact on the manner in which people become homeless and engage in criminal activity. Relational, institutional, and structural elements, which were highlighted through the narratives, play a vital part in the interviewee's accumulation of needs, even though so-called individual cut-off criteria are thought to appear at a young age.

Overall, as the interviewees' biographical narratives demonstrate, long and chronic routes to homelessness are strongly marked by extreme socioeconomic deprivations, poverty, situational hardships, family conflict, victimization, drug abuse and mental health issues, dropping out of school before the age of fifteen, lack of access to resources, unstable and precarious relationship with the labour market, and other factors.

In terms of living situations, the life stories reveal having lived in subpar neighbourhoods in tenements and slums, and some of the interviewees began dipping in and out of (street) homelessness as young as 12 (and also earlier). Additionally, in line with other studies, some of them begin to engage in

criminal activity and develop substance addiction issues around or before the age of 13 while living at home and as a result of "deviant pressures" (Baldry *et al.*, 2006) and entry points into the juvenile judicial system.

Based on the biographical and narrative analyses, three main sub-pathways leading to homelessness can be identified that are complicated by offending since childhood or early adolescence and are strongly linked to severe victimisation. Family conflict also push interviewees to follow one or more of these pathways. 1) prolonged early care institutionalization (and) the juvenile justice system, 2) familiar environments for criminality, and 3) substance addiction. Victimization and institutionalization will continue to be a part of their adult lives. According to some baseline research, institutionalization begins at an early age, which causes some people to "get caught" (Quilgars et al. 2008; Mayock, Corr, & O'Sullivan, 2013) in a protracted cycle of residential instability.

The traits of the *falling down pathways group* prior to the first prison sentence are analysed in the section that follow.

6.4. Falling down pathways

"You can't sleep on the street for safety, you might have problems with the police, with the crackheads that come to rob you to buy drugs, with the ones who don't like the crackheads and want to tear fire on you or throw rocks at you, they kick you up" (Tom, 45 years old, twice in prison, living in the night shelter for a year since the last homeless episode)

The early years for the second group of pathways are characterized, according to their narratives, by a relatively stable childhood, having growing up in ordinary families and with other "anchor" social relationships, especially important to buffer homelessness at early stages (Johnson, *et al.*, 2015; Lemos, 2000; Tabner, 2010; cited in Bramley & Fitzpatrick, 2018: 98). Their accommodation pathways are characterized in most cases, by living under suitable housing conditions in working class districts, and a few of them in poor neighbourhoods under poor living conditions.

In contrast to the prior group, there were no accounts of rough sleeping early experiences. However, similar to the findings of the Mallet, Rosenthal & Keys (2005) study, the drug and alcohol abuse of this group of respondents "led directly to their homelessness" (2005: 188). Their interactions with the adult criminal justice system will be gradually triggered by their rapidly rising drug use in combination with unfavorable social ties. The central aspects of this group of pathways are explained in further depth below.

6.4.1. High risk circumstances: drugs use issues and negative links

Similar to the convoluted group of paths, most of the interviewees in this group recount that in the beginning was "doing drugs" and/or alcohol problems (although not as extreme in its expression at this stage), starting during late childhood and early adolescence, between 11 and 15 years of age while they are homed. Although, a complex mix of risk behaviours together with precocious conditions while increasing drug abuse occurred, practically all the interviewees around 16 years old are employed and in their "safe base".

Family safety net was not being strong enough to buffer a severe drug abuse escalation few time later, but it did in provide housing resources to retard homelessness experiences at that life stage. Except for Tom and Toby who were the former left alone intermittently by his mother after his father's death

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and stayed living alone at home, while Steven witnessed the first years of childhood of gender based violence exerted by his father (a severe alcoholic). As highlighted above, any kind of abuse or child maltreatment has detrimental implications for the psycho social development that deprive children of the *"average expectable environment"* (Cicchetti & Valentino, 2006) that is needed for adaptive functioning and in adult life.

Substance abuse from an early age may have an anaesthetizing effect in the face of the disturbed and traumatic experiences (particularly in Tom and Toby life histories).

Substance abuse and escalating substance abuse are frequently cited as pathways to homelessness and crime, as we have already seen above. Behind each person's substance use, there may be traumatic events, various family disputes, or other relational issues that work against healthy physical and social functioning.

Toby (48 years old, once in prison for assault, living in a night shelter for seven months) has been as a child witness of gender based violence, *"there were problems because he* [his father] *drank a lot of alcohol, every day, frequently and began to be more violent".* When his parents got separated at seven years old, he moved with his mother to a *"little house",* For him alcohol use started at 13, and consumption of drugs (cocaine) began at 18 years old during the first employment.

The increasing drug and alcohol abuse brought him problems of coexistence with his mother. When he was 28 years old, he moved out on his own into a rented apartment where the substance usage was severe even more than it had been in their shared home years earlier due to the growing drug and alcohol consumption. When he was in his 30s, he lost his job and went out in the streets. He stopped using drugs and alcohol after doing so. He married, *"we constructed a house on her family's land"* and he reconnected with his mother. However, drug consumption had already resumed, and as he was moving into a rented room, he committed an assault with a friend that resulted in a nearly seven-year jail sentence in ex-Comcar prison at the age of 37.

Tom has been consuming drugs since 11 years and he never went to high school. He has been HIV positive since his early twenties. He stayed living alone in a rented house after his father died and his mother abandoned him. Tom used to live off drugs sales and other stuff to survive, and at 15 he started to commit thefts: *"By 15 I was alone at home. I started doing drugs when I was 11. I've always dated older women who used other things, like cocaine, LSD, amphetamines, and I was alone, I was doing whatever and I was making my living from the drugs I used to sell".*

After being married for 11 years and maintaining a sober lifestyle, *"I wasn't stealing and I started working"*, maintaining a stable way of life, working as an office boy, and, *"I dealt drugs"*, he got separated, started doing and dealing drugs again, and at 43 years old (in 2016), he was imprisoned in the former Comcar prison for four months on theft charges.

The remaining interviewees narrate disruptions in academic domain hand in hand with drug use and drug abuse escalation as critical turning points in their adolescence years: *"adolescents (between the ages of 10 and 19 years) experience rapid physical, cognitive, and psychosocial growth. This influences how they feel, think, make decisions, and interact with their environment"* (World Health Organization; cited in Kerig & Becker, 2018: 181). In this regard, in this developmental stage of critical and traumatic transitions, high risk environments and interpersonal relations acquire a pivotal relevance in their pathways *into* homelessness and offending.

The interviewees describe a pattern of "getting by" (Mayock & Corr, 2013: 53) defined by drug misuse and criminal behaviour, as well as a strong negative peer pressure that causes disruptions or breaks in their academic pursuits, but *"never in the street at that age"* (John, hostel for released).

As was mentioned above, local evidence suggests, and prior analysis has shown, early school dropout rates are among the risks for young people to become homeless, along with increasing street involvement and the possibility that many of them were immersed in a homeless and drug-based lifestyle (Mayock & Corr, 2013: 53):

"At 14, 15, I was a boy when I started [to drink]. I started and didn't stop. I had friends, we got together, we got drunk. It coincides more or less when I drop out of studies" (Michael, night shelter)

"I've been using drugs since I was 12 or 13 years old, I dropped out of high school two years later after that (…) At 13 I started using drugs and I got hooked, and well. I started working at 15, after dropping out high school" (John, hostel for released)

Angus, 34, has served three prison terms and is currently living in the hostel after being released from prison two weeks ago. He describes spending his childhood and adolescence in an eastern city working-class middle-class family, where he lived in the same home with his parents until he was 17 years old. However, he began using drugs at the age of 14, dropped out of high school, and began doing nonviolent thefts. When he was in high school, he used to hang out with "bad companies" that used drugs and committed crimes: *"At the beginning it was all about consumption, I took drugs, cocaine,*

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weed and then I became a criminal. Bad influences encouraged me, as if you were part of a tribe and you have to go hunting, I thought it to myself, I dared to commit crimes".

By that point, his father had kicked him out of the house and asked him to come back when he went looking for him a few days later. He spent less than a week at his cousin's residence. When he was 17 (in 2002), he and his brother emigrated to the US in search of better possibilities, but due to their status as undocumented immigrants, they were imprisoned for a year. He began drug peddling while residing in the family home after being deported to Uruguay, and his consumption grew until he overdosed, forcing him to quit using drugs and alcohol for a while. When he was 22 years old, handling stolen property charges sent him to the ex-Comcar jail for two months: *"a week before [of child's birth] I went to jail. I wanted to die (…)".*

According to Johnson & Chamberlain, those who follow the substance addiction pathway began using drugs while they were young (before the age of 20), yet *"sustained a casual habit for some years"* (2011: 65). However, once use was no longer just for fun, issues with keeping a job and interacting socially with non-users also surfaced: "*When this happens, they use a range of strategies to secure alternative income"* (Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011: 65).

Here's an illustration of how John's drug use led to property thefts, negative social links, and prison involvement years later (six times imprisoned). This is consistent with what other empirical studies have found regarding the relationship between increasing consumption and escalating arguments with parents and other family members, and homelessness (Mallet, 2010; Mayock, Corr, & O'Sullivan, 2012). He narrates of feeling emotional overwhelming, as well as anxious, afraid, and discouraged.

John's story

"All the thefts I committed where to buy drugs. It's a damn addiction that I was aware of at the time, which cost me a lot. It's a mad disease, a big bug. I didn't even look back anymore; I was with a very low self-esteem and a million other things that were adding up, like a backpack that was getting bigger and bigger"

John's childhood and adolescence passed in a working-class middle-class family, without violence or severe deprivations *"I had everything covered at home [basics needs]".* He lived in a rented house from a relative with his family until his parents split up in a middle income south neighbourhood of Montevideo. Then he moved to the city centre to a rented apartment with his mother, step father and

his two brothersHe started using drugs at 12 or 13 years old, and two years later after that, he dropped out of high school. From his 15 until his 18 years he worked in a pharmacy.

Some fight with his stepfather at that age led him to sleep at his grandfather's home for a couple of months. At 19 while living with his brother he started with severe drug abuse problems (paste cocaine base). To stop it he wanted to leave Montevideo and he moved to his father's place and worked in a restaurant in a seaside resort. However, his problematic consumption got worse sharply, and almost in his 30s he was imprisoned, *"the consumption starts first, in this order, first consumption, then streets, and delinquency".* All of his prison experiences have lasted less than a year in ex-Comcar prison, Libertad prison, and Canelones prison, entering the penal system for the first time for three and a half months. *"I started smoking so badly, I isolated myself from everything".* In the period of two years (2012–2014), John was arrested three times. During his first prison experience, he used to have visits from one of his brothers and his sister-in-sister.

The changes in life circumstances related to environmental characteristics contribute to hit rock bottom turning points. The inability to sustain employment, the intermittency in relation to sustained housing, have consequences on their street and offending experiences. Consistent with Parsell and Parsell (2012) findings, *"Homelessness as a choice was described as subordinate to the primary aim of using illicit substances''* (2012:426).

While drug initiation can be associated with exploration and freedom (Mallet et al, 2009) typical of adolescent stage, interviewees experience an escalation to higher levels of drugs or severe alcoholism, for some of them, while for others cause a subsequent crash on their health.

Deviant peer affiliations for the vast majority; living with other drug users, partner using drugs, environmental factors such as availability of drugs in the neighbourhood, negative peer relationships increasing their risk exposure to antisocial behaviour and delinquency (Ireland, Smith & Thornberry, 2002; Stewart, Livingston & Dennison, 2008; cited in Hurren, Stewart & Dennison, 2017: 25). However, as was already indicated, there is no definitive link between higher drug use problems and respondents' increased propensity for problem use, crime, and homelessness. Participation in treatment programmes, marriage, steady employment, childbirth, and overdosing were among the causes indicated by interviewees as causing a decline in drug use, drug dealing and minor thefts. In some situations, later on, usage was discontinued for a long period of time.

6.4.2. Severe street engagement

The events that provided respondents with symbolic social support, such as marriage or becoming fathers, allowed the interviewees who had previously committed crimes to transition into conventional adult roles. This helped them maintain their personal stability and abstain from drug use for a predetermined period of time. Although some of them continue to drug related activity for economic benefit.

Marriage stability strongly influenced by a partner who not use drugs provided a "new self-understanding for themselves" (e.g. Lofland, 1969; cited in Maruna, 1997) while living in adequate (despite variations) housing conditions "as a safe base" with strong benefits for the self, and their relations, and access to tangible resources. In those cases, the interviewee narratives highlight that in those periods a combination of "going straight" activities (Maruna, 2001) with some illegal activities (related to drug selling, handling stolen things): *"I never hurt anyone, never stole with a gun. I stopped when I got married. When I was married I stayed clean for 11 years, I wasn't stealing and I started working".* working as an office boy *and I dealt drugs".* After he got separated, Tom started doing and dealing drugs again, *"I stayed at my friend's place for one year, from 2009 to 2010." (Tom, night shelter)*

For the interviewees who stayed for an extended period of time (a number of years) living in adequate housing circumstances, getting married and having employment opportunities combined with some of them with thefts and drug-related offenses, traumatic events experienced such as separations triggers a peak in drug intake and become turning points in their trajectories related to homelessness, drug abuse, and offending: *"In 2003 I got laid off by a construction company and…I bought a piece of land, I built my little house [made of] cans and I lived there more or less until 2004. [I] moved after the split up to his aunt's house and started stealing and "hanging out" in the streets: "I got separated when my daughter was 8 years old, when I got separated was when I was arrested"* (Noah, 36 years old, five times in prison, living in the shelter for two months since the last homeless episode).

The injurious effect of drugs on marriage is noticeable that the latter is not capable of counteracting, leading to the argument that conjugal couple by itself cannot mediate the strong bond related to drug and alcohol use and offending (Schroeder, Giordano & Cernkovich, 2007) and when transitions into divorce condition occur, this elevates the conviction rates (Blokland, 2010). As almost all of the respondents move through unstable and precarious housing arrangements (brief stays in relatives' homes, friends' homes, inexpensive boarding houses, cheap hotels, etc.), their usage of paste base and/or alcohol worsens over time:

"I started to get broke. In 2014 I was doing more, I was doing everything… cocaine, paste, alcohol, I was shooting up cocaine. And I fell [on the streets] when I was 43 years old, in 2015... Every time I moved I was going to a worse place, from hotels one star to boarding houses and shared rooms till getting on the streets" (Tom, night shelter)

"We got separated and started to take drugs again. Our separation coincides with the increase of drug consumption. I stay alone. I still sell some drugs, and there I started going down, drugs selling decreases and I increase drug intake" (Angus, hostel for released).

A number of respondents are prompted to travel down a path of serious drug and street usage by a combination of rising drug addiction, brief breaks from use, instability in relationships and occupations, and diminished support from family networks. A combination of isolated instances of rough sleeping that develop into a pattern, severe alcoholism, drug use, and criminal activity (most commonly stealing, trafficking in illegal drugs, and to a lesser extent, more serious crimes like assault) are mutually reinforced. Before prison experience, substance abuse, growing family conflict, sleeping rough conditions, and increased police engagement are common (Mallet *et al*., 2005: 188).

Although the link between substance addiction, homelessness, and crime is complicated and nuanced (Neale, 2001; Mayock, Corr, and O'Sullivan, 2012), there is strong evidence that *"homelessness experience itself exacerbate[s] the risk of young people becoming more deeply entrenched in drug use and criminal behaviour"* (Mayock & O'Sullivan, 2007; cited in Mayock & Corr, 2013: 22):

"I was on the street, and I wasn't giving a damn. I don't have a partner in the thefts, it has been always alone, but always related to consumption, to consuming drugs, to pay some debt because they were going to kill me. I was a chronic drug addict that I wasn't compatible with anything or anyone who had some dignity. I was so hooked that I would spend four to five days smoking it. I had no place anywhere I would go. I didn't go anywhere, I disassociated myself from everything. I let everything go, radically. I felt like going against everything instead of trying to go back to fix things a little bit. And so I got locked up for the first time in 2012" (John, hostel for released)

"...directly outdoors/ straight to the gutter. I lived on the streets just for a while, for 6 months, no more. All alone and outdoors. I had a bag with some clothes and I had a livelihood" (Toby, night shelter)

Comparing this group of pathways to the previous, the first experiences of imprisonment come later. For the vast majority, the experience happens after 26 years old, and for two respondents later than their 40s. This critical transition (imprisonment) represents an abrupt change for this group of people with complex needs, catching them in a vicious cycle of housing marginalization, homelessness, the penal system, poor social connections, alcohol and drug use (Baldry, *et al.*, 2013). The idea of a decline in living conditions, and also in housing conditions, previously passing through rough sleeping experiences, brief stays in relatives' homes, was also highlighted, as some of aforementioned studies pointed out in Chapter 3.

From here on, this group of journeys will embark even more on an emotional and interpersonal difficult circumstances strongly marked by repeated prison experiences suffering interpersonal and institutional violence, alongside the absence of socio-state mechanisms aimed at the recovery of their severe consumption. From this point on, their release from prison and the subsequent recidivism events will take them through a circuit of institutions and substandard housing where the convoluted routes already circulate. The analysis moves now to the penal system experiences in order to explore any role for the penal system in potentially increasing the risk of deepening involvement and sustaining in a homeless pathway after release for the two group of pathways.

6.5. Prison experiences: struggling with victimization, trauma and drug abuse

"We have the insecurity we have because of the prison system we have" (Parliamentary Commisioner, 2022)[59]

"Unless if you have a certain lucidity to discern that it is a psychological torture that you have to swallow, and that you have to leave. If you get in there bad you are going to leave bad or worse. (...) they [the police] *make you kill yourself for others and they will film you with a smartphone for other guys, there are fights in which they use knifes and people betting on who will win" (John, 35 years old, six times in prison, living in the hostel for released for 20 days)*

6.5.1. Introduction

As was stated in the introductory chapters, a great proportion of inmates have multiple complex unmet needs (poor physical and mental health), and substantial evidence points out that the global north penal system is overwhelmed with drug-crime offenders and violent- and property-crime offenders with drug problems. What's more, the life course evidence has shown that prison (mostly, in youth and early adulthood) far from producing a dissuasive effect on the criminal path has a negative effect on education, employment and relationships stability, increasing future offending (Nieuwbeerta, Nagin & Blokland, 2009; Sampson & Laub, 1993, Bushway, 1998; Farrington, 1977; Hagan, 1991).

Also as argued in the introductory chapters, time spent in prison can aggravate or trigger mental health and substance use problems making it more difficult to avoid homelessness experiences on release from prison, especially if experiences of housing instability or sustained homelessness were already present. In this regard, what happens in prison is crucial to understanding post-release pathways.

This section accounts for the two groups of pathways' detailed prison experiences in relation to incarceration circumstances, victimization, and family ties. According to the interviewees' accounts of both groups, severe punishments in punishment cells, complete lack of access to socioeducational

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[59] At: https://www.elobservador.com.uy/nota/petit-tenemos-la-inseguridad-que-tenemos-por-el-sistema-penitenciario-que-tenemos--202282102750

activities, horrific physical prison conditions, repeated transfers to other prisons, violence and abuse from the prison police, self-harm, interpersonal violence, and abuse were all common occurrences.

Prison experiences are a continuation of the convoluted routes' enduring social marginalization and ongoing institutionalization. For the group of falling down pathways, meantime, incarceration experiences take place under the influence of complex health needs, and the loss of their positive social connections and familial relationships will become a recurring pattern in their lives. The experiences of nearly all the interviewees of this group of paths following incarceration are characterized by long-term and episodic experiences of sleeping rough, intermittent engagement with the shelter system, and housing marginalization.

6.5.2. Conditions of detention

Lack of socio-educational programmes to support and encourage social reintegration, unfairness in treatment, frequent human rights violations, lack of food and resources, excesive leisure time, combine to make prison experiences particularly painful. The testimony of the respondents is consistent with international agencies' observations of the state and conditions of incarceration, particularly as they relate to the main institutions in the Montevideo metropolitan area.

According to the report created by the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penal System, the adult prison system in 2019 provided good opportunities for social integration and rehabilitation for 27% of its inmates, insufficient opportunities for social integration and rehabilitation for 47% of its inmates, and cruel, inhumane treatment or degrading conditions for 26% of them (2019: 44). As a result, 73% of prisoners are housed in institutions that do not offer them the opportunity for rehabilitation needed to enable their reintegration into society. As a result, 73% of inmates are confined in facilities that do not provide the required opportunities for rehabilitation to support their social reintegration[60].

The following are highlighted as necessary conditions to accomplish social reintegration in the Annual Report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Penal System (2019: 44–45): A good activity schedule, places with little to no internal violence, relationships with the inmates' families and social connections, directors and referents who are familiar with the inmates and make an effort to address

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[60] Despite this, the 2018 Report shows an improvement in detention conditions compared to earlier years (26% had possibilities for social integration, 39% had insufficient opportunities, and 35% had conditions of harsh, inhuman, or degrading treatment).

their needs and unique characteristics, a great deal of environmental openness, and interactions with the outside world are all desirable (social and cultural organizations carry out activities inside the prison).

The lack of socio-educational and rehabilitation activities, interpersonal and police violence, scarce resources, appalling physical confinement conditions, exhibit that imprisonment is an experience of chronic and persistent stress with enduring effects (Aneshensel, 1992) on the interviewees of this study. Furthermore, what is of vital importance is as stated above, the stage of development that this experience took place for the vast majority of interviewees. Much more critical for those who enter prison at a stage of critical biological and psychological transition stage and age-determined socialization (before 25 years old) and with repeated homelessness, and imprisonment experiences.

Due to each interviewee's brief stay in jail, their testimony about the lack of are presented here. Due to their subsequent sentences being so brief—usually between three months and a year—their recollections of their lives show that they did not participate in rehabilitation programmes (with few exceptions).

Their accounts tell they did not participate in sociocultural activities during their incarceration (located in former Comcar prison, Canelones prison, and Libertad prison) neither rehabilitation programmes during their subsequent sentences, mainly due to the brief time -usually between three months and a year (with few exceptions).

