

Landscapes of Homelessness and Poverty in North American and European Cities

Abstract Research in metropolitan cities of the Global North, such as New York, Los Angeles, London, Berlin, or Paris, has depicted the messy character of neoliberal reforms addressing only street homelessness and the visible poor. We set out a conceptual framework for the comparative study of poverty taking into account both its visible and invisible aspects in Southern European cities. Contested landscapes of poverty assistance are being reshaped by competing policy experimentations: those compatible with market logics and conservative values for managing the visible poor and those orientated to community development, recognising the rights and the needs of the poor. Times of crisis are opportune to problematise governmentalities of rolling with neoliberalism by questioning the assumptions of policies and their effects and to shape progressive experiments.

Keywords Contested · Cities · Governmentality · Neoliberalism
Poverty

2.1 RESEARCH LANDMARKS IN SHOCK CITIES OF NEOLIBERALISM

The study of the displacements and exclusions, which are inseparable from the urban forms produced by capitalism through its different phases, constitutes a major component of urban studies, from the effective inception

of urban sociology in Chicago to the contemporary analyses of the effects of globalisation and neoliberalism. In line with this tradition, we seek a common thread amongst diverse landscapes of the contemporary crisis, so as to highlight the significance of the broader context and understand the path-dependent adjustments and responses to the disruptive social effects of globalising policies. We draw upon the geographies of ‘actually existing neoliberalism’ to highlight how the shocks afflicting cities depend on the particular timing of ‘rolling back’ the welfare state and ‘rolling out’ market-oriented ameliorations (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Peck and Tickell 2002). We stress that rollback and roll-out neoliberalisation processes do not always span across two distinct chronological periods, as was mainly the case in the US and British experience.

First, we discuss key texts and their contribution in documenting the effects of the ‘orthodox’ or ‘antistatist’ neoliberalism of the Reagan and Thatcher governments in the 1980s. Then, we consider how the more moderate neoliberalisms in Europe were depicted in the literature on homelessness as mending the disasters of ‘orthodox’, American-type, neoliberalism.

Socially engaged research, presented in the first section of this chapter, brought to the fore the contradictory processes through which neoliberalisation unfolds at different scales. These texts exposed the politically and socially constructed nature of neoliberalism as a form of governance, as opposed to the simplistic understanding of ‘free markets’ operating without the assistance of the state. Specifically, they paid attention not only to the rolling back of the welfare state but also to the rolling out of a shadow welfare apparatus woven out of charities and NGOs in civil society. We pay particular attention to those approaches that have questioned the outreach of the humanitarian and the disciplinary arms of the state. But we also highlight the role of civil society and of community organising in contesting neoliberalism and advancing viable alternatives to the management of poverty, and we draw attention to a variety of grass-roots movements, at times directed against institutional arrangements, at others advocating for housing reforms and requesting the democratisation of government.

Los Angeles and New York may be considered as prototypes of roll-back neoliberalisation, although to different degrees a series of North American and North European cities joined the circle. Using the example of Los Angeles, dubbed ‘the homeless capital of the United States’, Wolch and Dear (1993) summed up in the title of their book *Malign*

Neglect the effects of ‘blaming the victim’ attitudes and illustrated the impact of welfare cutbacks and economic dislocation at the local level. Nonetheless, research on landscapes of homelessness can be traced to an earlier work by Wolch and Dear (1987), *Landscapes of Despair*. Based on detailed case studies drawn from several cities in Canada and California, this study showed how the location of shelters and programmes in inner-city areas contributed to the creation of an array of segregated services. Such areas became the geographical locus of what Wolch (1989) termed the ‘shadow state’, a configuration of government and voluntary agencies with contradictory interests and control powers over the serviced populations. Central to Wolch and Dear (1987) has been the concept of the *landscape*, used to convey the idea of interwoven processes that produce spatial variation in social provisions and responsiveness to the needs of the homeless and the poor.

Perceptions of poverty and homelessness have been a major issue in the USA since the early years of the debate concerning the formation of an urban underclass whose members were said to be selectively chosen to be either out of sight, disempowered and entrapped in ghettos, or visible outcasts (Anderson 1990; Katz 1993). Blau (1992) and Barak (1991) reinvigorated this research through influential studies of the ‘political economy of homelessness’ and documented how the massive displacement of households from their homes was accompanied by severe victimisation and extended criminalisation.

Writing from New York, Hopper (1991) attempted to grasp the geographical variations of homelessness and suggested that spaces of homelessness can be mapped along the axes of visibility and formality. The advantage of Hopper’s classification was that it highlighted the selective responsiveness of formal policies to both visible and invisible homelessness, and underscored the neglected capacities of the homeless and solidarity practices in informal settings. It was within informal and makeshift arrangements that many initiatives emerged and contested the mechanisms of abeyance that aimed at containing, and minimally sustaining, the redundant people seen as a threat to social order (Hopper and Baumohl 1994).