This is consistent with the literature review chapters' discussion of the dearth of programmes specifically designed for short-term offenders with multiple convictions and complex needs who are ineligible for socioeducational programmes. This has a direct bearing on the dearth of opportunities and the deterioration of physical and mental health while incarcerated and at post release pathway (Maguire & Raynor, 2006; Seymour *et al.*, 2015; Couloute, 2018; Moschion & Johnson, 2019; Pleace & Minton, 2009). As interviewees point out:

"[No Rehabilitation activities] Because that is for people that stay for many years. I was in jail because of theft, you are supposed to be released at any moment. That is for the people, to reduce time in prison" (Joseph, night shelter)

"Now that time has passed, I think it was pretty hard, it was very violent and that changed me a little. Actually, it changed me a lot. There were no rehabilitation programs or activities. I could go to the courtyard twice a week" (Toby, night shelter)

"I chose wrong, a bad option. I entered at just 19 years of age. It was the first time I lost, and if you are not a criminal, you BECOME a criminal in there because you live with 300 idle people. In Canelones prison there are 300 people in a sector, 5 have work inside prison, 5 go to do primary school, I don't know, 25 people do something out in total" (David, hostel for released)

Along with psychological pains brought on by inadequate physical security (Warr, 2016) and low institutional trust in the prison (Liebling, 2011), a lack of resources and poor food and hygiene, *"mortification of the self"* by staff or other prisoners (Goffman, 1961; Liebling, 2011), deprivation of personal needs, a lack of mental health support and treatment, forced isolation, and other factors, increased stress and suffering:

"The food was always disgusting, dirty water with some noodles and a piece of bone. The inmate's family has to bring things to them so that they can eat like people do. Those who don't have visitors, we were always like that, we gave them. Some people have nothing to eat" (Mark, rough sleeper)

"Module 5 was bad, the cell was crowded, the first cell I was sent to, there was nothing. They were sleeping on the floor, no mattresses, no blankets, grimy, and the next one...we were 16, there were cells with 10, 9, I was 23... I had an unhealthy diet, potatoes were rotten, everything was greasy" (Angus, hostel for released).

"There are no activities, no rehabilitation programs, they don't tell you anything about inmate releasing (…) When I got into jail I went straight to the "cans" where people were drinking water from the toilet. In the winter, the cops hose you down, they come with the hose and wet you all over. It's an absurd situation" (Oliver, night shelter)

(The "cans" as they were called, were containers placed inside the prison of the Penal de Libertad to combat overcrowding. However, the infra-human conditions of those modules came to be described by UN Manfred Nowak as *"one of the worst prisons in the world".* They were literally made of cans which produced suffocating heat in summer and extreme cold in winter. The cells had almost no bathrooms. Almost 400 inmates were placed there after a riot in Penal de Libertad prison)[61].

"24 hours with seven people in the same cell [in Canelones prison] that is as small as this room here. Water was available only for three hours a day, from three to seven in the morning. There were up to

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[61] The following link shows the devastating conditions of those modules:
https://www.subrayado.com.uy/clausuraron-las-latas-una-las-peores-carceles-del-mundon849.

11 of us in a cell that was made for three people, with only three beds, and one of them was all broken up, they destroyed them to make knives out of it." (John, hostel for released)

"I was in "the hole" [solitary confinement] for six days and it was the worst time in my entire life. I'd never seen so much impertinence in the police, I saw the faces of the hate on them. You are impotent there ... there is verbal harassment and psychological torture. They throw you in a "hen house", they make you kill yourself and two are gone… that's how it is" (Oliver, night shelter)

The interviewees accounts' struggle with the severe institutional victimization, lack of resources, lack of autonomy, becoming the life stressors and traumatic experiences of their (multiple) prison sentences. The extremes of a life that is routinized, constantly threatening self-reliance, and extremely under-resourced. The disruption caused by a criminal conviction, in particular for those on the falling down paths, *"results in a negative self-concept, blocked opportunities and great likelihood of associations with other "delinquents"* (Restive and Lanier, 2015: 117). According to this claim, there is a larger probability of exposure to the negative association when low-risk and high-risk offenders are housed in the same prison units' facilities (Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004):

"I was a first-time offender. It was horrible but I knew people because, of course, I was not a thief for that environment. Everyone knew I was a drug addict, like I was a drug dealer but I wasn't a drug dealer. You fight for respect or it's [a fight] cell against cell even though it's not your problem". (Tom, nigh shelter)

"I haven't met anyone who was in jail and had one just prison sentence. The conditions for inmates here in Uruguay, let's say 90%, aren't favourable for you to leave better than when you get it. We are talking about all aspects of it, the building, other inmates, the people who work there… but it has gotten better. In six years I have seen lots of improvement, the number of prisoners for whom the doors have opened, then the overcrowding issues" (John, hostel for released)

It can be stated that the penal system experiences increasing negative impacts on the self, social relationships, and future chances for the interviewees of this study and consistent with literature on labelling effects of imprisonment. The deprivation of liberty, according to Liebling, "*now incorporated the deprivation of meaning and biography, the interruption of chronology and the re-channelling of the self into a narrow and closely prescribed blueprint*" (2011: 543). In addition to institutional constraints that are critical in extending (and producing) their experiences of homelessness, the absence of socio

educational rehabilitation programmes and re-entry programming increases the conditions for reoffending throughout the life course.

6.5.3. Experiences with violence in prison

Interpersonal and police violence are widely mentioned by the interviewees as frequent experiences while their times in prison. Following Bottoms (1999), interpersonal violence is not just the outcome of violent offenders (in general, according to evidence previously victimized) but instead a result of the environmental aspects, influenced also by the continuous dynamic interaction of prison staff, and the physical context of prison. Consequently, poor environmental conditions reinforce punitive attitudes (greater and serious punishments) from prison staff towards inmates, such as isolation in confinement cells experiences suffering physical violence from personal staff with considerable harmful impacts on the physical, psychological and well-being of the imprisoned population (King, 2001; Bottoms, 1999; Vigna & Sosa, 2019; Vigna, 2020).

Violence practices and abuses perpetrate in this institutional setting with its logics and practices (Harding, *et al.,* 2016) in which interviewees are embedded, exacerbating a chronicity of their lived traumatic experiences which accumulate and proliferate in their successive prison sentences (Thoits, 2010). Consistent with literature on quality life and its moral aspects, testimonies state that humiliation, the experiences of direct violence or witnesses to violence, mortifications on the self, impact severely in the chance of retaining an identity (Goffman, 1961; Liebling, 2004; Thoits, 2010). The following examples illustrate these arguments:

"The police in prison make war on you until death (…) They put my head inside the sewer one day, a sewer full of shit. I lost an eye, they hit me, they broke my easel and hit my retina, I see everything cloudy" (Connor, night shelter)

"They cut [the police] the lights off when you are cooking or when watching TV… and they beat you up, they catch you at night not during the day, because there are the human rights people…they stepped up on my head, they beat me and hit me all over with a baton and threw me in the cell… but people say that before it was even worse" (Tom, night shelter)

"Nowadays they are nicer, they don't beat people up. I don't know, but two or four years ago, they used to beat people up, I got beaten up. Now isn't like that, it's getting better. You are in jail, you are

paying for it, but... it is not necessary to break your arm or shoot you like I got shot in the face... [That is a shot?] yes, a shot, [from prison police] in El Penal" (Harry, rough sleeping)

"They knew that I had hurt a policeman. They tied me up outside on a very stormy day, they tied me on two poles and beat me up. The other inmates couldn't do anything and if they got involved with it, they were going to get beaten up too. What I experienced inside the jail for hurting a policeman was ugly, it was very ugly. Today I thank god I'm alive, but I have lived through riots, I have found myself badly, I have ended up hurt" (Josh, night shelter)

"They put you naked and they beat you up in an open area in the middle of winter, tear gas, that they shoot pellets at all over our bodies when we were cooking. They always made psychological threats; it was fun for them" (Mark, rough sleeping)

"It's creepy. If I wanted to get some air, I had to cut my arm open to be able to get out for some fresh air. It is horrible. It is a Module very violent; it is a Module with lots of fights all the time, people get stabbed all the time, it is an aggressive Module"[62] (Mark, rough sleeping)

The extensive collection of quotes from the two groups of interviewees who reported having been the victims of institutional violence aims to unequivocally show the detrimental effects those (repeated and frequent) experiences had on the respondents' mental health, which in turn led to their experiencing repeated social isolation and homelessness. Understanding the violent events that significantly increase post-traumatic stress symptoms lived in prison is crucial to understanding the trajectories of post-release and homelessness in this study.

These interviewees' lives and their unstable relationships are negatively impacted by the unfavourable prison environment as previously mentioned, but also by the violence and the constant threat of it, which results in high levels of stress, anxiety, and fear that last long after the interviewees have left prison (Listwan, *et al.*, 2013; Meade & Steiner, 2013), and undermine their ability to trust others and exacerbate ontological insecurity issues. From this point on, the violence in prison that they have witnessed and participated in will adversely effect their chances of reintegrating into society as well as their continued use of night shelters, psychiatric hospitals, etc.

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[62] Referencing module 2 from the former Comcar jail.

In addition to the prison discharge itself, as international literature highlights, which sets off the experiences of homelessness, according to the testimonies, the violence experienced while incarcerated becomes a significant aspect of this risk environment that appears to have a significant impact on the repeated and sustained experiences of homelessness following release. Furthermore, narratives highlight experiences of solitary confinement, isolation, cell confinement (24/7), which have detrimental effects to prisoners' mental health (such as, insomnia, anxiety, paranoia, aggression, hallucinations, disturbances of thoughts, depression, emotional breakdowns, self-mutilation, and suicidal impulses, among others) (Birmingham, 2004; King, Haney & Lynch, 1997).

David (26 years old) who has been imprisoned for six years in Canelones prison describes the police and interpersonal violence suffered, and being locked up in the cell for ten months without the chance of going out into the "yard", *"I broke the window grid to see the sunlight" …. "The resources are minimal, and if you are alone, there is never a yard, it is a sewer. They always fight with knives, I have a stab here, which entered my face. It is a school, not a jail, a school for criminals in jail. Because perhaps suddenly you come from a low income- poor family, but not a bad person. And you committed a crime because of need, do you know what I mean? Because they always say thief, thief, but maybe the person was not a thief. Perhaps he needed money" (David, hostel for released)*

The detrimental implications to their mental health mostly for those who have previous mental health problems and severe drug abuse problems, the experiences of extreme confinement and isolation are even worse (Birmingham, 2004; King, 2001). According to their narratives, the level of confinement and isolation experienced by some prisoners was even detrimental to their mental health, worsening any kind of psychiatric problem, or drug abuse without adequate treatment. And also, those confinement conditions may cause others who are vulnerable to mental disorder to become mentally unwell (Birmingham, 2004):

"I got cuts on my hands…I tried not to consume drugs in jail, I tried to be chill". (Josh, night shelter)

"When I wanted to take some air, I used to cut my own arm to be able to get out of the cell, it's horrible" (Mark, rough sleeper)

"The non-opening of the cells is the tortures that nobody sees" (Adrian, night shelter)

"I [the Judge] will send you to the worst prison, to the worst part of that prison and the worst cell in that part. And that was it. She sent me to `The Rock' [la Piedra in Spanish language], Sector B, Cell 32, the worst place. I was alone there for three months. Days seemed to be tripled, I was about to go mad.

I started to speak to myself. There I realized many things, only by myself. I was allowed to go out five minutes per week, to use the phone three minutes, as long as you have a phone card. But the key holder granted me two extra minutes'' (Joseph, night shelter)

Interpersonal prison violence incidents might be influenced by socio environmental elements or past victimization that left behind severe trauma symptoms and psychological issues, as we observed in chapter 3. Over and above respondents' highlight having suffered the lack of resources, together with severe experiences of interpersonal violence (physical self-inflicted injuries, verbal aggression, sexual or physical abuse, thefts of personal belongings) either as victims, perpetrators or witnessing violence. Their experiences support Liebling's assertion that: *"How a prison feels, is shaped to a large extent, as Goffman would have argued, by the daily interactions that constitute that prison. How morality works in each prison varies and gives rise to an identifiable social and emotional climate (…) The absence of respect and fairness is experienced as psychologically painful. Being treated disrespectfully or without dignity generates negative emotions such as anger, tension, indignation, depression and rage"* (2004: 7).

Feelings of distress, symptoms of trauma suffered by the prisoners' in the hostile and violent environment due to the unfulfilling of needs and direct victimization generated, consistent with literature, aggression, depression, self-harming, as ways of coping mechanisms to keep their own distress under control (Gallo & Ruggiero, 1998): *"If you are there for months and you don't have visitors, they leave you there, in the cell" (Tom, living in a night shelter)*. Others, seem to have developed an array of psychological tools to neutralize the negative effects of stressors proper to the interactions from the prison environment (Sykes, 1958):

"I am a person who has adapted a lot to the prison system. I've been through the worst so there's nothing affecting me now (...) It was difficult for me to socialize with others in ex-Comcar because of the way I am. It was difficult for me with the police too, I was a rebel, I didn't get along with other inmates and I was very much against the police. I got into some fights, yes, with the police and with the inmates"." (Harry, living in the hostel for released)

Related to this, one aspect that is of vital importance in the prison experiences, and which is consistent with the extremely serious situation in Uruguayan prisons is that concerning interpersonal violence which was widely narrated by the interviewees. As mentioned in Chapter 3, there are two main explanations for intra-prison violence, the importation model and the deprivation model. And as can be expected, both pre-prison and imprisonment deprivation characteristics come together to

determine the experiences of imprisonment (McGuire, 2018; Cooke & Wozniak, 2010; Ireland, 2012; Steiner, Butler & Ellison, 2014; cited in Trajtenberg & Sánchez de Rivera, 2019: 6).

The interviewee narrations also reveal consistent with Hallsworth & Silverstone (2009) argument, that fights are a result of a *"purified masculinity where being 'hard' assumes master status in order to protect their masculinity in the face of honour and status threat is difficult and where the onus to retaliate in the face of provocation is imperative"* (cited in Rahman & Lynes, 2018: 242). Henceforth, early victimization suffered, and socialization of negative masculinity ideas associated with a lack of emotional sensitivity and of connectedness (Wall & Kristjanson, 2005)[63], together with strains and privations from the prison itself, cooperated in interpersonal violence events (suffered or perpetrated): *"and you have to fight. I fought with the guy who wanted to rob my cousin. The coward took a*

spear from me like this [He holds up his hands to show me the size]. When he threw the second spear at me, I stuck it in his shoulder and the knives fell out. You see, asshole? that's what happens to you to know that you have to respect the people who are here, thief or murderer" (Harry, rough sleeper)

"knives are used when fighting, with swords as big as this, and you have to be equipped, because you don't know if one day one of them wakes up a little bit mad, gets into the cell and stubs me, everyone with knives". (Angus, hostel for released)

"There were fights because of drugs, because of stupid things or because there are people who have been in prison for so long that they are sick. There are people there who got a penalty of 15 years and they are only completing 2 or 3 years there, imagine these little heads [rehabilitation programs], with nothing at all, no privileges to reduce the sentence because it is considered a light crime, that is for those who are charged for assault or something worse" (Tom, night shelter)

As was previously mentioned in the opening chapters, the life course approach has shown that imprisonment is a negative turning point in people's life closing future opportunities and development. The effects on prisoner´s identity and well-being of the moral aspects of prison, understanding *"those aspects of a prisoner's mainly interpersonal and material treatment that render a term of imprisonment*

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[63] American Psychological Association (2018): Harmful masculinity and violence. In the Public Interest. Available at: http://www.apa.org/pi/about/newsletter/2018/09/harmful-masculinity

more or less dehumanizing and/or painful" (Liebling & Arnold, 2004: 473) have strong implications in achieving successful resettlement and social integration.

The violence suffered, the scarcity of material, and emotional resources, as well as the repetitive, intermittent transitions between prison and community life for the vast majority of the interviewees (due to the sentence of related to the crime committed) reinforce an aggravated mental health, a subsequent mortification of the self, the loss of personal safety and physical integrity, and their sense of worth and self-concept (Goffman, 1961; Liebling & Maruna, 2005).

The entry into prison meant not only a threat to their physical and mental safety, but also indifference to their mental and health individual needs, and a collapse or deterioration (to a greater or lesser degree) of family relationships and other positive social capital.

6.5.4. A decline in the safety net

Extended periods of imprisonment in isolated locales frequently weaken the social and family links that are essential for a successful release into society, as noted by Metraux and Cho (2008). Maintaining healthy relationships with family and friends while serving jail sentences has been shown to benefit the inmate's improved mental health as well as for other family members by a significant body of studies.

A better level of social adjustment both while incarcerated and after release may be connected to preserving family relationships through prison visits (La Vigne, Naser, Brooks, & Castro, 2005), a higher possibility that the family will remain together after release (Hairston, 1991), and other factors (Casey-Avecedo & Bakken, 2002). A successful reintegration process into the community and a decrease in the chance of reoffending are also suggested as impacts (Hairston, 1988; May, Sharma, and Stewart, 2008; Niven & Stewart, 2005; quoted in De Claire & Dixon, 2017: 186).

Another similarity between prison experiences of the respondents of the two groups in this regard is that the vast majority of respondents did not receive visits while they were in prison.

Some people, especially in the falling down group, who had family members visit them did so within the first or second prison sentence but they ended at subsequent prison experiences. Those who no

receive family visits become more socially negative affected, losing hope of what they can achieve, and emotional resources as well, and may be reoffend much more frequently than before (Hairston, 1988):

"In four years I had no visitors at all" (Josh, 27 years old, once in prison, living in a night shelter for two months. He lived under a bridge for two years and a half)

"They punished me with 90 days without visits" (Mark, rough sleeper)

It might be added that in addition to the location of the prisons and the moving costs for the families, the latent probability of violent incidents occurring during family visits in these conditions, are adverse for interviewees to have received family visits. In addition, as evidenced by the testimony above, the denial of the right to receive visits as a form of punishment, which is pervasive and extremely common, negatively impacted his life, his family, and their relationships, as well as the prison environment, the system's socio-educational objectives, and the legitimacy of the system (Vigna, 2019).

The complexity of the community reintegration process and the intersection of homeless routes after prison releases are given particular focus in the following. For the interviewees of both groups, the institutional characteristics, the prison environment and conditions, in addition to the violence experienced and committed throughout their prison episodes, influence pathways of sustained and recurring homelessness.

For the convoluted group of pathways, violent experiences in prison, coupled with structural deprivations, early childhood institutionalization, and juvenile penal system experiences, alongside previous victimization experiences, and extreme family conflicts, accentuate their life circumstances aggravating a sustained pathway of extreme residential instability, marginalization, homelessness, and reoffending.

For the group of falling down pathways, time spent in prison become a disruptive event in their lives that pushes and enhancement some interviewees into pathways of repeated homelessness experiences and high level needs, social isolation, aggravating their already frequent derailments/crashes into offending and drug intake. However, it is noteworthy that the two groups' pathways will start to resemble one another after their first time in prison due to their repeated transitions between incarceration and extended and repeated stays in homeless night shelters, and on the streets.

The biopsychosocial repercussions as a result of the violence experienced and the dehumanising experiences in prison will become one of the serious side effects on their routes featured aldo by lack of resettlement possibilities, no access to adequate social services, or/and health treatments, and the deterioration of family ties. The structural barriers that repeatedly appear on their path back to life outside of prison, vulnerabilities in the personal and social realm that worsen, along with repeated and sustained experiences of sleeping rough, using night shelters, hospitals, and other exclusionary living conditions for both groups of interviewees, characterise their truncated transitions and instability paths.

The participants' housing and homelessness pathways will also be marked by unstable trajectories within a closed circuit of prison, homelessness, and cramped living conditions/slums that prevent them, among other issues, from achieving a sustained exit from the circuit, and fall lower and lower as the movements between prison, street, and settlement/slums increases, as we will see in Chapter 7.

6.6. Community banishment: spells of homelessness, re-offending, and social isolation experiences

"Deviant, diseased, dangerous, disaffiliated, undesirable" (Amster, 1999: 4)

"Like the commission of a crime, the reintegration of the former outcast back into society represents a challenge to the moral order, a delicate transition fraught with danger and possibility" (Maruna, 2011: 3)

6.6.1. Introduction

As it was addressed in Chapters 2 and 3, the community resettlement, and the challenges as well faced by those who return to community life after prison, have become important issues concerning social security and crime. Nonetheless, it has been well addressed that their salience for ex-prisoners has been largely unaddressed in extant research (Cullen, Jonson & Nagin, 2009, 2011; cited in Kirk & Wakefield, 2017: 177).

As was previously stated, imprisonment experiences are associated with physical and mental health problems (depression, post-traumatic stress and anxiety disorders, substance abuse), disintegration of fragile relationships, very limited employment opportunities, paths of housing and residential instability between communities with low social control, and narrowed housing opportunities outside shelters and transitory accommodations, among other outcomes for the released inmate and their families (Manza & Uggen, 2006; Weaver, *et al.*, 2014; Harding, *et al.*, 2016; Herbert, *et al.*, 2015; Geller, *et al.*, 2012; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014; Kirk, 2016; among many others).

These collateral consequences contribute, according to reviewed literature, to elevated rates of reoffending, together with unmet mental health support needs.

Additionally, research has demonstrated that the criminal justice system is a major institutional precursor to shelter use (Metraux, Byrne, & Culhane, 2010; Dyb, 2006), and homeless people who have brief and repeated stays in both prison and shelters are those who are caught in the cycle –revolving door- of homelessness and incarceration (Metraux & Culhane, 2006; Lim, 2014; Coulette, 2018).

Both respondent groups experienced victimization during their several prison periods, which exacerbated preexisting needs having an impact on their post-release trajectories. Thus, the narratives of the interviewees concerning their experiences with prison releases, resettlement transitions into community life, homelessness paths, usage of social services for the homeless, etc. are illuminated in this final section.

For both groups of interviewees, the effects of unplanned prison releases and a lack of institutional and post-release supports, an increase and decrease in substance abuse, criminal activity, and re-arrest, and the effects of prison victimization on pathways into, remaining, and repeating experiences of homelessness, are discussed. Structured barriers, unmet housing and health needs, institutional abuse and trauma, a lack of social support, personal feelings of dispossession, and exclusion from the community are some of the causes of failed attempts to break the cycle of homelessness and imprisonment.

6.6.2. Transitions into community

According to a number of scholars, each person's pathway toward reintegration into society is dependent on their own behaviours, decisions, and sense of self as well as their social context. These forces could interact (Laub & Sampson 2003, Maruna 2001, Uggen et al. 2003, Zamble & Quinsey 1997; cited in Visher and Travis, 2003: 94).

A successful resettlement process may be influenced by elements like as employment opportunities, training, housing accessibility, counselling, health services, and supportive peers who are not involved in crime or drug usage (Visher & Travis, 2003). However, structural- institutional and cultural barriers, stigma towards prisoners, histories of protracted unemployment, lack of prior work experience, and prior housing issues, among many other circumstances, hinder prospects and real opportunities for community re-entry.

Structural barriers to housing access and stability, residential instability, trouble finding employment, a lack of social support, and issues with escalating substance use, negatively affect the pathways of both groups of interviewees towards community reintegration, which is similar to the baseline of empirical studies. Despite barriers and drawbacks, it was also feasible to see periods of positive

subjective (new) assessment of a new beginning at the prison release stages for the majority of the respondents (Maruna & Mann, 2019; Vigna, 2011).

To start with, prison releases are unplanned, with no notification at all, nor prison activities or programming release, neither treatment conducted to prepare them to return safely to the community and *"to live as law abiding citizens"* (Petersilia, 2001:4):

"I was released at 5 am, leave as you can (…) Once you are released, make your life, but if people have nothing, they remain on the sidewalk, like this, with nothing. (Adam, hostel for released)

"You get in, sometimes they give you money for the ticket, but for me nothing. I didn't get anything. When I left, I was walking on the road, and on this exact same day they released three others, and one of them was in the same section as I was. He passed by on a motorcycle with his father and they gave me like US$1.25 for the bus ticket. I was released at 11 pm." (Oliver, night shelter)

"Nobody picked me up, it was at night, and I was not given a penny for the bus ticket" (Angus, hostel for released)

According to international literature, poor discharge planning, in addition to institutional, financial, and cultural obstacles, make it difficult for people to reintegrate into the community, which ultimately lead to a cycle of homelessness for those who previously had housing problems or with multiple complex needs.

Unplanned institutional discharges are one of the major factors that directly affect the number of homeless people in a community, according to previous studies covered in Chapter 2. Additionally, as was emphasised, the setting immediately following release from prison is crucial for meeting the changing needs of released, and thus adapt the services to the users' needs. *"Re-entry is to be a meaningful concept, presumably it implies more than physically re-entering society, but also includes some sort of "relational reintegration" back into the moral community",* as Maruna puts it (2011: 4).

Transitions are crucial in the vital life course since they *"mark the entry into novel social settings characterized by their own values and norms, opportunities and constraints, status and roles as well as social relationships and identities, requiring exigent adaptation processes"* (Bleidorn, 2015; cited in Buchmann & Steinhoff, 2017: 2085) added to a range of emotions related to that exigent adaptation process.

As a result, in times of community transition, meeting more pressing material and emotional needs is crucial to achieving stability and preventing reoffending and reimprisonment, and drug relapses. Stages of prison release and resettlement are both a critical event and a long term process (Travis, 2005) in which released prisoners state having a range of needs from the most general (access to employment, education, health) to the most specific (and dynamic) ones (Visher & Travis, 2011).

Pains of "going out" can frequently be just as traumatic as being "in", as Warr (2016: 599) notes in reference to post-release challenges with reestablishing family relationships, attempting to escape criminal nets, organizing daily routine, handling the stigma of having been incarcerated, etc: *"I did not know how to administrate the money"*, as Joseph admitted when he obtained a job in an auction house that lasted only a few months due to a lack of employment training upon prison release: *"I made a daily living, ran up a debt to my boss, paid it off, then quit"*.

Interviewees encounter a variety of obstacles and very limited housing and work possibilities, support, etc., which makes the transition to community worse and makes them lose hope in achieving a stable life (Snow & Anderson, 1993; Mallet et al, 2000): "*This can contribute to the development, or escalation, of a substance abuse problem, which serves to perpetuate homelessness. In some cases, untreated psychotic symptoms also perpetuate homelessness"* (Morrell- Bellai et al, 2000: 600).

Coinciding with previous research, drug abuse and criminal activity (reoffending) *"increase after prison stays"* (Mayock & Sheridan, 2013: 55), for nearly all interviewees, and these factors are strongly linked to peer networks from prison and peer substance users (Johnson & Chamberlain, 2011) in the community who fuel post-release offending (Visher & Travis, 2003). Drug usage levels appeared, also, to rise and fall in tandem with other life events or life-changing conditions, according to Mayock, Corr, and O'Sullivan (2012).

To illustrate this point, for a year, Joseph stopped doing drugs, but he collapsed in drug abuse due to the fact that his children refused to go to live with him: *"and once again in the streets. I ended up in the streets smoking paste base and committing crimes"*. Tom's drug consumption worsened as he transitioned between inexpensive motels and boarding houses after the marriage split up. Prior to going to a night shelter, he used to steal to pay for a cheap hotel or a boarding house. Various interviewees also stated:

"I dedicated my time to smoke cocaine base paste, I stayed on the streets smoking base paste, and my mother went around with my five brothers." (Connor, 35 years old, three times in prison, living in a night shelter for two months since the last homeless period)

"All my relapses were gradually more and more intense; it has only got worse. The consumption of drugs increases and the crime increases as well... of course, because when I use, that is, I don't even 70 dollars, I spend more when I consume". (John, hostel for released)

"I sank back again, I started back with drug consumption, committing crimes" (...) I always committed crimes to consume, with my daughter's mother I also combined for food (...) I hit rock bottom in 2014, reaching 2015. I no longer cared about anything, I was all tamed by consumption, I had lost everything, I had withdrawn from everything, I was alone. I no longer had a chance of anything" (Oliver, night shelter)

Coinciding with previous empirical evidence, the resettlement process is much more complex for people who have a long history of criminality, and even more so, when institutional factors reinforce the lack of support and the nexus of social exclusion/punishment (Gowan, 2002) at post-release paths. The Toby's community resettlement path from the convoluted pathways group is one illustration.

Like the majority of respondents, he continued using drugs after being released. He transitioned from a cheap hotel to a cheap boarding house *"since I needed to pay for base paste"* and then, while working there and committing small crimes and feeling *"very scared",* he moved to an auto repair business. He lost his job at the auto repair shop, and after moving to a night shelter, he was kicked out for fighting with other homeless individuals. He was under the influence of medicines, booze, and other narcotics. Once more rough sleeping, along with spending time in a friend's home, *"a friend from drugs",* a week at his sister's house, a visit to a friend's store from prison, and then he moved to his nephew´s home "*who also takes drugs"* for a few days. Six months later he moved into the night shelter starting a recovery alcohol and drugs treatment.

For the interviewees from this group of pathways who went almost straight from a children's institution to prison, suffer the threats to their emotional health, ontological insecurity, and human agency, since a long care history negative affects cognitive, behavioural, emotional, capacity of agency, and social development (Browne, *et al.*, 2006). For those, deal with life outside institutionalization, with no social relations as support, can trigger or reinforce substance abuse problems: *"I started taking drugs when I was released from jail, I saw one burning drugs and I felt like trying. Now that I'm an*

addict (…) When I was released from jail, my cell partner gave me a hand. He asked his family to pick me up. I went to live with them for a couple of weeks. They consumed cocaine paste and I got hooked and from there I came here [to the streets]" (Charlie, 26 years old, once in prison, sleeping rough for less than a year since the last homelessness episode).

While for the routes of the falling down group, the deterioration of their familial ties through repeated drug relapses and their failed attempts to exit homelessness would seem to deepen problematic drug use in part as a coping mechanism for victimization experienced in prison as repeated painful experiences, among other factors related. Typically, less than a year, and for some of them, an increase in consumption peaks brought on by "bad influences" once more, impacting reoffending incidents. In this scenario, drug relapses and subsequent reoffending appear to be matters of personal responsability covering up the effects of institutional violence, which, as we have shown, leaves the interviewees with significant trauma symptoms.

In some cases, at this stage, some of them return to where they lived previously where they find the same criminogenic influences that contributed to the previous offences (Kirk, 2009; Lynch & Sabol, 2004) or new relationships with someone who drug uses also appear putting them at risk of reoffending:

"I would get out of jail and go to stay with my family for a long time, then a relapse again and I was back to the same chant. It happened to me three or four times. My brother, the younger one after me, got me a job in a construction company which was really good. I lived in a small room behind my mother's house. It lasted as long as a sigh, for two or three months" (John, hostel for released)

"The first time I was in prison my family helped me out and gave me an opportunity, they bail me out. But I got out of jail and I stayed on the streets downtown, I kept doing the same. I used drugs and I used to drink, then I started stealing again. It wasn't easy to have the doors opened to me again, because every two or three months I go away." (Noah, night shelter)

The criminogenic effects of released are further evident in their continuously reoffending events narrated by practically all the participants of both groups having been in prison repeatedly (between three and six times) with short sentences (maximum one year) charged for property thefts. A different picture presents other interviewees who have been in prison one or twice with longer sentences (between 5 and 10 years) charged with more violent crimes (assault, and assault with privation of liberty), and other few prison sentences due to drug trafficking charges, and personal injuries as well have been from one year to a year and a half:

"I got out of jail and went to live with her [girlfriend] A little bit... because I got locked up in just 19 days right after I got out of jail for attempted robbery" (Harry, hostel for released).

"When I went out the first time, I went to NGO. I was going to start to work in a month and three days before, I was arrested again for handling stolen things [20 days later after prison release]" (Connor, night shelter)

"I was released from prison and I stole again: to live! You get off the bus, and in my case as in other cases, you get off, first of all you want to take off your clothes, the clothes with which you got out of prison, the clothes which smell like jail, with that gloomy prediction/ bad omen, you want to have a good meal, you want to take drugs, you want to have sex with a woman, you want to live! …ok, I was released, lend me some money, I'll soon get a job and give it back to you. And you do it one or two nights. Up to now, nobody has given me a job, up to now nobody has given me a job. Imagine, once you get off that bus, soaked in hate, all the resentment and all your inner suffering, what are you supposed to do? You always recidivate, if you have no one's support" (Joseph, night shelter)

Following the labelling theory, the interviewees return to community wearing "invisible stripes" (LeBel, 2006) being denied citizens' rights, and opportunities in the housing field, employment, training and support at every prison release (Leong, 2006; Pager, 2007; Travis, 2005; Maruna, 2011)*.*

Collateral consequences operating as an interconnected system of disadvantages intensifying inequalities in several social domains and well-being (Wheelock, 2005; Wheelock & Uggen, 2005; Visher, 2015), without any kind of policy of resettlement addressing their accommodation and employment needs impinge on their real possibilities of resettlement. As Visher & Travis (2001) highlight: *"the invisible punishments have become instruments of "social exclusion"; they create a permanent diminution in social status of convicted offenders, a distancing between 'us' and 'them'. The principal new form of social exclusion has been to deny offenders the benefits of the welfare state"* (2001: 19):

"With my [prison release] partner, we had already thought that we were going to put a tent in a stream. The most likely thing would have been that in a week had been in prison again. If you don't get a job, where do you get to eat? Or do you have to have the things to bathe every day? It is not easy, if you do not have a family, and even so the situation is difficult" (Adam, hostel for released)

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Along these lines, and as we have seen from the beginning of this analysis, the convoluted group of respondents in a highly disadvantaged position, for whom experiences in the penal system further accentuate those deprivations. In this sense, despite interviewees state several global and specific needs (e.g. not know how to financial manage, not having a personal id), the contacts with the criminal justice system and its administrative sections outside prison failing to provide timely solutions, which also *"essentialize them as permanently morally suspect"* (Harding, *et al.,* 2016: 268). Connor explains the mismatch between his immediate needs to begin creating a life plan outside of prison and the social services' availability of help and employment: *"They send you to the municipal board [PNEL, former DINALI]. We all know that it belongs to the Interior Ministry of Interior. You have to wait about 4 months, you have just got out from prison and what do you do in four months? They [released offenders] have no place or anywhere to go, and they go out to the streets looking for a job for something to do, because some of them got tired of being in jail, they don't want to know anything more about being in jail because the shitty times there; you get hungry, you see things you don't want to, and you go out and ask for a job and they tell you: "we'll have you mind, keep coming back". (Connor, night shelter)*

A cycle of reoffending, lack of social support, family dissolution, poor mental and physical health with insufficient access to the appropriate social health services, homelessness, and social isolation begin to take hold. Angus from the group of convoluted paths, narrates his failed attempts after prison to "go straight", *"I was working and not taking drugs".* But it would not last long, and family conflicts again provoke that *"by the end of 2016 I started to take drugs again, paste cocaine, and I went to the streets. I was out in the streets doing thefts, I took drugs. Sometimes I was awake for 4 days, doing thefts. I dropped by in any place to sleep for one day and a half and kept on doing the same until June [2016] when I was sent to jail once again".*

Without socio-health support to offset the negative impacts of prison victimizaton and symptoms that are ignored during drug consumption peaks, living in a homeless environment makes impossible to sustain a desistance process. Upon his release, he went back between a street condition and slum zone, and stealing. He was in prison once more for four months for theft before going to the hostel for released. (Being in the hostel he spoke on the phone with his three children). In this aspect, attempts to make a lasting exit from homelessness and reoffending are hampered by a lack of financial, relational, and emotional support at crucial moments like release from prison or following drug treatment (Mayock & Corr, 2013).

Cultural, institutional, and structural barriers to face a sustained re-entry and desistance process are the main factors in contributing their homelessness and housing exclusion experiences. The interviewees describe their unsuccessful efforts to reintegrate, despite this challenging situation, their efforts to maintain stability and remain out by avoiding criminal and drug temptations, by working at low-paying jobs, etc. *"[the job] was useless, because I only took it out to eat" (Adam, hostel for released)*

Despite the tremendous challenges of reintegrating into community life, the participant's narratives reveal a desire for a life plan, stability, drug abstinence, employment, and having their lives directed outside of the well-known circuits that exacerbate their life experience:

"… I took a deep breath and started to live again". I said no [to drugs], and I moved here [to the shelter]. I haven't consumed it for a month. I'm fine, I feel stable. I possess the ID card and in treatment for drugs]" (Joseph, night shelter).

"I disassociated myself from everything that was. I am now living the opportunity at 35 years old, it hurts that 35 years have passed … I am full, I want to, I try to leave the bad behind but not forget it, can I explain what I'm saying? because if you forget it, forget it, you can go back to the same thing" (Oliver, night shelter).

Coinciding with previous studies (Snow & Anderson, 1993; Mayock & Parker, 2020; Morrell-Bellai et al, 2000; Mayock & Corr, 2013; Mayock, Corr & O`Sullivan, 2013; Daly, Craig & O` Sullivan, 2012; Johnson et al, 2008) respondents account aspiring to stability, plans for the future, such as having a job, relationships with their children, etc., which are the exact opposite of an acculturation to a life on the streets or a process of acculturation (Mayock & Corr, 2013). But, they are trapped in an endless cycle of residential instability caused by institutionalization processes and poorly designed social services that force them to stay in an "institutional circuit" without being able to leave it.

6.6.3 Severe housing marginalization and re-victimization

The challenges of returning home after a lifetime in institutions, drug issues, a lack of resettlement, and lack of counselling help, along with the stigma associated with offenders and collateral consequences, at this stage in the "release-recall web of punishment" (Cooper, 2012: 21) some of them have faster reoffending occurrences as a result of drug abuse issues, lack of counselling help, employment and housing access. When it comes to housing, a pattern of residential instability that includes using homeless services, prison, the streets, brief spells in psychiatric hospitals, and other kinds of severely problematic housing will be evident after subsequent prison releases. From this point forward, urban settlements/slums will play a crucial role in an institutionalized cycle of homelessness, imprisonment and housing exclusion circumstances that is difficult to break (as we will see in more detail the next chapter).

As was stressed, and coinciding with previous empirical research, for the respondents in this study, experiencing homelessness becomes a matter of re-entry itself due to a variety of systemic, institutional, cultural, and societal failures, as well as, a lack of integral state responses that push the study's participants ever deeper into the social structure, rather than just as a result of their individual pathways and behaviours after every prison release.

The group of interviewees from the convoluted pathways, as we saw in the first section of this chapter, have experienced the most extreme instances of insufficient and unstable housing exclusion since early childhood. The accumulated disadvantages, long institutionalization histories, in addition to the multiple complex needs, the structural barriers, the low levels of human capital as a consequence of victimization and expelled/run away from home, and a high prevalence of mental health problems, and substance use (Visher & Travis, 2003), all make stability and housing security a significant challenge at release (Harding, *et al.*, 2016: 269).

Prior to entering prison, participants resided in marginalized areas with severe housing instability and insecurity, mostly hidden homelessness, in slums, tenenments, etc, and some of the interviewees return to their previous living situations as soon as they are released from prison: tenements, slums, sleeping rough, night shelters, residences of people they hardly know, relatives' homes for a little period of time, and hidden homeless status.

"...tiny veneer ranch, dirt floor, no bathroom, no water, terrible conditions, but it was better than on the street, when it rained at least I had a roof (…) I would get into abandoned places at night and during the day I would wander around looking for something to do, yeah, I did dumpster diving, I was alone. There was a time that was really cold outside and I started to feel bad, and I went to a shelter (…). I was on the street for about 15 days and in the shelter for 20 days, there were a lot of problems (…)

"I lived with that girl on the other side of the stream of the neighbourhood, it was half a ranch (cans) and half made of material, the material part belonged to her mother" (Adrian, night shelter)

In a similar manner, the falling down group, due to the combination of substance abuse and family problems that worsen after subsequent prison releases, without opportunities for social reintegration in which they and their families participate, will resort to making use of the night shelters, the street, and the settlements or slums:

[After spending five months walking around], "I didn't know anyone, I was sleeping in the fields, without food, without anything. That's it, then I came here, because I said, 'this can't be it', and I looked for a shelter. I've been in the shelters for 2 years now" (William, night shelter)

"And I just came across another guy from the neighbourhood. As someone was waiting for him [at prison [release], they gave me a lift (...) I was also sleeping in a small place, a shanty, two nights, everybody smoked [paste base], it was cold there" (Angus, hostel for released)

Homelessness and housing exclusion conditions expose the interviewees of this study to re-incarceration which also exposes them to frequent victimization experiences once more, which severely undermines their identity, self-esteem, confidence on others, and chances for sustained exits from the cycles between the street, prison, and settlement/slums. This deepens the circuit of exclusion in which the interviewees find themselves at this stage:

"…and I hit rock bottom. My father threw me out of the house and I went sleeping rough for eight months". (Angus, night shelter).

The participants' truncated exits from homelessness are made worse by recurring episodes of post-traumatic stress disorder brought on by new waves of prison violence, reentry into communities that do not provide the essential opportunities and guarantees for homelessness and prison nexus exit, and substance abuse.

The roots of destitution and the repeated experiences of homelessness after prison sentences are increasingly shaped by interviewees' institutional and social context, as was already stressed. A myriad of structural and institutional forces outside of their control (Maruna & Lebel, 2003), discrimination, social stigma, poverty, cultural barriers and social perceptions of unnecessary and unwelcome, while also struggling with addiction problems, and trauma symptoms.

Narratives of both groups point out that transitions and settings of prison releases and community resettlement are a challenging picture of collateral consequences of imprisonment which emerge or are aggravated after prison sentences once again under abuses and victimization events.

"It was way worse than the previous experience, because I was already hooked on damn cocaine base paste. I was already using it: I had started in 2002, but I was doing it every day. I would leave work and use it. The addiction got worse after the second time I got out of jail" (William, night shelter)

In the absence of post-penitentiary health services conducive to their needs, the night shelters system becomes the expected social services to treat severe addiction problems (as social capital depreciates in every prison release) but personnel without resources, training or support health approach to cope with the socio-health complexity of the interviewees.

Tom narrates that while he was living in a cheap hotel he was imprisoned for theft again in ex-Comcar prison for six months: *"I left [prison] after six months and came back to the same thing, I was stealing to pay for a place to live, I didn't know what to do".* From prison to sleep in a church (to avoid sleeping rough) and from there to the night shelter *"I could not stop doing drugs and I came here* [current night shelter]*".* He was working as a street vendor and was undergoing treatment at the *Portal Amarillo* for less than a month.

"I didn't have money to eat, I had nothing. I steal for everything, to eat, to pay for my vices, to buy clothes'' (Angus, hostel for released)

"I came [to the night shelter] because I did not stop consuming cocaine base paste" (Toby, night shelter)

Numerous scholars have also claimed that the revolving door pattern of "successive entrances and discharges" has serious social, psychological, and financial repercussions for inmates who become homeless, incurs high costs, and requires a significant amount of resources and work from the shelter system, police, courts, the penal system, and the community (Metraux & Culhane, 2006; Padfield & Maruna, 2006; Denckla & Berman, 2001).

Mark and Oliver are a good example of the pattern of recurrent admissions and discharges in their resettlement journeys. They had been admitted for a period of time to the Vilardebó Psychiatric Hospital, the largest public mental health facility in Uruguay for acute patients, where over 50% of the inmates have a criminal history (Nowak, 2009). Mark went back to prison and after finishing his prison sentence, he "*stayed on the streets. I walk around with my clothes, blanket and sheets. After that I only stayed on the streets, no shelter". My mother brings me clothes, something to eat, she tells me not to be on the street, that I have to go to a shelter".*

Oliver describes how he was hospitalized for a week after committing a theft while under the influence of narcotics, and how he then moved to a night shelter where he received drug treatment and completed an internship. However, after leaving the shelter the first time due to *"someone robbing me there",* he spent the next two years surviving on the streets until receiving his second prison sentence. *"They took me out of the system, wouldn't let me back in for a year, and I ended up sleeping on the streets because I got upset and provoked a fight".*

The shelters' functions of "custody and asylum" (Hopper et al, 1997) are converted as well into expulsive social devices since many respondents who do not fit in are subject to rules that result in removal or expulsion from such places (Snow and Anderson, 1993). *"I've been in the shelters; I've gone more to the place where there were 60 of us",* says Robert, who sleeps on the streets. *There are numerous instructions and shouting, the treatment is often the same, you are penalised for making foolish decisions, and I was into everything. I was unable to keep it in and returned. Recently, or the previous year"* (Robert, 46, has been homeless for almost 13 years and has served three terms in prison).