Subsequent research expanded on the theme of despair by studying practices of exclusion, dispersion, and dismantlement of social protection and housing supports in North American cities. In this context, homelessness was linked to advanced marginality, gentrification, and increasing ghettoisation (e.g. Bourdieu et al. 1999; Wacquant 1996; Marcuse 1996)

and was strongly related to ‘urban revanchism’ and the punitive framing of homelessness (Mitchell 1997). Some researchers focused on how urban and social policy fragmentation, combined with negative responses of communities towards the location of service facilities (NIMBY) to keep the homeless ‘out of place’ and also identified practices that contested the displacement brought about by urban redevelopment (Hoch 1991; Huth and Wright 1997). Others explored how gentrification led to displacement of disadvantaged populations from Skid Rows (Hopper 1991), or how shrinkage of human services in depopulated inner-city areas placed extra strain over the health of the urban poor (Wallace and Wallace 1990). Likewise, Wacquant (1996) identified a spiral of state withdrawal, stigmatisation, deskilling, and violence in ghettos.

Towards, and after, the eve of the second millennium, research paid attention to the active regulatory reforms of roll-out neoliberalism and the purposeful construction of new state forms and modes of governance that often represented responses to the effects of welfare retrenchment. Hence, in North America, emphasis has shifted on ‘landscapes of survival and care’ by examining the hidden struggles and survival strategies of the poor and demonstrating the value of linking together formal and informal sites of community care (e.g. Wolch and Philo 2000; Ruddick 1996). Progressively, the literature focused on dispersion and isolation of health and social services, and the circulation of the poor across a variety of inadequate accommodations, either informal or institutional, effectively producing a ‘revolving door’ effect. The themes of fragmentation and circulation of the poor were taken up by Wolch and DeVerteuil (2001) to diagnose a new model of urban poverty management, while Lyon-Callos (2008) took a sharply critical position towards the sheltering industry, suggesting that it was an integral aspect of the neoliberal governance of poverty.

Nonetheless, research also included applied studies into how innovative solutions such as the well-known Housing First model and ‘integrated housing development’ approaches, which give priority to stable housing, linked with health and employment support, can enhance the integration of the homeless into local communities (Tsemberis 2010; Hopper 2003). Indeed, this literature revealed a paradox, namely that forms of community-based care were adopted by the conservative Bush administration, as a cost-effective solution to replace not only the flotilla of emergency services, created during the 1st year of the Reagan administration, but also the array of transitional services, which despite the

reformatory spirit of the Clinton administration consolidated a shelter industry (Lyon-Callo 2008). In reviewing newer forms and functions of shelters in Los Angeles, deVerteuil (2006) documented a diffused shelter system for the subtle concealment of the visible homeless and a hands-off local policy, shifting the direct provision of sheltering to the voluntary sector. More recently, a disturbing account of a similar state of affairs in New York City, aptly titled ‘Hidden City’, was published in *The New Yorker* (Frazier 2013).

Thus, in the light of this evidence from the USA, and with a view to appraising current conditions and prospects in Europe, we argue that the essential and contradictory features of abeyance obtain a novel quality by the supranational guidance and discourses that narrow the channels of advocacy and policy experiments to the relief of the ‘social’ or ‘humanitarian crisis’ locally.

London is the city most representative of the passage from rollback to roll-out neoliberalisation, best expressed in the contrast between Margaret Thatcher’s famous statement that the homeless are casting their problems on society¹ and Tony Blair’s vision of a ‘new society’, which guided the New Labour’s strategy to eradicate rough sleeping. Two decades of changes with rather minimal success were critically analysed by many distinguished British scholars. Especially relevant to our discussion has been the analysis of May, Cloke, and colleagues (cf. May et al. 2005; Cloke et al. 2011), who, drawing on governmentality theory, and examining service settings in a number of cities in England, suggested that New Labour attempted to make street homelessness less visible by reorganising local, central state, and charity responsibilities and transforming the roll-out technologies of welfare delivery. This approach focuses on the diverse reactions of local authorities and the voluntary sector to enhanced financial and regulatory constraints and examines their implications for the homeless themselves. Eventually, roll-out neoliberalism and the technologies for containing the crisis of street homelessness created a new form of social housing for the most vulnerable, the addicted, and the mentally ill, and, being primarily concerned with cost containment, failed to recognise both the need of complex supports for those in the streets and the problems of housing affordability for those in poor conditions.

May et al. (2005) and Cloke et al. (2011) also argued that this new mode of governmentality combined punitive and caring responses in a contradictory manner, while in everyday practice many agencies deviated

from the market rationality of reforms. Similarly, deVerteuil (2014) expanded the framework of urban poverty management and illustrated the ambivalent position of the voluntary sector in addressing homelessness in three (anglophone) world cities: London, Los Angeles, and Sydney. He depicted not only the complex landscapes of assistance shaped by state withdrawal and the expansion of the voluntary sector, the dislocation of supports by gentrification, but also the resilience of community organisations under financial strain. Such interpretations that stress the ambivalences of the state and its heterogeneous elements draw on Foucault's ideas about the diffusion of power and resistances that shape both neoliberal and civil or counter governmentalities.