In addition, as was emphasised in Chapter 1, homelessness circumstances have grown even more complicated as a result of the introduction of rules that make using public areas in the city illegal. In this sense, those who sleep in the streets are a target of these policies, which are obviously harmful to their needs, rights, and possibilities of social integration. For those who once again fall between the gaps in social policies and for whom resettlement policies should give help and possibilities for social reintegration, this scenario exacerbates the processes of social exclusion:

"My mistake was to fall into prison. Today it complicates me a lot, in everything. There are things that complicate your criminal record. I haven't been in prison for 17 years, it's like that's over now, but the criminal record stays with you. And that is associated with your name, because every time the police

catch you, your name jumps out at them" (Daniel, 40 years old, once in prison, living in the streets for about 12 years)

"You can't sleep on the street for safety, you might have problems with the police, with the crackheads that come to rob you to buy drugs, with the ones who don't like the crackheads and want to tear fire on you or throw rocks at you, they kick you up" (Tom, 45 years old, twice in prison, living in the night shelter for a year)

"The recognition by others together with the development of a sense of belonging (McNeill, 2016) is repeatedly truncated in every transition from prison to community since no health and social services support, traumatic experiences with family or partners, *"nor being prepared to come back, and a community which is not well prepared to accept them"* (Petersilia, 2001: 301); everything comes together to generate community banishment experiences, and ever-increasing waves of deprivation, sense of belonging, and expulsion or destitution:

"The same companions were gone, many of them, for reasons they had been killed, others were imprisoned for so long. It was closing, it was closing and I said, ``I don't want to go to jail anymore, I don't want to fall anymore, because of jail I am like this, because of jail I lost this, because of jail I lost the other thing". (Adrian, night shelter)

What's more, much of the experiences of several interviewees while being homeless after prison sentences, are characterized for experiences different types of abuses, victimization and criminalization in public places, as rabble management approach stress (Irwin, 1985) worsening once more an array of outcomes in mental and physical health, with severe implications on interpersonal relations and social isolation experiences:

"People in their houses see a homeless lying down, some offer you a plate of food, others call the patrol car, if they think about kicking you in the head, they will do it, they want you to get out from under the porch of their houses" (Connor, night shelter)

"There are a lot of [violent] things happening on the streets; there are neighbours who throw hot water on you from their houses, from the top of their roof. I don't know, some people who come out from the pubs and grab you like a soccer ball, they do it for fun. They enjoy it. "I used to sleep inside a box, right, and they used to come and kick the box with me sleeping inside of it. They throw hot water on you from their houses, from the top of their roof. Some people who come out from the pubs and grab you like a

soccer ball, they do it for fun. They enjoy it. I wasn't hurting anyone. [I slept] always alone. (Oliver, night shelter)

6.7. Concluding remarks

The focus of this chapter was on two research objectives: the dynamics of homelessness, contacts with the criminal justice system over time, identifying similarities and differences in the interviewees's journeys, and the role for the penal system in creating and sustaining experiences of repeated homelessness.

In this concern, the retrospective study of people's experiences into, through, and (out of) homelessness and imprisonment, while also examining institutional constraints, choices, agency, and sufferings, was crucial in this regard to provide an account of these interviewees' experiences are embedded in successive spells of institutional mechanisms that exacerbate severe housing exclusion and residential instability, trauma symptoms, drug abuse, barriers for resettlement, among many others.

Throughout this chapter, from the focus on homelessness pathways it was possible to illuminate some similarities with earlier international research as well as some key differences that appear to exacerbate the experiences of homelessness, imprisonment, and community re-entry for the study's interviewees. Pathway analysis, also enabled to identify issues and experiences at different stages of respondents lives that otherwise remain obscure or undetected, and at the same time enhancing its interpretation of their implications in life domains.

First, consistent with homelessness (and offending) pathways studies, it was feasible to observe from the participant's narratives that these are not linear/straightforward pathways but rather present accelerations, decelerations, times out of crime and consumption, entrances into and exits from institutions, and from different housing circumstances, and so forth.

Second, it was possible to address two distinct homelessness pathways with criminal justice issues, the convoluted group, and falling down group of which display various housing circumstances, family support networks, criminal activity, homelessness experiences, at least up until imprisonment. In line with international literature, pathways of long term homelessness are strictly associated with extreme

poverty, family conflict and experiences of victimization, prolonged institutionalization from early ages, growing up in criminal environments, and early substance abuse.

Third, two contributions that help to comprehend the intimate connection between homelessness and prison for these respondents are highlighted by the qualitative analysis that was conducted. On the one hand, respondents repeat events like increasing drug consumption, social isolation, etc. every time they return to community due to the harsh living conditions and traumatizing violence they experienced repeated times in prison, alongside the barriers imposed for resettlement. The findings shed light on the underlying relationship between homelessness and prison, as it is embedded in successive waves of severe victimization (at home, at prison, community) and spells of expulsion.

In this regard, looking at local and situational factors related to spells of reoffending, imposed barriers, in and out/zig zags on prison and homelessness, institutional mechanisms that exacerbate trauma, risks exposure, and feelings of dispossession, were crucial to understand complexities around homelessness and prison nexus over time for the sample of this study. The punitive effects of imprisonment and its collateral consequences heighten a severe socio marginalization and expulsion with enduring detrimental effects on mental health and well-being (Birmingham, 2004) for the sample of this study.

On the other hand, the intermittent use of settlements/slums, in addition to prisons, shelters, hospitals, as a part of an institutional circuit that generates a sustained pattern of residential instability mentioned in US/European studies, has a significant impact on post-release residential paths. As we will see in the next Chapter, their unstable housing and homelessness pathways are characterized by exclusionary trajectories within a closed circuit of prison, homelessness, and crowded living conditions/slums that prevent interviewees, among other issues, from achieving a sustained exit from the circuit.

The subsequent chapter uses quantitative data from the life history calendar technique to show what specifically linked to housing, imprisonment, and homelessness movements occurred during the course of a respondent's life. The analysis clearly demonstrates the centripetal influence of the three interrelated exclusionary systems (night shelters, overcrowding/slums, prison) following the first exclusion experience.

Chapter 7

'Revolving doors'? and the experience of repeated and sustained homelessness

7.1. Introduction

The study question #3 regarding the specifics of a revolving door of homelessness and prison for the analysed cases is addressed in this final chapter. The analysis below starts by describing what happened specifically to the living situations movements relating to housing, prisons, and homelessness using only LHC data.

This chapter addresses a descriptive analysis of how the interviewees moved from one living situation to another through their whole lives. The goal is to identify particularly frequent passages that would be suggestive of potential regularities, bearing always in mind that the group of selected interviewees is far from being a representative sample of any specific population. The LHCs focused on the movements of each individual across different living situations, which are now aggregated into seven categories[64].

Some living situations last for years, while in some periods it is normal to observe several changes within a year. As a compromise solution hereinafter observations are defined on a person and living situation base, and living situations repeat their values if they last more than one year.[65] After encoding

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[64] "Owner", "Tenant", and "Tenant with someone" were grouped into an "Owner/Tenant" category that encompasses the most stable situations. "Hotel" and "Hostel/Guesthouse" were grouped together as paid transitory accommodations. "Orphanage" and "Hospital" are grouped into "Orphanage/Hospital" and gather other institutions not directly linked to homelessness or to the Criminal Justice System. "Friends/relatives" and "Couple" were grouped as situations where the living situation depends on a relationship with others. "Overcrowding/Not for living" is an aggregated category in the original records. "Sleep rough" and "Night shelter" were grouped into a "Homelessness" category, and "Prison" is kept as a single category.

[65] A minimal example could be as follows: one person is born in 1980, he lives in their parents' rented house until June 1990; then the family is evicted and they go living with some relatives until September 1990; then they go to a Hostel. The sequence of observations to describe the evolution of living situations will begin with 10 consecutive values of "Owner/Tenant", nine for the years 1980 to 1989, and the tenth because they also were in that situation from January to June 1990. Then the eleventh value will be "Friends/relatives", and the twelfth "Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse".

the LHCs in such a manner the resulting database has 955 observations for the 20 respondents. The results show that the pathways that make up both pathways are different in their origins, as was stressed in the previous chapter, but the movements between housing living situations become very similar after the first prison experience. Individual trajectories seem to get caught by intermittences across prison, homelessness, and situations that were labelled "overcrowding/not for living" and include mainly the cases in which the person reports living in a slums/settlements or "*asentamiento*".

7.2. Rotating between three segregated living conditions

In describing the movements across different living situations recorded in the LHCs an initial approach is to simply count the number of observations in each situation. In Table 6 this is done after dividing each individual trajectory in two periods: before and after a certain event. The first column in Table 6 divides the trajectories into the period before the first prison experience, and the one after this first incarceration (excluding the periods spent during this first prison experience). The following two columns repeat the same procedure but dividing the calendars before and after the first homelessness or overcrowding experiences, respectively.

The original approach in this analysis was to present a general idea of differences between living situations before and after prison or homelessness experiences. However, results are showing that for these participants living in Montevideo, there is a third situation that worth to be considered, as was highlighted at the end of the previous Chapter.

Overcrowding/slums are the most frequent living situation in the respondents' trajectories before their first experience of prison or homelessness (a period in which it is closely followed by the most stable situation of "Owner/Tenant") [66].

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[66] Which generally refer to the home of the parental family at this stage of life.

Table 6. Living situations before and after the first prison, homelessness and overcrowding experience

BEFORE THE FIRST EXPERIENCE OF:	Prison	Homelessness	Overcrowding
Owner/Tenant	189	198	165
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	22	25	6
Orphanage/Hospital	56	51	34
Friends/Couple/Relatives	67	74	54
Overcrowding/Not for living	191	206	
Homelessness	23		36
Prison		56	42
Total	548	610	337

AFTER THE FIRST EXPERIENCE OF:	Prison	Homelessness	Overcrowding
Owner/Tenant	25	16	49
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	19	16	35
Orphanage/Hospital	2	7	24
Friends/Couple/Relatives	42	35	55
Overcrowding/Not for living	80	65	135
Homelessness	101	63	88
Prison	81	82	96
Total	350	284	482

Source: Own elaboration. Observations are the 955 person-situation recorded in the LHCs. Colour intensity highlights the cells according to the relative frequency.

As was emphasised in Chapters 2 and 3, extensive research from a variety of European and North American contexts has revealed that a large number of offenders' experience housing precariousness, housing instability, and homelessness experiences prior to be in prison (Dyb, 2009; Kushel et al, 2005; Metraux *et al*, 2007; Caton et al, 2005; Seymour, 2004; Friestad and Hansen, 2004; Skardhamar, 2002).

Overcrowding situations, together with homelessness and prison, make up a group of highly frequent destinations after a first experience of any of the three situations. These three categories accumulate between 65% and 75% of the living situations observed after a first experience of prison, homelessness or overcrowding. Or to put it in another way, once one of the interviewees experienced prison, homelessness or overcrowding they mostly became trapped in these same three situations. Once sampling enter this circuit, getting away was almost an exception.

Coinciding with the qualitative analysis held, stable living situations become exceptional, and the most exclusionary living experiences, such as, "overcrowding/Not for living/slums", homelessness and imprisonment are much more frequent experiences through vital time.

International empirical literature results show that experiences in the penal system increase the probability of homelessness after prison release, especially for people who have experienced housing

issues in the past, have been long-term institutionalised, or have several complex needs (Moschion & Johnson, 2019; Dyb, 2009; Gowan, 2002; Metraux & Culhane, 2004). Consistent with that, comparing both panels of Table 6 reveals a very large increase in the 'visible' homelessness category after the first prison experience, supporting the idea that release from penal institution are useful intervention point for strategies to prevent reoffending, and homelessness, which would reduce partially, the demand for public shelter services (Metraux, Byrne & Cuhane, 2010).

A graphical representation of the results in Table 6 is proposed in Figure 6, where calendars were grouped according to the two pathways identified in the previous chapter. A striking result is, as was stressed thoughout the Chapter 6, that differences between the pathways are quite important before the first experiences of prison, homelessness or overcrowding, while they tend to be subtle after these events.

In the first period respondents from the falling down group show higher concentration, since they have higher frequency of already highly frequent living situations ("Overcrowding" and "Owner/Tenant"). The other side of this is that observations in orphanage or homelessness in the first period are almost exclusively from convoluted group of pathways. "Orphanage/Hospital" represents a fifth of the living situations for this group of respondents, while it is almost not observed for the falling down pathways. In this regard, as was previously mentioned, long term child institutionalization and contacts with the juvenile justice system (as children or very young teenagers), are a common feature of the convoluted group.

Looking at the residential movements, after the first experience of prison, homelessness or overcrowding/slums, the distribution of living situations for the two pathways are very similar. This means that once they enter the circuit overcrowding- homelessness- prison (hereinafter OHP), not only they tend to remain in it, but also the differences between the situations in which they tend to live disappear. Only few differences remain between the two groups. Falling down group of pathways has a higher (relatively low) frequency of "Owner/Tenant", as expected from the characteristics of the groups. Coinciding with qualitative findings, the convoluted group is particularly prone to live in overcrowding situations after the first homelessness experience, and to be in prison after the first overcrowding situation.

Moreover, consistent with previous qualitative analysis, the first prison experience appears for these respondents at a crucial stage of bio, psycho and social transitions, which together with the several victimization experiences and extreme deprivations during the first (and subsequent) prison

experiences accentuate a pattern of social housing exclusion in which they were immersed from their childhood. But also, as was stated throughout this study, extreme overcrowding environment and/or inadequate living conditions have negative consequences for peoples´ health and wellbeing, alongside major detrimental effects on social integration and future opportunities.

The main limitation of the description made so far is all the living situations experienced before or after the first experience of prison, homelessness or overcrowding are grouped together, so any notion of the temporal sequence is lost and the approach conceals how the different living situations tend to succeed each other.

Figure 6. Living situations before and after the first prison, homelessness and overcrowding experience, by pathway
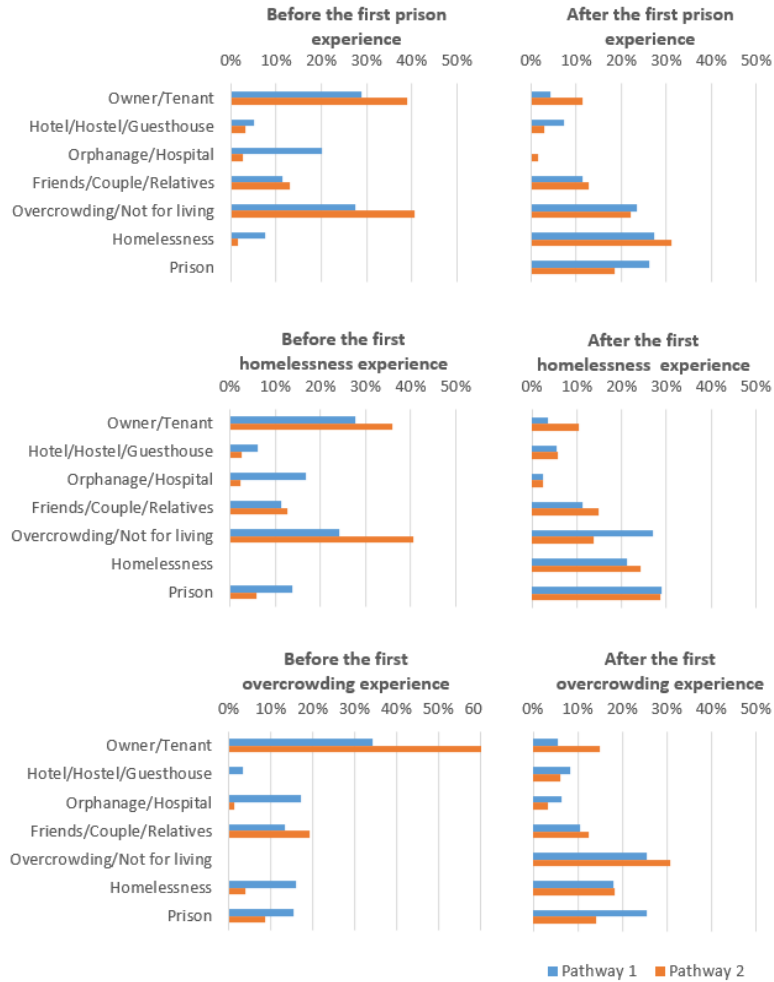
Source: Own elaboration using data from the LHCs database.

7.3. Rotating from where to where

An analysis of the changes along respondents' living situation histories can give an additional insight on their movements before and after entering the OHP circuit. This sub-section focus on the movements from one living situation to the subsequent, with the goal of detecting frequent passages from one situation to another. Recurrent movements are different before and after entering the circuit and also differ between the two pathways identified above.

The analysis that follows splits the calendars before and after the first prison experience, but results are very similar when dividing before and after the first homelessness or overcrowding experience. Table 7 presents, for the period before the first prison experience, the relative frequencies of movements from the situations in the rows to the situations in the columns, once all observations where the respondentremained in the same situation in successive years were discarded (so the diagonal is empty and the top and bottom panels sum up to 100% each) [67].

Table 7. Changes between consecutive living situations before the first prison experience, by pathway

From \ To	Owner/ Tenant	Hotel/ Hostel/ Guesth	Orphan./ Hospital	Friends/ Couple/ Relatives	Overcr./ Not for living	Homelessn.
Convoluted pathways						
Owner/Tenant		6%	4%	4%	2%	4%
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	2%				6%	
Orphanage/Hospital	2%	2%		2%	4%	4%
Friends/Couple/Relatives	4%				4%	4%
Overcrowding/Not for living	6%		6%	6%		6%
Homelessness			2%	2%	13%	
Falling down pathways						
Owner/Tenant				8%	17%	6%
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse			3%	3%	6%	
Orphanage/Hospital	3%				6%	
Friends/Couple/Relatives	11%	6%			3%	
Overcrowding/Not for living	8%	6%	6%	6%		3%
Homelessness				3%		

Source: Own elaboration using data from de LHCs database. Colour intensity highlights the cells according to the relative frequency within each panel. Empty cells mean no cases observed (0%).

Recalling results from Table 6 and Figure 6, "Owner/Tenant" and "Overcrowding" were, by large, the most frequent situations before the first prison experience. Table 7 gives a complementary insight, demonstratating that, despite the fact that some respondents do experience the "Owner/Tenant" position in the early stages of their life, their moves generally indicate that they are moving away from

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[67] To clarify, the value of 6% appearing in the second column of the first row means that once all observations where living situation does not change have been discarded, movements from an "Owner/Tenant" situation to "Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse" represent the 6% of the total number of situation changes.

it and towards a more precarious one. Consequently, "overcrowding/slums" is a common occurrence for both the two paths' origin and destination situations.

The role of homelessness is a striking difference between the two pathways during this stage. While almost one fifth of the movements are towards homelessness for convoluted pathways, this situation plays almost no role during this initial stage for falling down pathways. For respondents from convoluted pathways, the most frequent movement is from homelessness situations to overcrowding (13%), while in the case of falling down group almost one fifth of the movements enter overcrowding but come from a stable "Owner/tenant" situation. In conclusion, and in line with the qualitative analysis, Table 7's overall picture paints a picture of convoluted pathways' frequent movements away from and toward homelessness and overcrowding prior to entering prison. However, they tended to enter overcrowding when leaving homelessness, illuminating a persistent pattern of extreme housing exclusion.

On the other hand, respondents in the falling down group of pathways have essentially no interaction with homelessness during this stage, as was already stated, and in their case, overcrowding is crucial, but as the circumstance they are in immediately following the stable "Owner/Tenant" situation. Accordingly, and consistent with qualitative findings, the falling down group of pathways has a higher frequency of "Friends/Couple/Relatives" as an origin and destination, indicating closer social links, while convoluted group has a higher weight of child institutionalization ("Orphanage/Hospital" categories).

Table 8 is analogous to Table 7, but considers the period after the first prison experience. As was shown in the previous chapter, after this prison experience both pathways become much more similar in how they move across successive exclusionary living situations.

In both panels of the table, movements within the OHP circuit accumulate around half of the total observed movements (53% in convoluted pathways and 48% in falling down pathways). Re-imprisonment and prison releases stand out in both pathways' movements, representing two out of three movements recorded in any of the two pathways.

Table 8. Changes between consecutive living situations after the first prison experience

From \ To	Owner/ Tenant	Hotel/ Hostel/ Guesth.	Orphan./ Hospital	Friends/ Couple/ Relatives	Overcr./ Not for living	Homel.	Prison
Convoluted pathways 1							
Owner/Tenant		1%		1%		1%	1%
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	1%			2%	1%	2%	4%
Orphanage/Hospital							
Friends/Couple/Relatives	2%	4%				5%	7%
Overcrowding/Not for living		1%				3%	19%
Homelessness				2%	5%		5%
Prison		3%		11%	13%	8%	
Falling down pathways 2							
Owner/Tenant						6%	4%
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse					1%	3%	
Orphanage/Hospital						1%	
Friends/Couple/Relatives	3%	3%	1%		3%	1%	6%
Overcrowding/Not for living	1%					5%	14%
Homelessness	3%			3%	1%		10%
Prison	1%	1%		13%	10%	8%	

Source: Own elaboration using data from de LHCs database. Colour intensity highlights the cells according to the relative frequency within each panel. Empty cells mean no cases observed (0%).

Again, this table portrays a situation in which respondents are moving within an almost closed circuit, from which exits towards more stable situations are rare. It is worth noting that "Friends/Couple/Relatives" stills playing a role in respondents' paths during the period that starts immediately after their first prison (as was already stated in Chapter 6). It is an origin or a destination in around one movement out of three, and it has a special presence as a destination after prison. Besides some respondents that still exit an "Owner/Tenant" situations in the case of the falling down pathways, the rest of both panels in Table 8 is almost empty. This suggests that "Friends/Couple/Relatives" is the only situation that appears to be relevant in respondents lives after they entered the OHP circuit.

Consistent with that, as was stressed in Chapter 3, data from long-term studies (Karabanow 2008; Kurtz et al. 2000; Mallet et al. 2006; 2010; Macyock & Sheridan 2008) demonstrates the critical importance of family and friends in rebuilding family and social relationships for those who are able to exit homelessness and obtain secure residence. Reestablishing positive social networks is essential for gaining resources, both material and intangible, that can be related to a fresh start -as was highlighted in the qualitative analysis- and "gaining motivation to change", as well as for attempting to break away from negative peers, (Karabanow 2008; Kurtz et al, 2000; Mallet et al, 2006; 2010; Mayock, Corr & O' Sullivan, 2008).

As shown by previous studies, some released inmates tend to live with relatives/friends as a temporary solution, especially upon immediately prison release, however this may also be an extremely difficult option to sustain, mostly if close relationships *"were strained before of during imprisonment"* (Comfort, 2008; Edin, et al., 2004; Petersilia, 2003; Roman & Travis, 2006; Western, 2006; cited in Geller & Curtis, 2011: 1196). According to the stories in the previous chapter, tight relationships (in particular, for the falling down pathways) tend to be family members who initially support the respondent's release from prison, but later their support become unfrequent.

An important limitation remains in the analysis made so far, since it does not distinguish between the first prison experience and subsequent entries or releases. This is a key issue in the study of how this OHP circuit operates, because we have stated that once a person enters it seems difficult to exit, but we do not know if it is increasingly difficult after successive laps.

7.4. Revolving or spiralling downward

It might be the case that the chances of getting out of the OHP circuit were stable along the successive moves from one OHP situation to another, or chances could increase or decrease. This section studies recurrent entries to and exits from each of the OHP categories, showing that the latter is true: the more people accumulate movements within the circuit, the lower the chances of exiting.

The point made in this section is that a kind of centripetal force operates, as was introduced in the final section of Chapter 6, in which people trapped within the circuit are increasingly attracted to it.

The LHCs database allows describing which living situations do people come from and after each recurring entry to any of the categories in the OHP circuit, as well as to which living situations they go immediately after each of these experiences.

Table 9 focus on prison experiences, its upper panel shows the frequency of situations in which interviewees were living just before each of the potentially multiple times they were incarcerated. The bottom panel reports the frequencies of situations interviewees declare they went to after each prison release.[68]

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[68] For example, the value 6 in the third row of the upper panel means that six records were found in which an interviewee declared to enter prison for the second time in his life while he was living with friends, couple or

Results show again the importance of "Overcrowding/slums" as a predecessor of prison since almost half of the prison entrants are coming from that situation. Also, it shows that the proportion coming from overcrowding situations increases with successive re-entries to prison. Upon release, respondents tended to go also to overcrowding situations and again this trend is stronger after the person has been incarcerated several times in his life. Observing that homelessness is also a very frequent predecessor of prison and a destination upon release for the chronic trajectories, these findings confirm that long recidivist paths end up in a loop among the OHP situations.[69]

The same exercise was repeated to analyse successive entries to and exits from homelessness. Results are presented in Table 10, and they show a significant difference with entries to prison because now the first entrances to homelessness tend to be from "Owner/Tenant" situations. However, the frequency of exits towards overcrowding and prison situations is an additional evidence of the OHP circuit and its increasing importance for people with several homeless experiences in their past.

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relatives. This is almost half of the 13 cases that declared entering prison at least two times. Also, it is half of the 12 cases in which a respondent went to prison while living with friends, couple or relatives.

[69] An important role of "Friends/Couple/Relatives" needs also to be reported, as people tended to be in that situation often after release, especially for the first prison experiences, and even in advanced stages of the longest trajectories.

Table 9. Living situations immediately before and after prison, by imprisonment number

Before entering prison

Imprisonment number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Owner/Tenant	3				1				4
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	1	2				1			4
Friends/Couple/Relatives	3	6	3						12
Overcrowding/Not for living	9	4	5	3	3	3	3	1	31
Homelessness	3	1	3	3	2	1			13
Total	19	13	11	6	6	5	3	1	64

After prison release

Imprisonment number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Owner/Tenant				1					1
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	2	1		1					4
Friends/Couple/Relatives	8	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	21
Overcrowding/Not for living	5	4	3	3	2	3	2		22
Homelessness	4	4	3	1	1	1			14
Total	19	13	10	6	5	5	3	1	62

Source: Own elaboration using data from de LHCs database. Colour intensity highlights the cells according to the relative frequency within each panel. Empty cells mean no cases observed (0).

Table 10. Living situations immediately before and after homelessness, by experience number

Before homelessness experience

Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Owner/Tenant	7	1		1			1	10
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	1	3						4
Orphanage/Hospital	1	2						3
Friends/Couple/Relatives	4	1	1	1	1			8
Overcrowding/Not for living	3	2	3	1	1	1		11
Prison	3	5	3	1	1	1		14
Total	19	14	7	4	3	2	1	50

After homelessness experience

Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Owner/Tenant	1					1		2
Orphanage/Hospital	1							1
Friends/Couple/Relatives	4	1	1					6
Overcrowding/Not for living	5	3	2	1	1			12
Prison	4	4	2	2	1			13
Total	15	8	5	3	2	1	0	34

Source: Own elaboration using data from de LHCs database. Colour intensity highlights the cells according to the relative frequency within each panel. Empty cells mean no cases observed (0).

Analogous conclusions when turning to entries to and exits from repeated overcrowding/slums living situations, hold as can be seen in Table 11. The pattern of entries to the first overcrowding experience resembles the entries to homelessness, with an important presence of participants coming from stable situations. The high frequencies of movements from prison to overcrowding, and even higher from overcrowding to prison, is noteworthy, especially at advanced stages of trajectories with multiple re-entries to overcrowding.

Table 11. Living situations immediately before and after overcrowding, by experience number

Before overcrowding experience

Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Owner/Tenant	5	1	1													7
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse		2	3		1									1		7
Orphanage/Hospital	1	2		1												4
Friends/Couple/Relatives		2		1		1	1									5
Homelessness	3	3	2	1			1		1						1	12
Prison		2	3	3	2	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	1			22
Total	9	12	9	6	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	57

After overcrowding experience

Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Owner/Tenant	3	2	1	1												7
Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	1		1						1							3
Orphanage/Hospital	4	1														5
Friends/Couple/Relatives	1	2			1	1										5
Homelessness	1	3	2	2					1					1	1	11
Prison	5	4	4	3	2	2	3	3	1	1	1	1	1			31
Total	15	12	8	6	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	62

Source: Own elaboration using data from de LHCs database. Colour intensity highlights the cells according to the relative frequency within each panel. Empty cells mean no cases observed (0).

To put it briefly, tables 9 to 11 do not show the differences between the two pathways identified in the previous chapter, but some differences between them are reported in the Appendix F, which includes the corresponding tables for each pathway and shows that the differences between their paths are limited to the period before entering the OHP circuit and that, as happens in the aggregate, in both cases paths that have the most entries and exits tend to increasingly concentrate in the OHP situations.

As a summary of the main finding in this subsection, Figure 7 presents the percentage of cases that come from the OHP circuit when entering one of the OHP categories, or that go to the OHP circuit when leaving one of the OHP categories.

Figure 7. Proportion of movements within the OHP circuit for repeated entries and exits
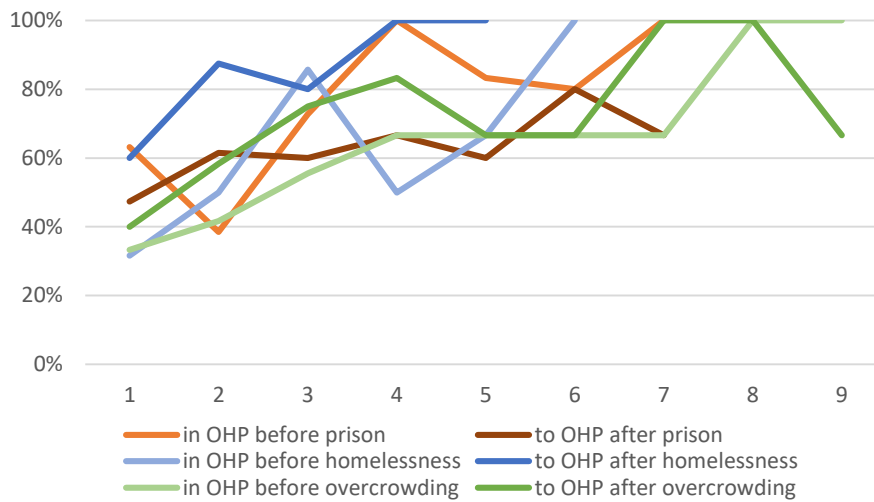
Source: Own elaboration using data from de LHCs database. Repetition numbers with only one respondent were discarded.

Figure 7 clearly shows that the chances of moving within the OHP circuit are higher as respondents' previous movements within the circuit accumulate. The longer they have been revolving the harder is to find a case in which someone goes, at least transitorily, out of the circuit. Hence, the OHP circuit is not only closed, but increasingly unbreakable as movements within the circuit increase. Figure 7 can shed light on concerns relating to *participation in social networks and other structural factors* (Edgar et al., 2002a; referenced in Meert & Burgeois, 2005: 110) related to prison release, housing and institutional dynamics. Figure 7 makes it apparent that for these respondents, settlements and living in extremely precarious and isolating circumstances play a dominant role in the 'instability loop' around an institutional circuit of homelessness, mental health, and criminal justice services continuously or occasionally" (Daly, Craig & O'Sullivan, 2018: 90).

In conclusion, settlements/slums play as an extra eslabon in the prison and homelessness revolving door, contributing to the 'institutional circuit' and its mechanics, sustaining a pattern of homelessness, severe housing exclusion, and intermittent prison experiences for these respondents. It seems that worse housing living conditions further exacerbate the severity, distress, opportunities for reintegration of those who are trapped in the homelessness and prison revolving door.

The final chapter of this thesis is the one after this one.

The analysis's chapters have extensively discussed the difficulties that homelessness paths with criminal justice system problems provide. The interconnected nature of needs and severe deprivations of persons who at specific times and conditions alternate experiences of prison, homelessness, and other forms of housing deprivation make it difficult to provide simple explanations. The intricacy of the issue is further heightened by the contribution of numerous context-specific structural, institutional, and social elements.

The results of the thesis are summarised in the following section, along with some of the primary conclusions and theoretical and practical implications that must necessarily engage with US/European viewpoints on the subject. To stimulate further discussion in academic research, the study limits, as well as some suggestions and open questions, are presented.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and discussion

"Thus far into the 21st century, the prison population has tripled, something unusual in a demographically stable country, which allows enormous predictability for the vast majority of social policies. The Uruguayan prison demographic is an anomaly in the moderate rhythm of movement and population growth, and to the extent that it is not accompanied by a proportional growth of resources and technology of social intervention, the problem still does not reach an adequate level of response for the levels of development of the country" (Parliamentary Commissioner for the penitentiary system, 2020).

"Gaps in data mean gaps in understanding. Not knowing about a population makes it difficult to theorize about that population and creates the risk – as was the case in the US – of building theories about homelessness that simply fall apart as soon as data improve" (O'Sullivan, 2008).

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has concentrated on the relationship between homelessness and prison, a subject that has not received previous investigation in the Uruguayan setting. The main aim of this thesis was to analyse the pathways of homelessness with experiences in the penal system, seeking to identify potential particularities that could shed light about the aspects and mechanisms at play for a sample of homeless ex-offenders living in Montevideo.

It sought to illuminate and comprehend the intertwined personal and institutional experiences, structural elements, accumulating needs, and obstacles along respondents' paths with the understanding that exposure to risk contexts in prison and community, institutional transitions, certain critical traumatic life events, and the lack of institutional and community support, can provide crucial elements to comprehend the processes of sustained and repeated homelessness. This chapter's

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findings, conclusions, and recommendations for further study, policy, and practice are all included. Discussion also includes the study's limitations and potential future research areas.

8.2 Key findings and discussion

In order to put the research in context, secondary sources were used in the analysing Chapter 5 to describe the features of sheltered homeless and rough sleepers in Montevideo at certain point in time. As previous studies show, people who experience homelessness in Uruguay are affected by serious and numerous needs and deprivations in fundamental areas of life, such as education, mental and physical health, issues with criminal justice, etc. However, pathways and transitions across services and institutions and meanings associated with the experiences of homelessness and prison, and resettlement paths, among many other topics, are all unresolved issues in this section's results.

The theoretical framework based on homelessness 'career' (Chamberalin and MacKenzie, 1994; Hutson and Liddiard, 1994), and pathways approach (Clapham, 2003), adopted in this dissertation allowed for an examination respondents' housing and homelessness journeys from a dynamic, and multidimensional perspective (Fitzpatrick, 1997; Clapham, 2003; Mayock & Parker, 2020).

Through the pathways approach theoretical lens, traumatic experiences, relationships, resources mobilized, entries and exits from prison and homelessness, agency, institutional, interpersonal, and situational factors interact, gain momentum, increase, decelerate, and descend, causing (repeated) movements of in and out homelessness with the penal system, but aggravating further homelessness experiences. Narratives of victimization, abuses, and institutional experiences, their connections, feelings, motives, attitudes, and barriers related to these happenings were gathered in order to gain depth.

Homelessness pathways approach was strengthened by incorporating concepts from the literature on offending paths, persistence and desistance from criminal activity (Bottoms & Shapland; 2011; Sampson & Laub, 2003; McNeill, 2016; Farrington, 2007; Maruna, 2001; Bushway *et al.*, 2003. The life course method (Elder, 1998) added important theoretical elements that clarified the relevance of transitions, specific important events, and familial ties as drivers of life changes, with major and long-lasting effects in the lives of the respondents.

Three objectives in this study were pursued: 1) to explore the dynamics of homelessness, and contacts with the penal system over time, identifying similarities and differences in their pathway; 2) to study

any role for the penal system in potentially increasing the risk of involvement in a homeless pathway after release; 3) to examine the existence and particularities of a 'revolving door´ for the sample of homeless former inmates.

By using a study design that ensured a deeper understanding from a sample of life experiences of former homeless inmates, this study started to address the research aims. The methodological approach combined qualitative and quantitative data sources in order to address the various facets of the subject in a broader and more integrated manner. Semi-structured interviews and the Life History Calendar technique were used to reconstruct the temporal dimension and access the sequence of changes and exposures to risk, life events, and transitions, in various dimensions of the 20 respondents' lives.

While some study participants (referred to as "episodic users" of night shelter system) experienced homelessness on a numerous occasion over a short period of time, others (referred to as "chronic users") experienced few homelessness episodes lasting several long years. They have many of the same complex needs as the previously listed homeless groups that were examined in the baseline research (Hopper et al., 1997; Kuhn & Culhane, 1998; Culhane, 2018), including substance addiction and mental health issues.

Through the participants' voices regarding their experiences with homelessness, imprisonment, and other related issues in their life, it was explored how different aspects and components interact to give a thorough picture of the criminal justice system and the homelessness association. Going beyond just "what" happened was crucial in this study because it revealed intricate details of participants' lives, as well as their accounts of emotionally charged events and the meanings associated with those experiences (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012; Orbush, 1997; Cohler, 1982).

The analysis of chapters 6 and 7 demonstrated the strong connection between respondents' journeys to homelessness and imprisonment. The findings of this study provide a significant contribution to existing scholarly discussions on the delicate and complex interaction between homelessness and the criminal justice system. The study's findings show that unresolved deep seated structural housing inequities, institutional violence, socio-health vulnerabilities imprinted on these interviewees' routes, a pervasive but constrained night shelter system, and the lack of access to housing opportunities beyond 'a loop in a local circuit' once the experience of the penal system occurs are some of the key causes of interviewees' homelessness paths and criminal justice issues.

These issues are addressed below.

First and foremost, it is crucial to emphasise the significance of the distinctive role that segregated living circumstances (slums/urban settlements, tenements) play as a crucial factor determining the development of subsequent cycles of imprisonment and homelessness in the studied pathways.

One of the major findings from the analysis of the housing and homelessness trajectories of the interviewees, as presented in section 6.6.3 and chapter 7, is that these extremely segregated housing conditions exacerbate not only the interviewees' limited reintegration opportunities by trapping them in a cycle of homelessness, incarceration, and extreme residential exclusion, but also increase the level of housing instability throughout their paths.

The study's results confirm earlier international research (Dyb, 2009; Kushel et al., 2005; Metraux et al., 2007; Caton et al., 2005; Seymour, 2004; Friestad and Hansen, 2004; Skardhamar, 2002), which found that several interviewees' paths involved severe housing exclusion prior to entering prison and that people with housing precariousness after subsequent prison releases are extremely vulnerable to experiencing homelessness. Also demonstrated how harsh living conditions in extremely substandard and unsafe housing, overcrowding, segregated living situations, lack of access to services, a condition of insecure tenure, affect and shape the pathways into, out of, and return to prison and homelessness.

The findings indicate that there are exits from homelessness and the criminal justice system towards invisible homeless condition living in segregated areas, short stays with relatives in slums after release from prison, and living arrangements in extreme overcrowding with prisoners' relative. All serve as examples of the level of precariousness and socio-housing marginalisation these exits demonstrate. Furthermore, these residential situations and their survival conditions prevent real and sustained exits, which in turn perpetuates intermittent or sustained 'visible' homelessness experiences.

The literature has clearly established, as was emphasised in the introductory chapters, that there is a "revolving door" gate operating between homelessness and the criminal justice system. This term refers to the frequent admissions and exits from shelters and prisons that affect short-term offenders (Denckla & Berman, 2001; Lim, 2014; Couloute, 2018). Furthermore, research from other countries has demonstrated the presence of an "institutional circuit" made up of the Criminal Justice System and other custodial facilities (Hopper et al., 1997). These include the streets, the shelter system, and the mental health facilities which maintain homelessness among those who with mental health issues using night shelters.

The study's findings showed repeated exits and entrances between the community and the criminal justice system which revealed a pattern of severe housing instability, which is in many respects consistent with the institutional cycle portrayed in the international research, but further exacerbated by the frequent and repeated use of settlements/slums. The housing complex picture described above has demonstrated real implications for the peculiarity of a local institutional circuit that is different and considerably more detrimental in terms of housing instability, cognitive aspects and living conditions.

Findings from the study demonstrate that for the interviewees, it is not only about going through a state of constant residential instability or in a "loop" in their pathways. They are but it is, indeed, an even more devastating circuit as their failed exits of homelessness and prison involve severe marginalized housing conditions when compared to the circuit from the Global North. Settlements/slums play as an extra eslabon in the prison and homelessness revolving door, contributing to the 'institutional circuit' and its mechanics, sustaining a pattern of homelessness, severe housing exclusion, and intermittent prison experiences for the respondents.

The main finding arising from Chapter 7 is that slums/urban settlements operate as a crucial link in the interaction between homelessness and the criminal system for these respondents. The results show there are two distinctive groups of pathways which are different in their origins, but very similar in their movements between residential situations after the first prison experience.

The marginalisation and segregation of urban communities appears to play a significant role in the aforementioned association due to the high degree of severe housing deprivations characterised by living conditions that lack the privacy, safety, or security of tenure minimum for social and health well-being, as we have seen in the initial chapters (Bush Geertsema, Culhane & Fitzpatrick: 2016; Amore, Baker & Howden- Chapman, 2011). Furthermore, as chapter 7 findings revealed, the circuit connecting the "prison, settlement, and homelessness triad" becomes more closed as people move among the comprised dwelling circumstances, since the more movements there are within the circuit the more difficult it becomes to exit.

This complex housing scenario enables us to glimpse that the magnitude of pathways out of homelessness extends beyond dependant or independant "exits" (Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2008), stay in the community (Fitzpatrick, 1997), or having financial resources (Piliavin et al, 1996). It enables

us to understand that the segregated socio-housing circumstances surround the roads through homelessness and (non-sustained) exit routes from homelessness and the penal system. The findings of this study show that the intermittent and/or sustained experiences of homelessness are not independent of the factors and circumstances (circuits, dynamics, and networks), and that operate within irregular settlements and that, after passing through the criminal justice system, conditions the attempts of real and persistent interviewees to find an effective way out of a severe housing exclusion circuit.

Second, the intersection of the prison system and its practises with the prevalent but restricted night shelter system has a crucial part in creating a 'downward spiral' (Hutson & Liddiard, 1994) for the interviewees, which is the study's second finding. Understanding people's responses to their prison experiences and how these affect their paths to community reintegration can help us better understand their daily routines, practises, and interactions with social services. As was noted in the literature review in Chapter 2, a large number of international studies from various social economic contexts and welfare regimes (Carlen, 1996; Carlislie, 1996; Gowan, 2002; Maguire & Raynor, 2006; Seymour et al., 2015; Couloute, 2018; Moschion & Johnson, 2019; Pleace & Minton, 2009) have assessed the close relationship between homelessness and the criminal justice system. In this case, they highlighted the critical role of the criminal justice system in causing single homelessness because there were insufficient programmes specifically created for short-term offenders with multiple needs, a lack of preparation for release, and ignorance of previous housing problems, which have detrimental repercussions on their physical and emotional health while they are in prison and after release.

As the analysis chapters have demonstrated in accordance with those earlier studies, unplanned releases from prison, lack of preparation, and lack of social support are far from being fulfilled, have an effect on the extended and repeated use of homeless services, re-offending, and relapses into drug use. Additionally, based on the theoretical review in chapter 2 (Kuhn & Culhane, 1998), it was demonstrated that there are three groups of shelter users (transitional, episodic, chronic) with different patterns of shelter usage and different needs. According to those studies, early intervention in residential instability for the transitional group (through community-based homelessness prevention, housing transition services, and housing supports) along with income, employment, and health policies are needed to stop a significant portion of these users from turning to the shelter system on a regular basis or becoming episodic users.

Along with this, it was demonstrated that the first reason given by shelter users for using such facilities is discharge from correctional facilities (Hopper et al 1997; Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010; Metraux & Culhane, 2004).

According to studies reviewed (Ditton, 1999; Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008; Maguire & Raynor, 2006; Seymour et al., 2015; Couloute, 2018; Moschion & Johnson, 2019; Pleace & Minton, 2009), short-term and multiple-sentence prisoners with mental health and addiction issues and previous housing issues are more at risk because they frequently are not eligible for rehabilitation programmes and do not receive the necessary reintegration support prior to release having the highest level of needs and highest recidivism rates.