In contrast, Wacquant (2009), and as Peck also commented (2010a), supplemented Bourdieu's (1998) distinction between the left and the right hand of the state, to suggest that the governance of poverty in late neoliberalism is ambidextrous—thus, punitive and caring responses are functionally combined. On the basis of our findings, we take sides for the ambivalence of anti-poverty policies, as we also elaborate in the following section.

Berlin's shock requires a special treatment before being considered as the immediate effect of welfare destruction or rollback neoliberalisation, for two main reasons. First, the neoliberal project in Germany has a distinctive quality that Foucault traced early in his studies on governmentality and is related to 'ordoliberalism' (Foucault 2008). A state-centric neoliberalism and the idea of a social market economy have historically been solid in Germany. Second, the reunification of Germany was itself a process generating profound inequalities and hopes for unity. As Peck (2010b) aptly noted, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the re-designation of Eastern Europe as transition economies was a political signal to add new spaces of experimentation in neoliberal shock treatment.

von Mahs (2013) contrasted Berlin and LA to identify the factors that distinguish the German from the North American experience. By highlighting the path dependency of German policies, he documented that homelessness in Berlin had begun to grow before the reunification. It was accelerated by real estate speculation and massive de-industrialisation in the 1st year of the post-unification period, but was significantly reduced after 2005. The reasons for this 'successful' treatment can be found in the distinctive design of welfare reforms. First, despite reductions in benefits, income assistance was well targeted and remained high by international standards. Second, the rental market was stabilised,

especially in Eastern Berlin, where the local authorities retained control over both the rental stock and charities. Preventive policies and local ordinances regarding the use of renovated housing by the poor illustrate what a ‘social market economy’ entails for housing and social assistance systems. Nonetheless, according to von Mahs, the results of this treatment are fragile, first, because displacement from public spaces has been combined with segregation of inadequate-warehousing shelter facilities; second, because the number of the working poor and precariously employed population continues to grow.

In Paris, the ethnically diverse peripheral areas (*Banlieues*) provide the setting to study the figures of the Grande Pauvrete and the acts of contestation and unrest, which have been shocking the public and provoked changes in urban policies since 1981. Nonetheless, ‘neoliberalism a la française’ was reconciled with the republican qualities of the French state, its concern with social cohesion and social exclusion, along with its difficulty in recognising immigrant rights and cultures (Dikeç 2007). Social and urban interventions intensified during the 1980s and the early 1990s through public aid policies, minimum income, universal health coverage, and inter-communal cooperation. In this context, homelessness became a matter of policy concern with the growing visibility of homeless people from the mid-1980s (Damon 2001). Then, after the mid-1990s, the neoliberal rationality prevailed in French urban anti-poverty policies, when the state actively brought under a single project urban entrepreneurialism, social displacements, surveillance, and aggressive policing. Designated poverty areas, including large social housing estates, were supposed to contain both the problem of poverty and its solution (Dikeç 2007).

However, three examples are illustrative of the ambiguous unfolding of the ‘disciplinary’ and the ‘humanitarian’ arms of the state. Deprived neighbourhoods provided the settings for street-level welfare workers, humanitarian activists, and homeless advocates to contest neoliberal statecraft. Some of their claims were accommodated by the French republican tradition. First, since the mid-1990s, emergency schemes, such as the *SAMU social* introduced by human rights activist Dr. Xavier Emmanuelli, grew in hand with low-threshold accommodation, and ladder-type re-insertion programmes (Houard 2011). Second, after 2000, criticisms of the gaps in the policies for temporary accommodation by humanitarian organisations led to a movement for an enforceable right to housing. The tragic events following a fire in a motel for the

homeless, and the activism of a homeless advocacy organisation, *Enfants de Don Quichotte*, made the difference (Houard and Lévy-Vroelant 2013). During the winter of 2006–2007, *Enfants de Don Quichotte*, together with homeless persons, set up a camp of about 100 tents on the banks of the Canal Saint-Martin and forced Nicolas Sarkozy to take up the issue in his presidential campaign with the ‘Zero Homeless’ slogan. This new momentum led to the adoption of the Reinforced Strategy for Persons Experiencing Homelessness (PARSA) and the Act Establishing the Enforceable Right to Housing (DALO) in 2007, which marked an attempt to change the management of temporary accommodation. Third, a newly imported Housing First scheme was introduced in official policies in 2009, after lobbying by housing associations. It still remains to be assessed whether the culture of temporary accommodation can be overcome and whether Housing First schemes can be successfully developed in the context of cost containment, mounting waiting lists for immigrants, and tensions between humanitarian agencies and the state (Houard 2011; Houard and Lévy-Vroelant 2013).