We can confirm earlier findings that the system of widely available night shelters in waves of community return encourages not only their widespread use as a primary solution by people who are suffering from mental health problems and drug addiction, among other problems that increase risks for illegal practises and "deviant" behaviours. This worsens their current circumstances and over time the numerous resettlement challenges (barriers to employment and secure housing, lack of social benefits, and lack of mental health treatments for those who have been released from prison with unmet needs). Homelessness law enforcement measures and criminalization policies also have this effect.

But it also demonstrates the social policy's limitations in terms of how well homelessness problem is addressed and contained in the community re-entry process, which is reduced to a single attention programme due to a lack of complementary social services that efficiently address overlapping social needs. It also showed the need of a comprehensive social policy that addresses the complex demands these young men present in order to stop the "fall" process would be more advantageous, effective, and less expensive for all parties involved.

The interviewees' attempts to integrate into society are thwarted by the lack of policies that address their needs and collaborate with their families, which is consistent with studies that show the need for joint access to housing and employment to achieve identitiary and role change processes that gradually allow them to move away from crime (Seymour, 2004; McNeil, 2016; 2017; LeBel, Richie & Maruna, 2015) and bring 'a sense of belonging' (McNeil, 2016). Because of the complex and constrained communal context that is portrayed, it is easier to become trapped between homelessness and imprisonment.

A prolonged cycle of institutional and housing precariousness results from the dearth of complementary social services in health treatment, social and training support, and a weak (or unavailable) social net that can serve as a support system at least for the short or medium term, are some of the factors that undermined individual reentry attempts for the interviewees.

As was previously stated, the results of this study are consistent with other studies showing that the widespread and exclusive use of a progressivity-based night shelter system as the primary strategy for addressing homelessness following subsequent prison releases not only subtly reinforces the paradigm that homelessness is a 'personal choice' (Parsell & Parsell, 2012) or the result of mental health issues, drug use, or offending, but also makes it challenging to consider how structures and institutions might contribute to homelessness.

In this concern, by a thorough examination of their prison experiences and their implications on post-release trajectories and community reintegration undertaken in sections 6.5 and 6.6. The study findings add to a growing body of evidence that respondents repeated and sustained homelessness paths go beyond the State's failures in terms of resettlement programmes implemented, lack of planning and coordination amongst social programmes, or shelter system that not match unmet needs for the released offenders, as previous studies have pointed out.

It was possible to show that there are additional underlying factors, related to prison functioning and practises, that influence the plight of prisoners by shedding light on the various risks that respondents routinely faced while incarcerated, how they dealt with those risks, and their effects on frequent transitions between prison and the community (homelessness and use of services).

The study's findings corroborate prior data (Liebling, 2011; Auty & Liebling, 2020) that the moral and emotional aspects of incarceration, which are influenced by the quality and conditions of the jail, have an impact on how incarceration is experienced and its repercussions on resettlement. The evidence of interviewees' accounts of interpersonal and police violence suffered pierces their whole lives having practical ramifications on their post release paths.

To shed light and understand how respondents experience their lives when they repeatedly enter prison, the effects of abuses suffered of their most fundamental rights, and its implications in their returns to society (Kirk & Wakefield, 2017; Visher and Travis, 2003) theoretical contributions on the labelling effects of imprisonment, the prison quality conditions (Sykes, 1958; Liebling, 2011; Goffman,

1961), and prison violence literature (King, 2001; Bottoms, 1999) were essential integrated to the pathways analysis.

The respondents describe their prison events as humiliating and dehumanizing experiences. The accounts of frequent police violence and mistreatment, as well as interpersonal violence, the lack of resources and health support, made it harder for the interviewees in both groups to meet their basic needs by intensifying problems with substances, increasing ontological insecurity, reducing access to services, hindering restoration of family ties, etc.

As a result of unmet needs and direct victimisation, respondents claim to have felt distress and trauma symptoms as a result of the hostile and violent environment. In this regard, the reviewed literature (Listwan, Hanley, & Colvin, 2012; Kilpatrick, Saunders, & Smith, 2003) indicates that experiencing or witnessing inter-personal violence in prison has significant repercussions for community re-entry paths. Along with being frequently cited in the research (Metraux, Roman & Cho, 2007; Moschion & Johnson, 2019; La Vigne, et al, 2003; Baldry, 2006) factors including a lack of coordination between the plan and release, housing and training possibilities, debilitated relationships with families, community support, etc. have real-world effects on interviewees' return to their communities.

The prison traumatic experiences deteriorate respondents' post-release paths in terms of their health, relationships, and opportunities. The ontological and psycho-social ramifications of the systematic extreme violence and harsh punishments, frequent human rights violations, and cruelty that permeate the prison environment severely limit the interviewees' opportunities in their return to society. This not only directly affects their unsuccessful attempts to reintegrate into the community, but also has ramifications for understanding their institutional relationships (particularly with the shelter system), the reasons for their isolation practises, as well as their behaviour.

Respondents assert that the hostile and violent environment caused them to experience distress and trauma symptoms as a result of unmet needs and direct victimisation. In this regard, even though the reviewed literature (Listwan, Hanley, & Colvin, 2012; Kilpatrick, Saunders, & Smith, 2003) suggests that experiencing or witnessing interpersonal violence in prison has a significant impact on community reentry pathways, the long-term effects of victimisation affect social relationships with staff and other night shelter users.

This does not, however, mean that prison stressful and traumatic lived experiences lead straightforward to persistent patterns of single homelessness. Instead, it is how and under what

conditions a number of factors impact on repetitive/long term single homelessness experiences. Furthermore, the creation of criminal legislation like Law 19120 of Minor Offenses has an effect on recurrent and ongoing experiences of homelessness by increasing discrimination, isolation, and stigma towards the homeless as well as increasing their victimisation in public areas.

In addition to, confirming the findings of previous research that have pointed out that intervening in the transition from the institution to the community is a critical point of intervention to reduce homelessness (Dyb, 2009; Moschion & Johnson, 2019), and that service systems can assume greater responsibility for addressing the needs of those discharged from hospitals or residential settings in the community (Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010; Metraux & Culhane, 2004).

Consistent with previous findings (Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2012; Mayock & Corr, 2013; Daly, Craig, & O'Sullivan, 2018), community resettlement is significantly much more challenging and complex for those who had lengthier institutionalization trajectories, issues with criminality from a young age, extreme poverty, and very low family resources as a result of early victimization.

The findings of this study are consistent in that they demonstrate that those with multiple complex needs and who have early access to opportunities have experienced violence and abuse in their homes of origin, in child care facilities, and in youth penal institutions. These early experiences have real effects on the self, the relationships that are formed, and the ability to handle true cognitive changes of disidentification with the street and crime networks.

Third, and related to the investigation of childhood and adolescence in terms of offending, drug use patterns, family relationships, social connections, housing, etc. through the reconstruction of the interviewees life stories were the main subjects of sections 6.3 and 6.4. These themes gleaned from the testimonies themselves gave also insight on how the interviewees initially enter the adult prison system in terms of financial resources, prior housing issues, family relationships, substance addiction problems, etc.

The study's findings reveal similar to what is described in the literature (Koegel et al, 1995; Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008; Ravenhill, 2008), that repeated physical abuse by family members at a young age triggers a number of risk factors, including problematic substance use, problems of ontological insecurity, sustained and repeated sleeping rough, and offending involvement. Additionally, confirmed earlier information (Mallet, et al, 2005; Wildeman, 2004; Foster & Hagan, 2007) of parental issues, including drug use, alcoholism, mental health problems, criminal activity, and father incarceration, as drivers of youth homelessness for several respondents. In order to overcome trauma, these

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experiences without access to health support present more complicated and chaotic pathways as evidenced by high levels of housing instability (Mayock & Corr, 2020), mental health and substance abuse issues, that emerge in the early stages as a coping mechanism for pain and constant relapses into drugs, crime, and homelessness (Mayock & Sheridan, 2013; Auerswalda & Eyre; 2002; Fox, et al., 2016; Ravenhill, 2008).

Serious setbacks in sense of identity, self-worth, and belonging, their ability to form and maintain relationships with others, etc., as a consequence of family victimization and bad relations with parents, as being expelled from home as well and not having the possibility to return. In addition, they also present the poorest socio-housing situations, child poverty, and trajectory in juvenile prison facilities, which influence subsequent street life and the adult penal system.

But not all pathways arrive at their first prison experience in the same way, as it has been shown in the analyzing chapters. In that regard, two distinctive pathways were identified considering the timing of each interviewee's first experience with homelessness, their first offense, and their first prison experience, their similarities in pre-prison experiences, and commonalities regarding community transitions and experiences of imprisonment as well.

Even though in the pathways of the referenced studies (e.g., Mayock & Corr, 2013; Mayock & Parker, 2020), as well as in the analytical distinction of the two groups of pathways in this study, certain personal vulnerabilities, traumatic childhood experiences, weak family ties, extreme poverty, early and extended institutionalisation, among other things, appear with some regularity. As a result, the cause of this association is not the route but the policy. Even though the so-called individual problems are present, socio-institutional factors aggravate the processes of falling towards a closed circuit of exclusion marked by housing exclusion, the penal system and homelessness.

The interviewees in the "convoluted pathways" group exhibits structural, familial, and psychosocial disadvantages from an early age, which has an impact on their long-term homelessness paths and early involvement in the adult criminal justice system. They have been pushed to early and sustained experiences of rough sleeping, involvement in crime, and substance abuse by structural poverty, residential exclusion, long years of institutionalization, few years of schooling, violence and abuse, having lived in criminal environments, a lack of emotional support, and being ejected from their homes at a very young age. Some of them go from child/adolescent care straight to prison, while others live in very segregated areas (poor, inadequate and unstable housing) until they enter prison before the age of 25 years old. Three sub-pathways within this group of pathways are, 1) long term institutionalization, 2) drug abuse, 3) growing up in criminal environments.

This study's findings are consistent with other studies on the long-term or "unrelieved" homelessness examined in Chapter 3 (Snow & Anderson, 1993; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011; Mayock & Corr, 2013; Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2008, 2012; Fitzpatrick, Johnsen & Bramley, 2013) characterized by long and chronic routes to homelessness which are strongly marked by extreme socioeconomic deprivations, family conflict, victimization, drug abuse and mental health issues, dropping out of school before the age of fifteen, etc. Specifically, pathways of convoluted group reveal drifting in and out of rough sleeping experiences before 12 years' old, early school dropout and no return, and early victimisation had an impact on the respondents' interpersonal, cognitive, and emotional development supporting international studies' findings (Kemp, et al., 2006, Fitzpatrick, Johnsen & Bramley, 2013; Ravenhill, 2008). Drug abuse problems appear at early adolescence together with offending involvement, and supporting previous evidence (Mayock & Corr, 2008; 2013; Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2012) drug usage increases until they leave or are released from a youth care facility.

Being a father in an environment marked by a lack of resources, marginalisation, and a useful social safety net defines adulthood transitions. Contrary to what has been demonstrated in earlier studies (Giordano et al., 2002; Karabanow, 2008), there was no evidence that parenthood constituted a "turning point" in the respondents' attitudes about crime desistance and disengaging from social networks. Immediate incarceration after reaching the age of majority is associated with poly-consumption, dysfunctional family dynamics, rough sleeping or living in settings of covert impoverishment.

Experiences in prison are a continuation of a long-term and violent institutionalisation (suffering mistreatment, neglect, verbal abuse, and physical abuse) throughout childhood and early adolescence, and social exclusion characterised by extreme socioeconomic and housing deprivation setting (rough sleeping, brief stays in the homes of relatives in slums areas/extreme overcrowding after being released from the juvenile justice system, or from child care system).

The second group of interviewees, the "falling down pathways", is exposed to several risky situations that are related to drugs, alcohol abuse that "led directly to their homelessness" (Mallet, Rosenthal & Keys, 2005: 188; Parsell & Parsell, 2012) and criminality. They have never experienced rough sleeping/homelessness circumstances at least not before going to prison. Family home (with a preponderance of female leadership in the households) and a generally relative secure life serve as a barrier against homelessness at early periods in life, notwithstanding drug abuse problems. Similar to earlier studies (Mallet et al., 2005), this group of pathways also shows that, over time, drug use increase as a result of life events like a relationship breakup or other events and circumstances

(growing family conflict, unemployment, etc.). Deviant peer affiliations for the vast majority; living with other drug users, partner using drugs, environmental factors such as availability of drugs in the neighbourhood, rough sleeping experiences with other homeless offenders, "survival crimes" (Gowan, 2002; Snow & Anderson, 1989) gradually increasing drug use escalating arguments with relatives, and homelessness (Mallet, 2010; Mayock, Corr, & O'Sullivan, 2012; Johnson & Chamberlain, 2008).

The findings suggest that experiencing homelessness was a factor that made drug use and criminal behaviour for these persons worse, which is consistent with other studies (i.e Mayock and O'Sullivan, 2007; Mayock, Corr, and O'Sullivan, 2012; Hagan & McCarthy, 1997). The gradually loss of their supportive net (friends and families) while facing first time imprisonment in adulthood (later than 26 years old) as a result of no support to their increasing complex health needs.

The findings in this research support previous evidence (Fitzpatrick, 1997, 2000; May, 2000; Mayock, Corr & Eoin O'Sullivan; 2013; Anderson & Tulloch, 2000; Clapham, 1999, 2003; Mc Naughton, 2008; McKenzie & Chamberlain, 2003; Mayock & Carr, 2008) concerning the relationship between various, multifaceted factors that contribute to pathways into single homelessness experiences. The reconstruction of the interviewees' life stories shows that they have many points in common with those presented in the international literature and reported in Chapter 3.

Numerous factors have been identified, including poverty, family victimisation and abuse, early and prolonged institutionalisation, extreme poverty and scarce income rough sleeping conditions before the age of 16, deviant relationships and criminal activity, increased drug and alcohol use starting at early age, early school dropout, mental health issues, limited family support, running away due to family violence or being expelled from home, etc. With regard to the pathways that remain homeless, reviewed data shows that inadequate social services, a lack of opportunities for training and housing, as well as a dearth of health services, cause many homeless people to become embroiled in institutionalization/acculturation processes that are difficult to reverse if appropriate support is not available.

Supporting international evidence (Ireland, Smith & Thornberry, 2002; Stewart, Livingston & Dennison, 2008; cited in Hurren, Stewart & Dennison, 2017: 25), However, an absence of pro social net, severe engagement with negative social links while they are still living at family home, and an early started on drug usage lack of access to essential social support services, unstable and precarious relationship with the labour market, aggravate pathways of sustained homelessness experiences and offending paths

(involving material theft, trafficking of illegal substances, and to a lesser extent, more serious offences like assault) at early youth.

Finally, the respondents of this study will experience deeper patterns of social exclusion as a result of becoming involved with the adult criminal justice system for the first time. Supporting evidence for the life course approach (Nieuwbeerta, Nagin & Blokland, 2009; Bushway, 1998, Lanctot, Cernkovich, & Giordano, 2007) the study' findings that first-time imprisonment has a criminogenic effect, increasing criminal activity after release, closing future possibilities and growth, exacerbates negative social interactions, and worsens mental and physical health needs.

Macro and meso level factors further aggravate the cycle of exclusion in this study respondents' life histories, as we have demonstrated. The characteristics identified by the international literature (Kushel et al, 2005; Metraux, Byrne & Culhane, 2010; Hopper *et al*, 1997; Metraux *et al*, 2007; Metraux & Culhane 2006; Caton *et al* 2005; Greenberg & Rosenheck; 2008) for those who spend brief amounts of time in prison and shelters but are still caught in this cycle, such as persistent substance abuse issues, mental health issues, unstable housing, or previous victimisations, are clearly observable in the case of the interviewees. The participants in this study experience a progressive decline (Hutson & Liddiard, 1994) towards chronic or long-term homelessness as a result of the current institutional structure, the lack of homelessness prevention policies, and the dearth of complementary social services that successfully address overlapping social needs, subpar inter-agency coordination, a lack of cross-sectoral resources, etc. Added to the ontological effects of victimisation, the impossibility of returning to the family home, severe housing instability, and insecurity experiences, the role of the strength attachment to "deviated pressures" (Baldry, 2006) in self-perception and identity that give rise to and reinforce patterns of behaviour that cause new privations reduces the ability to react, decreasing the likelihood of achieve a sustained pathway out of institutionalization and street culture (Snow & Anderson, 1993).

However, the research findings have shown, in line with studies of the referenced paths, (Chamberlain & Johnson, 2011; Mayock & Corr, 2013), that these journeys are not straughtfoward and time spent getting out of situations like homelessness or prison is marked by individual agency and some transitions (marriage, employment, drug treatment), which fuel those changes. But, at 'critical junctures' (Mayock & Corr, 2013), structural obstacles, unmet housing and health needs, institutional abuse and trauma, a lack of social support, individual feelings of dispossession, and exclusion from the community undermine their ongoing efforts to end the cycle of homelessness and incarceration.

The socio institutional factors that undermine any attempt of sustaining a path out of homelessness and prison, underlie the respondents' emotions, drives, and opportunities, serve as a breeding ground for future prolonged and repetitive experiences of homelessness upon release, health decline, creating and accelerating of numerous other needs, reinforcement of their street identity, reoffending and reimprisonment. Acute vulnerability combined with serious socio-affective deficits and self-esteem issues, are intensified by violence and dehumanization experienced in prison; lack of social and health support and deterioration of family ties. According to the study's findings, supporting previous studies drug relapses and reoffending practically quickly after release are both results of imprisonment events that failed to address complex individual requirements that were existing before to imprisonment.

The main conclusions of this study have already been covered. The next section discusses the study's limitations and potential future directions before concluding with policy and theoretical implications.

8.3 Limitations and potential future research areas

This thesis proposed a first approach to the connection between homelessness and imprisonment in Uruguay, a topic severely understudied so far. In order to move away from individualistic justifications and discourses that blame the 'tough and sought-after fate of others', the primary goal was to start by illuminating some of the factors that might be combining to produce this association, in the expectation that the findings may inform policy and practice in this area.

Although this research aims to provide a unique contribution to the field by considering the issue from a socioeconomic and institutional context that is different from where the majority of the literature on the subject is produced, it has also several limitations due to the methodology and sampling which affect the results that have been provided, three of which are listed below.

First, the restrictions of analysing official cross section data (Chapter 5), primarily for the purpose of finding causal linkages among the dimensions of deprivations, are highlighted. This characteristic suggests that it is frequently difficult to determine the temporal antecedence of the needs and privations addressed for the sheltered and unsheltered homeless surveyed at a given point in time. *Second*, the size of the sample and the selection of participants. The strategy is unsuitable to reach a large sample, and selection methods have no pretention of representativeness,

so any kind of inference is precluded. Furthermore, as was stressed in Chapter 4, the sampling does not include temporary homeless people or people who have successfully found a long-term solution to their homelessness because it is concentrated on extreme homelessness pathways with criminal justice issues. These two categories of homeless former prisoners may have different needs, difficulties, and experiences with homelessness and resources. In addition to, other drawbacks stem from the intrinsic properties of purposive sampling, such as the potential for researcher bias and its impact on the researcher's own research findings.

Interviewing homeless who had served time in prisons outside of the capital that prioritised socio-educational programmes and less harsh conditions would have been enlightening. By doing so, the study would have been able to compare their patterns of homelessness to those of the other individuals from Montevideo.

Third, retrospective data have their own limitations. On one hand, because of inaccuracy or vagueness of the information respondents provide, which is subject to their memories and experiences. When interviewees are particularly prone to alcohol and drugs consumption, and mental health problems are frequent, problems related to remembering past times become more serious. Also, when memories are unpleasant and stories are about traumatic events the biases of declarations may be exacerbated. That said, the pivotal importance of retrospective information lies in what respondents say and its implications, and the course of the interview allows double-checks and consistency checks. However, quantitative analysis in Chapter 7 should be taken with caution since 'factual data and other specifities' that are not mentioned may take place in their life paths (Morselli et al, 2016: 195). The sort of data collected and the structure of the data gathering instrument may have been enhanced with a better LHC design that explicitly divided it into life phases of development.

It is important to highlight few issues that would be pertinent to take into account for future research. It seems necessary to conduct longitudinal research in the first place, in order to overcome some of the mentioned limitations. A *follow up study of the participants* following the initial interview, in order to continue examining process and dynamics of housing pathways and transitions through institutions, would be of major interest.

An in-depth examination of *street culture connected to the role of social services* in the acculturation/institutionalization process; the social interactions (and discourses) between shelter users and personnel, the role of other social facilities (e. psychiatric hospitals) in the relations among

prison, homelessness and settlements/slums, are all subjects that deserve further attention. Future studies on the effects of segregated housing on single homelessness should thoroughly analyse both settlement structure and sociable networks.

Also, *studies on gender, single homelessness, and prison* for the local setting are also needed, in order to collect different experiences, backgrounds, pathways circumstances, and needs of women experiencing homelessness and prison. Such an approach would help in designing policies based on gender that take the needs and particularities of women into account. This evidence would also stand out when considering the numerous factors behind the repeated/longer routes taken by lone homeless women in Montevideo with complex needs and prison experiences, their patterns of residence instability and institutional use, access to social assistance, chances of way out of homelessness, etc.

In this particular context, taking into account the special needs of women, information from their histories of homelessness and incarceration, and investigating how the criminal justice system has affected their post-prison paths—including incidents of reoffending, drug use, potential exposure to violence and abuse on the street, among other issues—could provide a broader and deeper understanding of this subject. In addition to, a gender-based perspective that also takes into account LGBTIQ communities could offer empirical proof of the ways that interactions with the criminal justice and night shelter systems encourage gender inequalities among homeless populations.

8.4 Policy and theoretical implications

The findings of this research attempt to contribute with evidence that informs policy and practice.