2.2 CONTESTED LANDSCAPES: COMPARING ANTI-POVERTY POLICIES IN SOUTHERN EUROPEAN CITIES

Since the early 1990s, the fragmentation of post-fordist accumulation has brought new poverty to South Europe where governance had to be re-assessed in the light of welfare transformations in familistic systems of social support (Mingione 1996). The European social policy paradigm has shifted to the discourse of social exclusion at the same time that the new poor and the homeless in Southern European cities were recruited from citizens with increasingly contracted rights and included immigrants, women, and young men. Nonetheless, many commentators have suggested that neoliberal reforms, deregulation, and welfare retrenchment in Southern Europe developed at a moderate pace, until the sovereign debt crisis (Maloutas 2014; Rossi 2012; Eizaguirre et al. 2012).

The 2008 global financial crisis and its aftermath signal a new phase and raise a new set of questions regarding the death or resurrection of neoliberalism—its many mutations, but also the prospect of a post-neoliberal era. The meaning and enforcement of key ideas such as ‘urban governance’, ‘welfare pluralism’, and ‘welfare devolution’, which have been associated with rolling out new systems of welfare delivery since the 1990s, are now being redefined, as European institutions and national

governments attempt to address the social consequences of the crisis as a matter of urgency. Consequently, the rearrangement of the market, state, and civil society relationships, and the redefinition of policy objectives give shape to distinctive modalities of poverty governance that may be oriented towards either the management of the poor, or towards their inclusion and empowerment.

On the one hand, the devolution of austerity, i.e. the devolution of authority without resources, is a common denominator for social and urban policy experiments in many cities across the globe (Peck 2012). Emergency management, trial and error policies, and opportunistic regulations consolidate the neoliberal doctrine and attempt to dump the costs of the crisis on local governments and voluntary organisations (Brenner et al. 2010; Peck 2010b). Keil (2009) suggested that a process of roll-with-it neoliberalisation takes on new qualities as communities affected by the crisis are called to amend and co-construct a normalised social reality, without alternatives to the tenets of neoliberalism. Such co-construction may entail both revanchist practices of containment and exclusion, and reformist attempts imbued by entrepreneurial spirit and consumerism. On the other hand, the negative consequences of deregulation and welfare cuts provide circumstances for contesting neoliberal reforms, advocating for the rights of the poor, and advancing progressive alternatives by grass-roots movements (ibid.). Moreover, the travelling of anti-poverty policy models in diverse contexts around the globe has been reported to propel experiments with participatory democracy, such as participatory budgeting and slum redevelopment schemes in Porto Alegre and Mumbai, by capitalising on the experiences of cities of the Global South (Peck and Theodore 2015; Roy 2015). Similar initiatives have sprung up in European cities, especially in Italy and Spain, seeking to extend the space of political inclusion to neighbourhood associations and lay citizens (Sintomer et al. 2016). On these grounds, these are alternative governmentalities—a roll-with-it one, combining revanchist with reformist inclinations, or a ‘governmentality from below’, a ‘counter-’ or ‘civic governmentality’, attempting to address poverty through participatory planning, redistribution and communalisation of housing assets (Appadurai 2001; Roy 2009).

We suggest that the concept of *contested landscapes* of poverty and homelessness provides a nuanced analytical category through which the spaces of urban poverty experimentations can be analysed and the modalities of poverty governance can be discerned. Contested landscapes aim

to capture the diverse reactions to the shock and how the (re)articulation of state with informal and formalised, depoliticised and politicised segments of the civil society may give shape to new modes of statecraft, which can be used to either regulate or empower the poor. The notion of contested landscapes also aims to advance a critical study of poverty open to grass-roots initiatives and alternative social policy futures. It is a frame for posing questions rather than giving a final verdict over the outcome of devolution or the future of ongoing struggles. As Roy (2015) succinctly puts it, the critical analysis of poverty generates *aporias*, asks again what kind of problem is poverty and how territories of poverty can be challenging for thought, beyond the neoliberal techniques of government.

Although the cities of the European South have been at the epicentre of the crisis, existing research is confined to reporting its detrimental effects on the poor, and little has been written as of yet on the wider policy implications of local experimentations. We discuss the distinctive character of Southern Europe to reflect and contribute to theories of poverty governance, and especially those that draw on Foucault's (2001) notion of governmentality, which refers, on the one hand, to the 'whole series of governmental apparatuses' and, on the other, to the 'development of whole complex of savoirs' for targeting population and shaping its welfare and security according to the principles of political economy.

Prominent theorists such as Lemke (2001) and Dean (2010) stressed that neoliberal policies are actively shaped by the state in attempts to reconfigure the social domain as a series of service markets and individual and community obligations that might be called a post-welfarist regime. We draw especially upon Dean's (ibid.) conceptualisation of governmentality because its emphasis on the mentalities of government enables ethnographic research to capture the competing and historically ingrained understandings and treatment of poverty within the civil society in Southern Europe and how they refold and reshape its formal regulation. This expanded definition of governmentality is consistent with Foucault's late project towards a 'history of problematics', i.e. a history of different modes of thought, as ways of exercising freedom and reflecting upon the mentalities that give meaning to conduct (Foucault 1997).

Following Dean, we suggest that the analytics of poverty governance should begin with the characteristic forms of perceiving poverty, the ways its visibility informs policy-making. Our analysis expands beyond the rational managerial procedures associated with scientific knowledge and

operational expertise, to include practical knowledge and the agency of both the poor and welfare providers. Some commentators consider the crisis as an opportunity for change. However, we suggest that the shock entails many complications and difficulties for anti-poverty advocates and up-scaling progressive reforms. Therefore, we aim to detect whether the mentalities of poverty governance contain a-rational elements, imaginaries, and symbolic practices with strong emotional resonance for shifting guilt and blame and for sustaining disputes that actually block collaboration towards change. We also seek the potentials for rethinking and problematising undemocratic practices or welfare deficiencies within pockets of civil advocacy and expertise that have been in place well before the crisis and are associated with claims for expanding welfare provisions. Moreover, the ways anti-poverty experiments are evaluated reveal different modes of problematisation within which the metrics of policy effectiveness and the performance of agencies are embedded.

Our conceptual framework identifies four distinctive aspects of neo-liberalisation in Southern European cities. First, the shock imposed on Southern Europe and the devolution of austerity urge to consider how a roll-with-it governmentality obtains a novel quality by combining tactics of dismantling rudimentary welfare state structures with the piecemeal rebuilding of consumerist and workfarist forms of social support. Second, the shock is destroying the premises of consensus, laid in previous phases of development, and opens up the terrain for competing anti-poverty policy problematisations. Third, not all forms of governmentality are purely neoliberal and 'rational'. The specific mutations of neoliberal forms of assistance are context and path dependent because the calculative logics of reforms may combine with conservative ideologies of poor relief that have deep historical roots and shape multiple forms of agency. Moreover, distinct Mediterranean features associated with urban cultures, some of which preceded the birth of charity or state welfare in industrial cities, can sustain civic governmentalities. Fourth, the construction of spaces of poverty management is a vital element in the construction of multiple forms of agency and the making of the poor into governable subjects.

We argue that the study of homelessness is pertinent for discerning distinctive and competing modalities of poverty governance and the problematics associated with each—first, by examining whether homelessness is framed in terms of a narrow or broad understanding of poverty; and second, by examining whether the introduction of housing-led and supported housing schemes may re-enforce tendencies for the

expansion of markets in those social spheres where the most vulnerable struggle to survive, or whether they may illustrate that multifaceted community support and social housing are worth expanding.

More specifically, we investigate how competing politico-economic principles are linked to distinctive strategies and advocacy models by making use of Hopper and Barrow's (2003) contrast of two historical trajectories of supported housing: on the one hand, 'housing as housing', of which the Housing First model is an exemplary case, introduced by mental health practitioners to champion non-coercive treatment and service supports that improve access of disfavoured tenants to housing markets; on the other, 'integrated housing development' that originated in the efforts by advocates of the homeless poor to secure permanent alternatives to shelter by combining community development with low-income housing production. Despite similarities, the divergence of the two models stems from their distinctive economic scope and rationale. 'Housing as housing' models are demand-oriented, with less impact on the functions of private housing, labour, or health markets—hence prone to rolling-with neoliberal reforms. Integrated housing considers both demand and supply, aims to address issues of housing affordability, and is sustained by the rationale of social investments and social utility—thus, is also open to alternative and solidarity economy principles aiming to change the structure of possibility for a variety of subgroups in risk of exclusion (Gibson-Graham 2003; Utting 2015). Such a proposal strongly resonates with earlier suggestions by Hopper and Baumohl (1994) or Wolch and Dear (1987) on how homeless advocates could avoid their entrapment in the work of abeyance, and expand their claims beyond the need for compassionate treatment, so as to reclaim and transform urban areas that would afford people on the margins a feeling of security. Although the genealogies identified by Hopper and Barrow reflect the singularities of their experience in the New York setting, they are also appropriate to study different trajectories of change in Southern European cities.

The complex dynamics shaping these distinctive South European features are depicted in Fig. 2.1 and explained in some detail in the paragraphs to follow.

Figure 2.1 brings together key concepts grouped on three analytical levels. Between the macro level (box A: reforms of the Welfare State) and the micro level (box C: interactions in emergency contexts), we introduce urban poverty landscapes (box B) as an intermediate level