The need for resettlement, preventing and ending homelessness, in particular, for those who have been in prison, as well as research into the intricate details of the processes and factors underlying the association between the penal system and housing exclusion related experiences, was emphasised in the introduction to this thesis. The issue of homelessness is concerning, and there is growing recognition that it involves a multitude of human rights violations that must be reported, eradicated, and addressed through innovative preventative and care methods. Due to its complexity, there are also a lot of unresolved questions about its causes, characteristics, and the significance it has for those who experience it. Homelessness pathways analysis served this thesis to account for respondents' housing and homelessness journeys and it has also made it possible to shed light on the differences and similarities across interviewees' roads. It also made it possible to demonstrate through interviewee accounts and quantitative analysis how a number of structural and institutional factors interact over time to exacerbate the participants' experiences of homelessness, incarceration, and residential instability/exclusion.

This attempts to serve practical purposes in addition to theoretical ones, assists in setting up preventive measures taking into account the singularity of the association of homelessness and the penal system in Uruguay in order to prevent and find effective ways to avoid repeated homelessness, acculturation-institutionalization process, and re-imprisonment experiences (Metraux, Cho & Rossman, 2007; Pawson & Munro, 2010; Anderson, 2002; Focus, 2008).

The study brought into dialogue those Global North theoretical frameworks by looking at a group of homeless ex offenders living in Montevideo, Uruguay. This poses an additional theoretical challenge, because issues like exclusion, marginalisation, inequality, poverty, scope of public policies, among many others, attain really different expressions in developed and developing countries. International literature is an essential support of any theoretical discussion on this subject, but is hardly able to explain the severity and extent of the problem at the local level.

The dissertation also attempted to produce some elements of dialogue between different methodological approaches. Collected information is qualitative and quantitative at the same time, with semi-structured interviews that are reasonably coherent with the LHCs information, which is suitable for a quantitative descriptive analysis. During the first stages of

research, when the guidelines for the interviews were being designed, a broad quantitative cross section analysis, combining census and representative sample information, gave a general picture about the characteristics of the involved population. Then, a qualitative analysis of the interviews provided a vivid understanding of the degree in which some deprivations are present in the Uruguayan case. It showed that the reality of life histories in this side of the world are far crueller, subsumed in a structural and institutional violence that still remains far from the international lens in explaining the mentioned nexus. A set of severity indices allowed a complementary quantitative approach, which showed that deprivations in many dimensions tend to be accumulated, and that they tend to go together.

A main conclusion is that homelessness and experiences with the penal system, as well as the clear mutually reinforcing relation, are strictly associated to extreme housing poverty, victimization in prison, absence of preventative strategies and support schemes upon prison release, violation of fundamental human rights, and threatening release environments. As quantitative and qualitative findings showed for those interviewed, problems and needs are severely intertwined, are present in several domains, and are also severely dependent on each other.

The importance of factors like institutional and structural characteristics that negatively affect family dynamics and their likelihood of survival, as well as personal vulnerabilities that are exacerbated by early victimisation, exclusion procedures, and long-term institutionalisation, was highlighted. The narratives reveal the epidemic of familial and institutional violence, which leaves serious, deep, emotional, traumatic scars and has an impact on one's health, emotions, and social coping mechanisms. It was possible to shed light on not only the typical issues covered in the literature but also on the unique underlying conditions and mechanisms that are set in motion leading to a sustained and/or repeated paths of destitution for these respondents by understanding the study participants' narratives about their experiences with homelessness and prison, among other issues. A combination of extreme housing segregation, intergenerational poverty, violent family dynamics, early expulsion from the educational system (homeless offenders who are illiterate), youth incarceration policies that have a negative impact on the lives of those who are most vulnerable to early homelessness, a lack of prevention and health services, the absence of prevention and health services, and deep structural issues that remain unaddressed all contribute to the accumulation of State failures.

The structural, organisational, and management features of the criminal justice system, which are characterised by high rates of violence, inhumane conditions, and treatment, and fail to uphold

fundamental human rights (Vigna, 2020), exacerbate trauma and mental health issues by fostering stigma and ontological insecurity and undermining effective resettlement pathways and cognitive change for those who are most vulnerable and have housing and health issues.

In the present, homelessness and public insecurity seem to be two issues that are closely related in Uruguayan society, raising concerns and receiving a lot of media attention. Single homelessness is a pressing social problems in Montevideo, and it is in continuous growth. Currently, homelessness reaches almost 4000 people (Mides, 2021). The social policies put in place so far have not been able to counteract its growth, nor, it is to be expected, the complexities that lead to it. As we saw at the beginning of the thesis, despite the progress made in terms of better development of public policies and the construction of a rights agendain the period 2005–2020, there have been ongoing issues with the conditions of the penal system, with the total number of prisoners reaching close to 14000 by 2021 and recidivism rates exceeding 50%.

Even though some official speeches emphasize the importance of returning to the community as a key factor in combating public insecurity, there aren't any concrete efforts being made in the realm of public policy (aside from isolated initiatives that only cover a very small portion of the population that leave prisons) that would improve the experiences and opportunities for reintegration of those returning to the community.

Alongside the propagation of the paradigm that homelessness is the result of an individual choice that continues to permeate public discourse, reflections on the causes and strategies of institutional approaches that contribute to the propagation of homelessness as a social problem, are dissipated.

The need to consider it as an integral social problem, which needs a comprehensive approach to prevent its spread from the most vulnerable (with addiction problems, without social ties or weakened, without education) acquires critical urgency. However, the institutional fragility and fragmentation that exists in the country works to the detriment of such an approach. What is more, the criminal justice system should be part of this integral approach involving its ways of working with people with severe, persistent and multiple deprivations.

The data presented in this thesis is meant to support the creation of inter institucional public policies that consider both the correlation between the two issues and the various risk factors at different levels that affect those who deal with both issues as well as their many effects.

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Implement successful strategies for eradicating (child) poverty; coordinate policy actions to prevent family victimization, and create integral homelessness prevention policies by in collaboration with the organisations in charge of legalising unauthorised settlements; Ministry of Public Health; Housing, Judicial system, Juvenile criminal justice system, Child care system, are some policy recommendations.

In addition to providing health care inside prisons, which should be extended and enhanced, demonstrate prevention efforts to stop the conditions within the criminal justice system that lead to interpersonal violence.

Another recommendation is to broaden the scope of socio-educational initiatives and reduce prison congestion. Comprehensive drug and mental health policies and create resettlement plans from a human rights perspective in conjunction with those who have had repeated and/or ongoing experiences in the criminal justice system and on the streets by incorporating their voices and experiences, should also be developed.

Care policies that consider ongoing access to various housing solutions based on the needs that must be addressed, expanding the number of places in transitional housing solutions for those leaving prison in the hostel for released and offering ongoing therapeutic support to those who have experienced multiple incidents of institutional violence, are two counselling and accommodation recommendations. Regulation and monitoring of boarding houses, increased availability of benefits, opportunities, training, and housing are also recommended.

A shift in work culture based on a culture of punishment in large prisons is also advised, as well as novel approaches to legislation governing punishments for small violations other than imprisonment, as well as to look for measures that do not promote homelessness criminalization.

Raising public awareness of institutional factors that lead to long-term homelessness at various life stages, together with a complete understanding of the effects of abandonment and neglect on life stories and coping mechanisms, are some policy recommendations. Through public awareness-raising efforts on homelessness and its impacts, it can be combated the stigma, violence, and discrimination they experience in the community.

There is also a need for integrated homelessness strategies far from the staircase/ 'housing last' model (Sahlin, 2005) that take specific user groups into account, mental health services, and other health-related difficulties at institutional discharges.

It is imperative that academics, those working with those in institutions who are at risk of becoming homeless because of their ties to the criminal justice system, those managing shelters, those developing initiatives for street care, civil society organisations, municipalities, and the homeless themselves coordinate their efforts.

Political and institutional responses and moral commitment with a person-centred approach should be essential to stop the increase of the affected population and reduce the force that traps the most vulnerable and violated pathways in the destitution forces that are aggravated by the penal system and its punitive practices.

Appendix

Appendix A

Structured questionnaire and results

A.1. Interview and questionnaire

- Introduction: reiterate the purpose of the research
- Invite interviewee to ask any questions that they may have
- Complete informed consent form

"The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather basic socio- demographic information about you. The questionnaire is anonymous and therefore no names should be written on it. Participation is absolutely voluntary. Thank you very much for your cooperation".

Questionnaire ID: _ _
Date of interview: / /
Venue: Night shelter: ☐ Street/public place: ☐ Hostel ☐ Other (e.g. MIDES) ☐

A) Identification & Family

Q. 1) *Could you tell me roughly? Are you aged?* __ _ ***Q. 2)*** *¿ How you would describe your ethnic group?* 1. African/Black Yes ☐ No ☐ 2. Yellow Yes ☐ No ☐ 3. White Yes ☐ No ☐ 4. Indigenous Yes ☐ No ☐ 5. Other…… 98. Don't know: ☐ 99. Refused: ☐	***Q. 3)*** *What is your current marital status, are you…?_* _ _ 1. Married/consensual union ☐ 2. Divorced ☐ 3. Unmarried/single ☐ 4. In a relationship ☐ 98. Don't know: ☐ 99. Refused: ☐ ***Q.4)*** *Do you have any children under 18?:* Yes ☐ *How many?___* No ☐ 98. Don't know: ☐ 99. Refused: ☐ ***Q.5)*** *What age were you when your first child was born?:_-___* 98. Don't know: ☐ 99. Refused: ☐

**B) Education & employment**

Q. 6) Can you read and write? Yes ☐ No ☐ *Q. 7) ¿ what is the highest level of schooling you have completed?* 1. I never attended school ☐ 2. Elementary School ☐ 3. High School ☐ 98. Don't know: ☐ 99. Refused: ☐	*Q.8) Do you have any current occupation?* Yes ☐ No ☐ *Q. 9) Which is?* _____ 98. Don't know: ☐ 99. Refused: ☐

C) Homelessness & Prison

|	
Q. 10) Have you ever been in a custodial sentence? Yes ☐ No ☐ 98. Don't know: ☐ 99. Refused: ☐ *Q.11) What age were you when you commit your first offense?* _____years old 98. Don't know: ☐ 99. Refused: ☐	*Q. 12) How long have you been sleeping at this venue (since the last time of homelessness episode)?* Days: ……/Months: …. /Years:.. 98. Don't know: ☐ 99. Refused: ☐

A.2. Graphical characterization of the research sample with data from the questionnaire

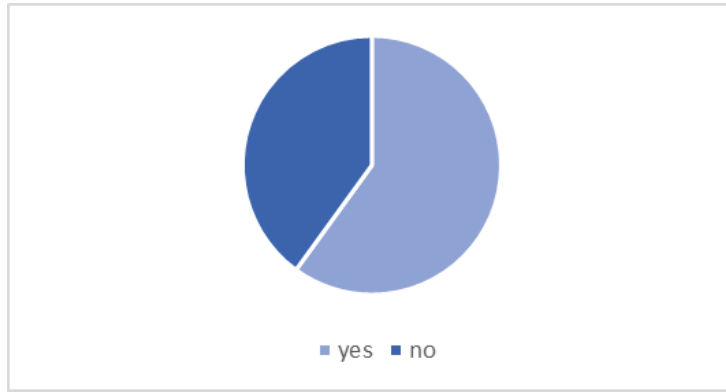Figure A.1. Respondents' ethnic background
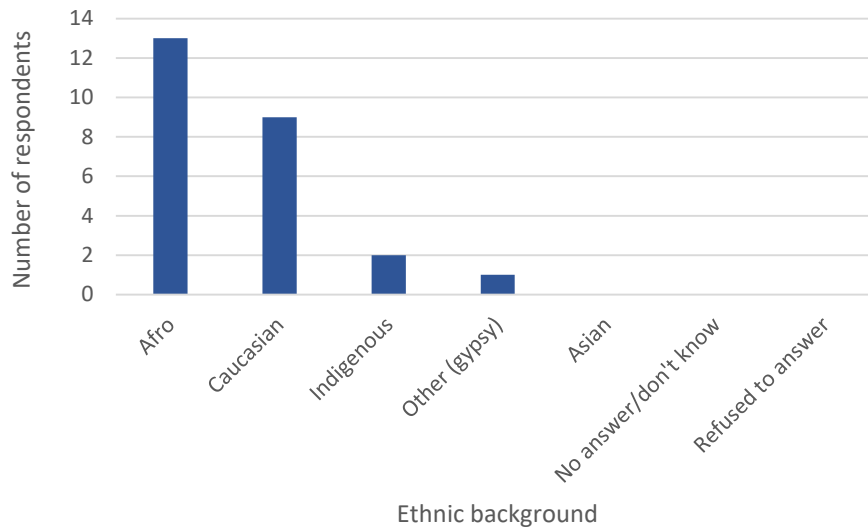
Source: Own elaboration using questionnaire responses
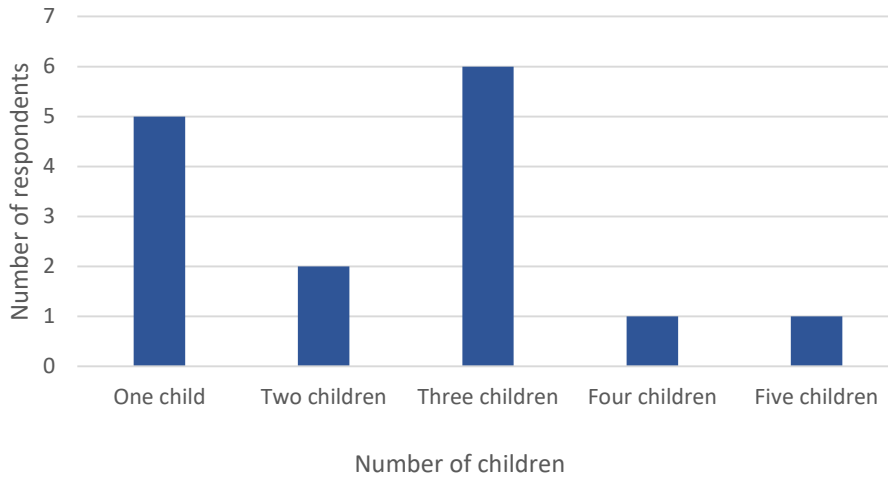
Figure A.2. Respondents' marital status
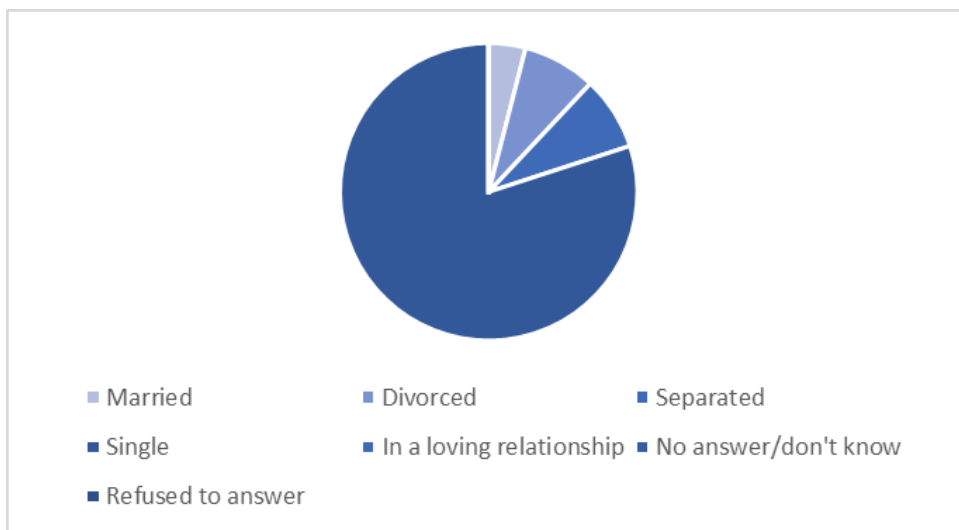
Source: Own elaboration using questionnaire responses

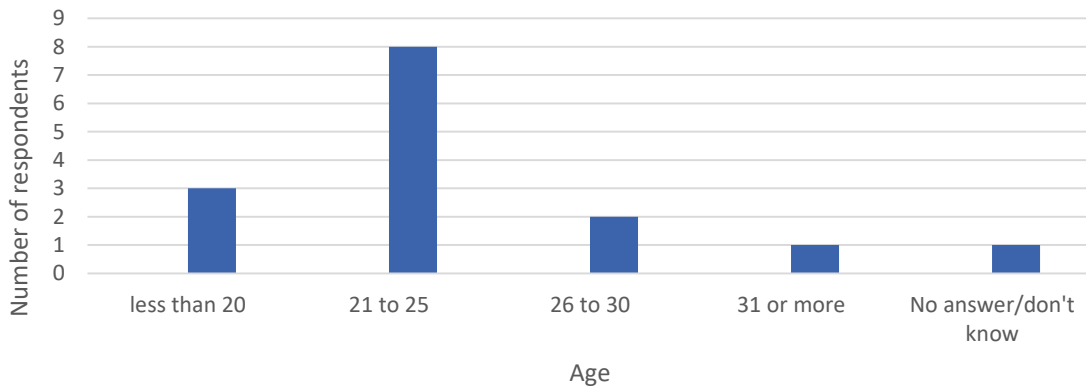Figure A.3. Respondents having children under 18 years-old

Source: Own elaboration using questionnaire responses

Figure A.4. Respondents' number of children under 18 years-old

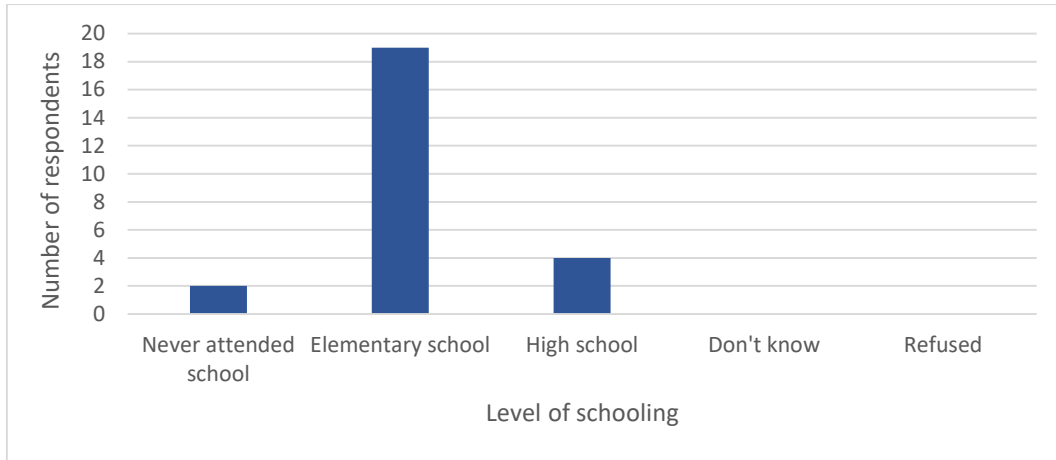Source: Own elaboration using questionnaire responses

Figure A.5. Respondents' age when they had their first child

Source: Own elaboration using questionnaire responses

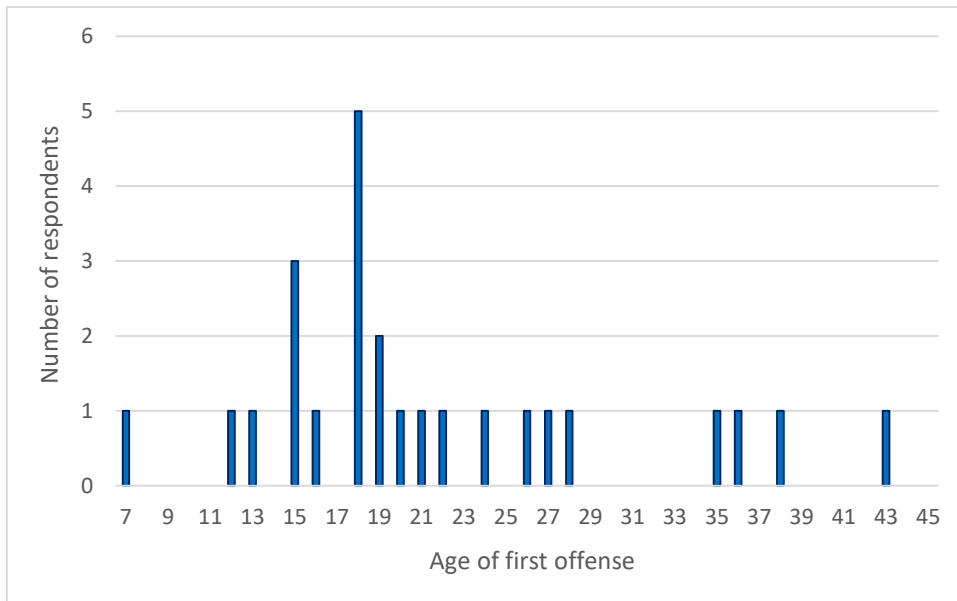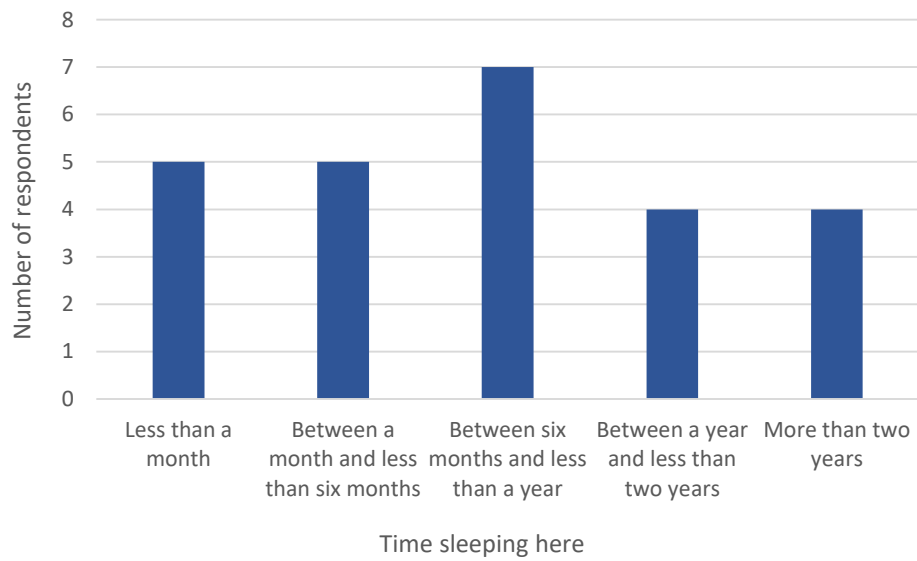Figure A. 6. Respondents' highest level of schooling

Source: Own elaboration using questionnaire responses

Figure A.7. Respondents' age of first offense committed

Source: Own elaboration using questionnaire responses

Figure A.8. Respondents' time sleeping at this venue (since the last time of homelessness episode)

Source: Own elaboration using questionnaire responses

Guideline for interviews

The semi structured interview was applied while completing the LHC. The purpose of this embedded strategy in collecting qualitative and quantitative data was to gather on one hand, past events, the state of each event and transition in a selected unit of time, examining successive "episodes" of each activity, and the lived subjective experience respondents had. Hence, according to the development of the interview it covered certain ordered issues and topics concerning respondent life.