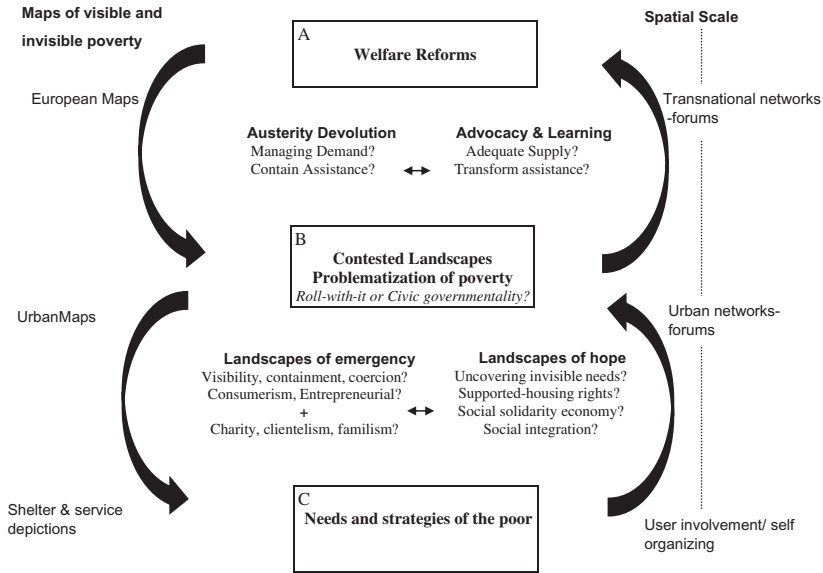


Fig. 2.1 An outline for comparing poverty in Southern Europe

of analysis, because this is the primary terrain upon which anti-poverty strategies may be problematised.

Nonetheless, processes unfolding through different spatial scales (right-hand side of the diagram) are to be distinguished from the main dimensions of homelessness (left-hand side of the diagram) in order to emphasise that broader structural changes shape the extent of visible or invisible poverty and the specific geography and demography of the poor. Moreover, the diagram captures the significance of vertical power relationships in enforcing austerity rules through welfare state rescaling and highlights the need to assess their impact on both the homeless and many of the agencies involved in their assistance.

The diagram aims to highlight different pathways to change by distinguishing between roll-with and civic governmentalities, schematically represented in a top-down and bottom-up fashion. This distinction is suggested so as to probe the different mentalities that guide roll-with-it and counter neoliberalisation attempts. Yet, horizontal arrows ($\rightarrow \leftarrow$) indicate that interaction between different terrains may result to misunderstandings and tensions but, also, unexpected alliances. Consequently,

it is worth exploring which factors shape the convergence or divergence of top-down policies and bottom-up initiatives towards integrated anti-poverty policies.

The top-down arrows depict how rolling-with austerity, adjustment tactics, and experiments aim at containing the increasing demand for, and costs of, assistance to only the most deprived and visible poor. In South European countries, the welfare state has distinctive qualities, different from liberal or continental models associated with the golden era of Keynesian regulation (Mingione 1996). Historically, assistance to the poor was not standardised in terms of need or individual responsibility, but was subject to local norms, clientelism, familism, charity values, and the mediation of political patrons. It is especially in the sphere of housing that state provisions have been the weakest and family strategies the strongest (Allen et al. 2008). Homelessness was treated by assemblages of philanthropists and city officials concerned with poverty relief and the containment of vagrancy (Lancione 2013; Arapoglou 2004; Trovão 2016).

Policies to tackle poverty in Southern Europe have increasingly been linked to devolution, the deployment of local welfare strategies, and reforms aiming towards sustainability and efficiency of their welfare systems (Kazepov 2010; Andreotti and Mingione 2014). The contraction and privatisation of the residual social housing sector have been the main policy since the 1990s, as it was assumed that housing markets and credit expansion could provide affordable solutions. In many South European countries, the housing bubble and crash not only laid the road to the debt crisis, but also generated massive inequalities and extensive forms of exclusion (Aalbers 2016). Since the sovereign debt crisis, welfare rescaling and the acknowledgement of homelessness as a policy issue within EU institutions have fuelled local experimentations with housing-led initiatives for the most vulnerable in countries such as Italy, Spain, and Portugal. A crucial question is if devolution, under conditions of austerity, confines the range of experimentations to managing the increasing demand for services and cost minimisation. Strict conditionality and means testing may result in low coverage and ineffectiveness to lift vulnerable groups out of poverty. Such, for example, has been the case of experimenting with local minimum income schemes (Salgado et al. 2014) and emergency or transitional housing solutions. Hard mechanisms and principles of fiscal consolidation have, in many cases, prevailed over soft methods of social policy coordination and recommendations for integrated anti-poverty strategies, while EU institutions have been reluctant to provide funding for housing projects (Gosme 2014).

The imperative for problematising anti-poverty policies is how to set adequate terms of inclusion, i.e., to define how a number of groups and communities exposed to economic and social vulnerabilities get access to resources for social participation. In a technical, yet significant, sense, the terms of inclusion refer to a set of regulations for the provision of income assistance, employment, housing, education, and health services. It is noteworthy that a drift from social welfare to workfare is evident in many member states and facilitated by the European Commission, urging the countries under fiscal surveillance to advance targeting and individualised perspectives of ‘active citizenship’ and to tighten the conditions of assistance (Lodemel and Moreira 2014; EAPN 2015). A paradoxical feature is that while responsibility for the design of anti-poverty policies is retained by national institutions, the ultimate decisions are taken by supranational ones. Nonetheless, there is great variation to the extent that welfare reforms and austerity measures are locally delivered. Given the severity of the crisis as well as the deficiencies in the local administration structures of many South European countries (Oosterlynck et al. 2016), fragmentation is likely to deepen.