B.1. Introduction

The purpose of this interview is a more in depth interview with you looking together at the Life History Calendar and I will be asking you more in depth about your accommodation situation, your support needs, experiences of being living here (shelter, hostel, street), your past experiences in prison and current concerns, among others. The interview will last approximately 1 hour. As I said in the other instances, the interview is anonymous and therefore no names should be written on it. Participation is absolutely voluntary.

All the information you give is entirely confidential. Your name and contact details are kept separate from your answers and will not be passed onto any support service or organisation. The data collected will be analysed and used only in my PhD Thesis and associated research outputs such as articles, conference papers and other dissemination activities.

From the recordings some direct quotations will be extracted, however no personal names, places or other data that could be used to identify a specific individual will appear in order to preserve their anonymity. Interviews will be identified with subsequent numbers and will be saved securely. The interviews will take place in private –either in a room at the shelter/hostel or another suitable venue.

Just to let you know: You may refuse to answer any question and you may withdraw from the interviews at any point. Everything you tell me will be kept private **unless** you tell me something which suggests a risk of harm to you or another person that will be discussed with my PhD supervisors and also with the local competent authorities and stakeholders in order to follow ethical procedures regarding further course of action of the research. As well, if you disclose unrecorded or unprosecuted criminal activity, the researcher may be obliged to report it to the police/authorities. Furthermore, the referral social worker will be informed immediately if you present changes in your behaviour or

alterations in their physical and mental health with respect to participating in the research and the researcher's personal safety may be involved. If something like that happens the interviews will be immediately finished. Finally, what you tell me will not affect the service that is provided to you by this or any other agency.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

B.2. Main thematic areas

Childhood and adolescence: family, education and housing, memories, feelings, relations, adverse events (moving, disengagement from school, ran away from home or was expelled from home), criminal peers (from school or neighbourhood)

(Multiple) homelessness experiences: age of first time homeless, differences between successive homelessness experiences, asking for feelings, thoughts of those experiences' implications on health/social/self/relationships, Law of Faults (arrested by the police force), harassment, and life threatening, victimization events

(Multiple) Offending activity: age of involvement, offense, penalty, homeless/house, zig zags in and out of criminal behaviour, criminal peers, type of crimes committed, with whom or alone, drugs, housing resources/homeless condition, desistance (family, marriage, employment, parenthood)

Health issues: diseases, severe alcoholism (age of beginning), diagnosed mental health, drug use (age of beginning) and abuse, drug relapses, deceleration, mental health hospitalizations

(Multiple) Penal system experiences: number of times imprisoned, experiences, feelings thoughts, consequences of the rule enforcement and prison conditions on respondents' identity, family visiting, rehabilitation and/or recreation employment programs, differences between prison experiences, relationship with the other inmates/police,

Release and resettlement (homelessness) pathways: implications of prison conditions at release, living situations, barriers for resettlement, changing complex needs, life circumstances, feelings of coming back, social support, events of reoffending, drug abuse, adverse life events, employment/housing opportunities.

C.1. Introduction

Before beginning the interview, the following message was read*:*

> *"Now, I would like to ask you about some important things in your life. To help us memorize and record these things, we are going to complete this calendar. As we talk, I will mark on this page, where you lived, etc.". The LHC was explained to the respondents so that they can understand its design: "As you can see, we have the years; we mark your birth and your age until December 2017. For those years, I will be asking you about the things that are listed below: where you lived and with whom/where did you study/ marriages-divorces/children you had if you had, periods of employment or unemployment/health issues/prison life/homelessness experiences/etc.". Please, before we start, I would like to ask you if some questions or issues make you feel uncomfortable or you do not want to talk about it, you do not have to continue. I do not ask you about that issue, and we change the topic. It is important for you that you do not have to tell me anything you do not want. If you agree, now, we can start to do the interview."*

All the transitions in interviewee's life were marked with an X in the top row of each line of activity.

C.2. The calendar

Figure C.1. The life history calendar form

AGE																																													2007				2008				2009				2010				2011				2012				2013				2014				2015				2016				2017			
YEAR/FOUR MONTH PERIOD	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS (V1)

1. House/flat rented, 2. House/flat ownerd 3. House/flat rented with someone else, 4. House/flat owned with someone else, 5. house of friends or relatives, 6. hotel, 7. hostel/guesthouse, 8. child residential care (care family), 9. night shelter, 10. hospital, 11. slept rough, 12. overcrowding conditions/not suitable for living , 13. prison, 14. accommodation in exchange of favors (crime), 15. borrowed house, 16. police station, 98. do

LIVE WITH WHOM (V2)

1. Both biological parents, 2. biological mother on her own, 3. biological father on her own, 4. adoptive/foster parents, 5. children's home/foster care, 6. grandparents, 7. grandparent/grand mother on her/his own, 8. biological parent(s) and other relatives, 9. other relatives, 10 friends/housemates, 11 byself, 12 spouse/couple, 13. couple and chidren, 14. street peers, 15. prison peers, 16 couple/children and other relatives, 17.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE (V3)

1. Montevideo, 2. Other city in Uruguay, 3. Rural area, 4. Abroad, 98. don't know/remember, 99. refused

CRIMINAL ACTIVITY (V4)

1. Assault, 2. robbery/theft, 3. fraud, 4. handling stolen goods, 5. misappropiation, 6. abduction (assault with deprivation of liberty), 7. blackmail, 8. kidnapping, 9.Vandalism (Law of faults),10. gender violence, 11. child neglect, 12. personal injuries, 13. sexual offence. 14. drug trafficking, 15. gun running, 16. human trafficking, 17.murder/manslaughter, 18. Femicide, 19. drug dealing, 20. shoplift, 21. street theft (pickpocketing),

CRIMINAL JUSTICE INVOLVEMENT(V5)

1. Prison, 2. probation/parole, 3. juvenile detention, 4. community work, 5. home detention, 6. required by the criminal system, 7. released from prison, 98. don't

EMPLOYMENT (V6)

1. Permanent/fixed term employee, 2. self employee, 3. unpaid employee, 4. casual employee, 5 unemployed, 98. don't know/remember, 99. refused

HEALTH (V7)

1. Anxiety, depression or bad nerves, 2. psychiatric problems, 3. Alohol or drug related problems (drug misuse), 4. Epilepsy, 5. Stroke, 6. Hepatitis (all references), 7. Tuberculosis, 8. HIV positive, 9. Other, 10. Giving up drugs, 11. Multiple drugs, 98. don't know/remember, 99. refused

SOCIAL SERVICES (V8)

1. Health/care services, 2. Training/employment, 3. Food/clothing, 4. Accommodation, 5. Benefits, 6. Legal formalities/procedures (identification), 7. Support/family contact,

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS (V9)

Source: Own elaboration.

C.3. Variables' codes for the Life History Calendar

Table C.1. Life History Calendar variables' codes

V.1) LIVING ARRANGEMENTS
1. house/flat rented
2. house/flat owned
3. house/flat rented with someone else
4. house/flat owned with someone else
5. house of friends or relatives
6. hotel
7. hostel/guesthouse
8. child residential care (care family)
9. night shelter
10. hospital
11. slept rough
12. overcrowding conditions / not suitable for living
13. prison
14. accommodation in exchange for "favours" (crime)
15. borrowed house
16. police station
98. do not know /remember
99. refused to answer

V.2) LIVED WITH WHOM
1. both biological parents
2. biological mother on her own
3. biological father on his own
4. adoptive/foster parents
5. children's home/foster care
6. grandparents
7. grandparent/mother on his/her own
8. biological parent(s) and other relatives
9. other relatives
10. friends/housemates
11. by self
12. spouse/couple
13. couple and children
14. street peers
15. prison peers
16. couple children and other relatives
17. night shelters peers
98. don't know/remember
99. refused to answer

V.3) PLACE OF RESIDENCE
1. Montevideo
2. other city in Uruguay
3. rural area
4. abroad
98. don't know/remember
99. refused to answer

V.4) CRIMINAL ACTIVITY
1. assault
2. robbery/theft
3. fraud
4. handling stolen goods
5. misappropriation
6. abduction (assault with deprivation of liberty)
7. blackmail
8. kidnapping
9. vandalism (Law of faults)
10. gender violence
11. child neglect
12. personal injuries
13. sexual offence
14. drug trafficking
15. gunrunning
16. human trafficking
17. murder/manslaughter
18. femicide
19. drug dealing
20. shoplift
21. street theft (pickpocketing)
22. prostitution related
23. other
98. do not know/ remember
99. refused to answer

V.5) CRIMINAL JUSTICE INVOLVEMENT
1. prison
2. probation/parole
3. juvenile detention
4. community work
5. home detention
6. required by criminal system
7. released from prison
98. don't know/remember
99. refused to answer

V.6) EMPLOYMENT
1. permanent / fixed term employee
2. self-employed
3. unpaid employee
4. casual employee
5. unemployed
98. don't know/remember
99. refused to answer

V.7) HEALTH
1. anxiety depression or bad nerves
2. psychiatric problems
3. alcohol or drug related problems (drug misuse)
4. epilepsy
5. stroke
6. hepatitis (all references)
7. tuberculosis
8. HIV positive
9. other
10. giving up drugs
11. multiple drugs
98. don't know/remember
99. refused to answer

V.8) SOCIAL SERVICES
1. health/care services
2. training/employment
3. food/Clothing
4. accommodation
5. benefits
6. legal formalities/procedures (identification)
7. support/family contact
8. rehabilitation programs
98. don't know/remember
99. refused to answer

V.9) SIGNIFICANT EVENTS
FAMILY:
1. parents split
2. parent(s) disabled
3. witnesses gender violence
4. experience family violence/abuse
5. evicted from a rented home
6. death mother/father
7. death other close relative
INTERVIEWEE:
8. run away from home
9. left School
10. start involving in criminal activity/anti-social behaviour
11. criminal peers link
12. marriage/partner
13. child birth
14. first employment
15. quit job
16. divorce/separation
17. death couple
18. suffered attempt of sexual abuse during street homelessness
19. suffered attempt of assault/robbery of personal belongings during street homelessness
98. don't know/remember
99. refused to answer

Source: Own elaboration

C.4. LHC Visual clues for respondents

Illustration C.1. Visual clues for respondents

1973: Beginning of Dictatorship

1984: The end of the military dictatorship

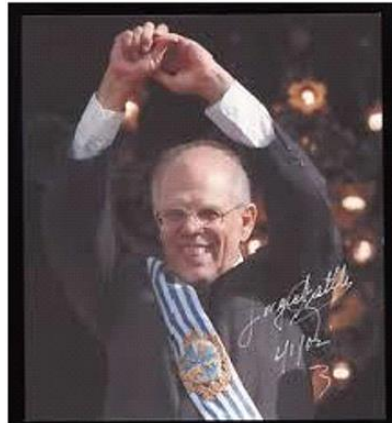**1985**: 1ST Presidency of Sanguinetti

1990: President of Uruguay Lacalle

1995: 2nd Presidency of Sanguinetti

2001: President of Uruguay Batlle

2005: 1st Presidency of Vazquez

2010: President of Uruguay Mujica (FA)

2010: Football World Cup

2015: 2ND Presidency of Vazquez

Source: Pictures taken from www.google.com.uy, 2018

List of codes from interviews with homeless former inmates

Table D.1. Nodes used in *Nvivo* analysis

Codes	Sub codes description
Poverty	
Housing	
Child/Juvenile institutionalization	
Family conflict	● Intergenerational transmission of offending ● Drugs ● Neglect ● Abuse/victimization
Peer group	● Offending ● Drugs ● Housing-homelessness
Offending activity	● Motives for beginning and involvement
Drugs & health	● Periods of giving up drugs ● Periods of increased (multiple) drugs intake
Homelessness experiences	● Motives for beginning and involvement ● Feelings ● Experiences of victimization
Criminal justice	● Family visiting ● Treatment of the prison police ● Relationships with inmates ● Social climate, prison conditions (resources, overcrowding, leisure time) ● Access to rehabilitation programs, health, social-recreational and employment activities ● Institutional victimization ● Interpersonal violence ● Drugs intake
Prison release	● Homelessness ● Drugs ● Reoffending ● Victimization ● Street peers ● Feelings
Attempts for resettlement & desistance	● Access to: employment, housing, training, health services related to drug abuse treatment ● Institutional support ● Family support ● Feelings

Source: Own elaboration.

Timescales and the activities for the fieldwork held

Table E.1. Timescale for fieldwork

Time scales Fieldwork 2018	February	March	April	May	June	July
First meetings with Pasc's authorities and contacts with night shelters supervisors	■					
Access to the sample	■					
Started interviewes	■					
Correct and improve data collection techniques	■					
Meeting with personnel of Monitoring and Evaluation Division for access to data bases of Census		■				
Interviews and LHC with homeless ex-offenders in night shelters		■				
Interviews and LHC with homeless ex-offenders in night shelters			■			
Started interviews and LHC with street homeless ex-offenders			■			
Meeting with Dinali's director				■		
Started interviews and LHC with homeless ex-offenders in hostel for released				■		
Last interviewes in night shelters				■		
Last interviewes in the streets					■	
Last interviewes in the hostel for released					■	
End of fieldwork and trip to York for a face to face supervision						■

Source: Own elaboration.

Differences on how Pathways 1 and 2 revolve[70]

Dividing Table 9 for the two pathways, Table F.1 shows that differences between them are slight. Homelessness might be more present for Pathway 2, both before and after prison, and this is particularly so after several re-entries. An exception is that Pathway 1 respondents shown several first exits from prison to homelessness. Overcrowding, on the contrary, is as expected more frequent for Pathway 1, and these results show that it gains weight as re-entries increase in number.

Table 10 is opened for the two pathways in Table F.2., which shows that as the number of homelessness experiences increase, living situations are clearly located in the most unstable and insecure categories of the OHP circuit. However, for higher numbers of experience respondents from Pathway 1 distribute entries and exits across de OHP categories, while those from Pathway 2 tend to enter homelessness coming from prison and to exit homelessness because of incarceration. Overcrowding is a frequent and sustained exit for Pathway 1, while it is almost inexistent for those in Pathway 2.

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[70] Convoluted pathways are referenced in Pathway 1 whereas falling down groups are referenced in Pathway 2.

Table F.1. Living situations immediately before and after prison, by imprisonment number and pathway

Before entering prison

	Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pathway 1	Owner/Tenant	1							
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	1	2				1		
	Orphanage/Hospital								
	Friends/Couple/Relatives	2	3	2					
	Overcrowding/Not for living	5	2	4	2	2	2	2	1
	Homelessness	1	1	1	1	1			
Pathway 2	Owner/Tenant	2				1			
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse								
	Orphanage/Hospital								
	Friends/Couple/Relatives	1	3	1					
	Overcrowding/Not for living	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	
	Homelessness	2		2	2	1	1		

After prison release

	Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pathway 1	Owner/Tenant								
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	1	1			1			
	Orphanage/Hospital								
	Friends/Couple/Relatives	3	2	3			1	1	1
	Overcrowding/Not for living	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	
	Homelessness	4	2	1	1				
Pathway 2	Owner/Tenant				1				
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	1							
	Orphanage/Hospital								
	Friends/Couple/Relatives	5	2	1	1	1			
	Overcrowding/Not for living	3	1	1	1		1	1	
	Homelessness		2	2		1	1		

Source: Own elaboration using data from de LHCs database. Repetition numbers with only one respondent were discarded.

Table F.2. Living situations immediately before and after homelessness,
by experience number and pathway

Before homelessness experience

	Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pathway 1	Owner/Tenant	3						
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse	1	1					
	Orphanage/Hospital	1	1					
	Friends/Couple/Relatives	3	1	1	1	1		
	Overcrowding/Not for living	1		2	1	1	1	
	Prison	1	5	1	1			
Pathway 2	Owner/Tenant	4	1		1			1
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse		2					
	Orphanage/Hospital		1					
	Friends/Couple/Relatives	1						
	Overcrowding/Not for living	2	2	1				
	Prison	2		2		1	1	

After homelessness experience

	Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pathway 1	Owner/Tenant						
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse						
	Orphanage/Hospital	1					
	Friends/Couple/Relatives	2		1			
	Overcrowding/Not for living	4	3	2	1	1	
	Prison	2	1	1	1		
Pathway 2	Owner/Tenant	1					1
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthouse						
	Orphanage/Hospital						
	Friends/Couple/Relatives	2	1				
	Overcrowding/Not for living	1					
	Prison	2	3	1	1	1	

Source: Own elaboration using data from de LHCs database. Repetition numbers with only one respondent were discarded.

Finally, Table 11 is also disaggregated by pathway, as presented in Table F.3. Results show significant differences between the two pathways concerning living situations before these experiences of extreme precariousness. For Pathway 1, homelessness experiences appear as frequent situation that precede overcrowding, most of all before the first entry and first two re-entries. Contrarily, there is almost no case in Pathway 2 that enters overcrowding coming from a homelessness situation. This pattern changes for the situations after overcrowding, where those from Pathway 2 do go to a homelessness situation in some cases.

Table F.3. Living situations immediately before and after overcrowding, by experience number and pathway

Before overcrowding experience

	Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Pathway 1	Owner/Tenant	1														
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthou		1	1		1									1	
	Orphanage/Hospital	1	1													
	Friends/Couple/Relati						1	1								
	Homelessness	3	3	2	1					1						1
	Prison		1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1		
Pathway 2	Owner/Tenant	4	1	1												
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthou		1	2												
	Orphanage/Hospital		1		1											
	Friends/Couple/Relati		2		1											
	Homelessness							1								
	Prison		1	1	2	1	1		1	1						

After overcrowding experience

	Experience number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Pathway 1	Owner/Tenant	1		1	1											
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthou									1						
	Orphanage/Hospital	2	1													
	Friends/Couple/Relati	1				1	1									
	Homelessness	1	2	1											1	1
	Prison	3	3	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1		
Pathway 2	Owner/Tenant	2	2													
	Hotel/Hostel/Guesthou	1		1												
	Orphanage/Hospital	2														
	Friends/Couple/Relati		2													
	Homelessness		1	1	2					1						
	Prison	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1							

Source: Own elaboration using data from de LHCs database. Repetition numbers with only one respondent were discarded.

Pathway 2 presents a distribution of observations between the most stable living situations, and paid unsecure accommodations (hotel/hostel/guesthouses) before moving to extreme precariousness living situations. Homelessness category, contrary to Pathway 1, is not presented as a starting point towards extreme precarious situations. However, similar to Pathway 1, imprisonment appears as a departure point for several experiences of extreme precariousness.

Glossary and abbreviations

ASSE - Administración de los Servicios de Salud del Estado [Administration of State Health Services]: State provider of public health in Uruguay.

CCC - Consejo Consultivo sobre situación de calle [Advisory Council on homelessness]) Entity made up of various social and academic organizations and the municipality. Designed as an initiative by the Montevideo municipality to articulate social, professional knowledge and practices that contribute to the design and implementation of public policies based on evidence, from a human rights perspective and with a public health approach, centred on people and their circumstances.

DINALI – Dirección Nacional del Liberado [National Directorate of Support for the released]: Dependent on the Ministry of the Interior, aims to reintegrate into society adults who leave the prison system. (Previous body: PNEL - Patronato Nacional de Encarcelados y Liberados [National Board of Prison Inmates and Released Prisoners].

DINEM- Dirección Nacional de Evaluación y Monitoreo [National Evaluation and Monitoring Directorate]: The mission of the National Directorate of Evaluation and Monitoring is to monitor and evaluate plans, programmes, actions, devices and social projects in the national territory, as well as to build and manage the necessary information to improve their implementation and design. In: https://www.gub.uy/ministerio-desarrollo-social/institucional/informacion-gestion/informacion-publica/direccion-nacional-evaluacion-monitoreo-dinem

IdeM - Intendencia de Montevideo, [Montevideo Municipality]: Body in charge of the executive branch of the government of the department of Montevideo.

INAU - Instituto del Niño y Adolescente del Uruguay [Institute for Children and Adolescents of Uruguay]: Governing body in matters of childhood and adolescence policies all over the country aimed at promoting, protecting or restoring the rights of children and adolescents, articulated in a National Childhood System within the framework of the Comprehensive Protection Doctrine. (Previous body: INAME- Instituo Nacional del Menor **[National Institute for Minors].** Previous body, Consejo del Niño **[Child council]).**

INR – Instituto Nacional de Rehabilitación [National Rehabilitation Institute]: Body in charge of managing the units of confinement of persons deprived of liberty (UIPPLs) within the country, the rehabilitation of incarcerated persons, the assistance of the accused, and the administration of the measures substitutes and alternatives to deprivation of liberty.

JND – Junta Nacional de Drogas [National Drug Board]: National body in charge of coordinating, supervising and evaluating public policy on drug abuse and the repression of drug trafficking.

MIDES – Ministerio de Desarrollo Social [Ministry of Social Development]: Body in charge of designing and executing social, assistance, emergency, and social inclusion policies and programs at the national level.

MI - Ministerio del Interior, [Ministry of Interior]: Body in charge of designing and executing Home security, Police, and is also in charge of prisons.

MVOTMA - Ministerio de Vivienda y Ordenamiento Territorial [Housing, Land Planning and Environment Ministry]

Nitep - Ni Todo está perdido [Collective Not all is lost]: Self-managed group of homeless people in Montevideo (Uruguay)

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