As depicted in Fig. 2.1, urgent reforms and imported models of poverty treatment can be examined to detect their reliance upon specific welfare mentalities such as workfarism, consumerism, or entrepreneurialism. Significantly, such mentalities are linked to forms of technical knowledge to enforce specific regulatory and institutional arrangements. Coercive treatment, in workfare or staircase programmes, is associated with targeting only the most vulnerable and visible amongst the poor, at the same time, neglecting their complex needs and applying strict tests of conditionality for the provision of income or housing. Consumerism advances an understanding of ‘client choice’ as individualised access to quality services and market provisions. Entrepreneurialism becomes a virtue of welfare agencies under scarcity and finds expression in project development and funding. Attempts for the rapid implementation of such ideas may shape landscapes of emergency that often bypass reflections upon the ethics of welfare delivery.

But, rather than being a unified method of normalisation, this process of top-down guidance will meet existing and historically established modes of thought. It is quite unpredictable how modernising or innovative projects may combine or conflict with the ideologies of poverty management held by the providers of assistance. For example, the Housing First model signified a move away from conditionality (‘housing readiness’) associated with blaming and rehabilitating the poor.

The model's consumer orientation was crucial for its public acceptance, and entrepreneurialism facilitated its spread in the anglophone world. Although in many applications of Housing First consumerism and entrepreneurialism may be considered as a means for rolling-with neo-liberalism, it should also be acknowledged that such mentalities stand in tension with the core principle of housing as a human right, and the public means necessary to build an array of supports.

Following Dean (1996), governmentalisation implies not only the unfolding of the political sphere into civil society, but mainly the enfold-ing of the regulations of civil society onto the political, and the refold-ing of social values regarding social conduct onto the political. The unfolding of the political on the civil society may take extreme forms of 'responsibilising', or disciplining welfare agencies and the lives of the poor. It is especially the operation of refolding that shapes the path dependency and the contingency of neoliberalism. As government is called to include the informal techniques of civil agencies, it may be shaped by either authoritarian or progressive values held within civil society. Within this context, local agencies confronted with competing demands may resort to parochial values for rationing provisions (cream-ing of clients and sorting recipients) and, at the same time, attempt to conform to the rhetoric of reforms. Also, they may be coerced to take an entrepreneurial stance as opposed to their own 'communitarian' preferences. The end result could be piecemeal and hybrid interventions combining a social entrepreneurial spirit with conservative values.

In keeping with the scholarship on civic and bottom-up governmentality, Fig. 2.1 identifies key ingredients of progressive experiments that may make up landscapes of hope. These bring about potentials for uncovering the hidden needs of the poor, experimenting with supported and housing-led schemes that place less emphasis on conditionality, connecting housing structures to the community, and advancing collaboration. Critical for the initiation of a process of 'civilising' political society (Roy 2009) is the capacity of agents to problematise existing provisions, and the establishment of interfaces (forums, networks, etc.) for self-organising, learning, and participation, as indicated on the right-hand side of Fig. 2.1.

Significantly, civil society in the European South is not to be confined to formal charity, NGOs, or humanitarian assistance, but should be extended to include grass-roots organisations, a variety of local solidarity initiatives, and even transnational movements (Leontidou 2015, 2016).

Many of such initiatives spurred out of the anti-austerity movements in the piazzas of Barcelona, Madrid, or Athens and resulted in specific innovations in housing as have been the practices of PAH in Spain (di Felicianantonio 2016; Blanco and León 2016; de Weerd and Garcia 2016; de Andrés et al. 2016) or self-organising and solidarity initiatives in Italy and Greece (Caruso 2017; Arampatzi 2016; Vaiou and Kalandides 2015).

The bottom-up arrows signify attempts for civilising the state, capitalising informal solidarity, integrating community responses to the needs of the poor within local development strategies, and enhancing supply of affordable and supported housing. We are interested in showing the combined effects of advocacy and learning in transforming existing policies, and investigate if there are forms of expertise that open up opportunities for democratic experiments and improving the living conditions of deprived communities. Civil society has been said to be weakened by party politics and clientelism in some southern countries like Greece (Mouzelis and Pagoulatos 2005). It has also been reported that formal civil actors and NGOs have benefited from EU support, while spontaneous and grass-roots movements were being oppressed by the Greek state until 2014, and have been treated with suspicion from European institutions (Leontidou 2010, 2016). Likewise, recent research differentiates between ‘formal’/‘charity’-orientated anti-poverty agencies and ‘informal’/‘solidarity’ initiatives setting up spaces of empowerment vis-a-vis austerity (Arampatzi 2016; Rakopoulos 2015; Rozakou 2016; Stavrides 2014; Tsilimpounidi 2016).

The concept of problematisation enables us to ask if civil society actors reflect upon authoritarian mentalities and practices, and more specifically how they view austerity and the deficiencies of anti-poverty policies. Nonetheless, claiming a ‘solidarity’, or ‘anti-austerity’ identity alone is not adequate evidence for critical problematisation. As shown in Fig. 2.1, we use multiple criteria for detecting landscapes of hope. Our primary concern is to investigate specific cases of alternative suggestions in situ, experiments and plans for change, so as to detect if there are pockets of knowledge that facilitate regaining the autonomy of civil society from political society. In the same context, we ask if formal and spontaneous expressions of civil society tend to generate different types of knowledge on how to assess and address different types of social needs and if there are bridges, which actually facilitate the cooperation between them. In our understanding, the politics of knowledge involves a wide repertoire of strategies towards the state and political society: confrontation, but

also negotiation and collaboration (Roy 2009). It is also within local and transnational networks that knowledge sharing occurs, and, respectively, civil society consolidates.

At the local and community level, civic governmentalities are formed by being attentive to the survival strategies of the homeless and the poor, from the very first moment of problematisation of anti-poverty experiments. Such systematic efforts effectively entail uncovering the hidden needs of the poor: counting the homeless with the initiative of advocacy coalitions, discerning the origin of complex individual trajectories, listening to their needs and capacities during assessments in shelters and spaces of care. A housing rights approach and respect of diversity is also vital for advocacy against coercive treatments and the relaxation of multiple conditionality testing or the endless preparation of people in fragile conditions for getting access to work, housing, and income. For example, different housing-led schemes have been developed in recognition of the complex needs for support of substance users, families, or refugees (Pleace and Bretherton 2013). It appears that the housing rights perspective may generate a spiral of change by advocating for permanent housing solutions for a range of groups at risk of exclusion beyond the chronically homeless and the mentally disabled adults that community mental health advocates initially supported.

Moreover, a community approach to social inclusion goes beyond concerns for client choice, privacy, the provision of floating services, or case management. Most recently, US-based research has expanded quantitative assessments of Housing First applications on the residential stability of clients, to include their own views on how peer assistance and links with communities shape pathways to inclusion (Johnstone et al. 2016). Moreover, the history of de-institutionalisation in Europe, starting from Italy with Franco Basaglia, has formed a map of widespread community care in the South, in contrast to perceptions about its belated development. Research can revitalise interest in community empowerment to capitalise on the knowledge accumulated by mental health reformers in setting up supported employment and housing schemes, outreach, and self-advocacy. For example, recent evidence suggests that Italian translations of Housing First have enhanced its community orientation (Granelli et al. 2014).

Equally important is mobilisation and collaboration of various actors working within different policy areas (health, housing, employment, etc.) to generate wider transformations and to address multifaceted forms of exclusion. Historical experience in both the USA and South Europe is

informative on how to link specific projects to wider transformations and to envision and create landscapes of hope. Consequently, the developmental scope of local partnerships and their expansive time horizon, pluralism, expertise, and public means of financing are crucial elements for success, beyond an opportunistic or market-oriented paradigm.

Nonetheless, up-scaling innovations are very much dependent upon regulatory reforms, steering of change, and funding on national level. In Europe, there has been an enlightening controversy over the challenges that housing-led initiatives pose on their institutional surroundings and welfare regulations. Unless system-wide deficiencies are addressed, housing-led schemes are exposed to failure. As mentioned above, a challenge for integrated housing-led approaches is the expansion of affordable housing, the strengthening of social housing and the socially rented sector, and community control of housing property. In Northern and Continental Europe, the threat is that schemes for the most vulnerable make up an ‘ambulance service social housing’ (Fitzpatrick and Pawson 2014) or a ‘very social housing sector’ (Lévy-Vroelant and Reinprecht 2014), which enhances social control over poor tenants and erodes and replaces comprehensive social housing provisions. In Southern Europe, this threat seems less salient because public housing has historically been underdeveloped. Hence, the current trials concern converting squatting and foreclosures to sustainable social housing units, protecting public land and housing from private seizure and disposing it to social aims, advancing co-production, and making good use of vacant properties. Another challenge is the parallel development of supported employment and social enterprises to address both the needs of the working poor and those in fragile personal or mental health conditions.

Further research is needed to evaluate the effects of housing-led initiatives on the mix of public and private provisions, mental health delivery, income assistance, or conceptualisations of citizenship. Recent findings indicate that applications of Housing First in Southern Europe have been constrained, by scarcity of public housing, conditional provisions, low thresholds of income assistance, and political manoeuvring (Consoli et al. 2016; Busch-Geertsema 2013; Greenwood et al. 2013; Lancione et al. 2017). In the chapters to follow, we explore the diverse ways that anti-poverty and housing rights activists respond to the shock of the crisis, and how in their everyday practices and visions for the future confront the dilemmas for rolling-with market-led ameliorations or sustain hope for integrated strategies and the making of socially inclusive spaces.

NOTE

1. 'I am homeless, the Government must house me! and so they are casting their problems on society and who is society? There is no such thing!'

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