Chapter 7.

Being Homeless and Becoming *Homefull*: *Homefullness* as an ontological state

Author:

Scott Welsh

https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9707-8557

Biography

Scott Welsh is a Doctor of Philosophy (Education) and works as a teaching and researching academic in sociology and creative writing at Victoria University and the University of Melbourne. He has past lived experiences of homelessness.

Abstract

It has been 15 years since the author lived rough and yet everything he does can still be accounted for as an attempt at individualisation and reclaiming a sense of lost citizenship. Having met people on the street, born into poverty and degradation, physically dying of drug addiction, often from backgrounds of abuse, the author saw his own homeless experience as one of privilege. The author makes a comparison to Ferrell's 'ethnography', which emphasises the experiences of both the researcher and participant, in terms of engaging in genuine, real-life being and knowing. The chapter explores the author's – and others' – struggle to acquire an identity that frees them from the trauma of homelessness and social displacement as an isolated phenomenon, quite apart from other traumas that are ordinarily associated with homelessness. The chapter concludes by examining the various ontological stages in the journey from homelessness to *Homefullness* in terms of the disruptions of consciousness or deep memory.

<Chapter text starts here>

Introducing the phenomenology of homelessness

Homelessness is a phenomenological issue. For some of us who have experienced Homelessness, it is also connected with what R. D. Laing (1994) might have called the politics of the self or what is popularly classified as identity politics. Indeed, the person transitioning out of homelessness experiences something akin to 'border thinking' (Grosfoguel, 2008). For those homeless people from the middle-class, who seem almost magically to return to the middle-class, a hybrid social identity emerges whereby they are no longer themselves, nor are they the person they are not, the person they have become through the experience (Ian Warren, Emma Ryan, Tatiana Corrales, Scott Welsh, 2022). For, whilst homelessness now is broadly understood as an experience not an identity (McCarthy, 2013), it is a traumatic experience that affects the performance of the self in future situations. This chapter will utilise autoethnography, including several creative artefacts sourced from the author's experience, to consider the fracturing of identity that occurs in the present and future, when one has experienced homelessness in the past.

This work will explore my own and others' struggles to acquire an identity that frees oneself from the trauma of homelessness and social displacement as an isolated phenomenon, quite apart from other traumas that ordinarily associate themselves with homelessness. I will explore various ontological stages in the journey from homelessness to *Homefullness* and the disruptions of consciousness or deep memory (Langer, 1993). This contrasts with representations in media and other research that views the experience as a problem and objectifies the human subjects who experience homelessness. For example, five years ago what might be described as a moral panic was broadcast on a tabloid television program, where the eccentric right-wing mayor of Geelong at that time, Darren Lyon, added fuel to the fire of the sensationalism of tabloid journalism, interviewed in the city's centre among the 'mallrats', objectified and portrayed as animals in a zoo (Maltby, 2016).

Methodology: **Post-structural autoethnography**

Methodologically, this chapter could be described as post-structural autoethnography. It is reflections on experience, disrupting time, space and narrative structure. Ferrell (2018) defines autoethnography as the ethnographic exploration of the self and describes it as 'inevitable.'

Perhaps Ferrell's reasoning here relates to the long-held dualism between subjective and objective perceptions of reality in the field of Philosophy. Davidson (2001) explains subjective reality as the existent reality in one's mind which differs from one person to another, whilst objective reality refers to the independent existence of things. The process of seeking and describing personal experiences, with reflective and creative reconstructions, forms the basis of my research. My research comprises of studying the self and experience as a source of data; as Ellis et al., (2010) describe 'when researchers do autoethnography, they study a culture's relational practices, common values and beliefs, and shared experiences for the purpose of helping insiders (cultural members) and outsiders (cultural strangers) better understand the culture' (p. 273). In the case of my research, described in this chapter, this is more of a hope than an objective. It is through reflection on my own experiences of homelessness, as a homeless and then a Homefull identity that I am attempting to provide insight into the contemporary sociocultural problem of homelessness and its associated consequences and challenges for individuals and society. Furthermore, Allen, Adams & Jones (2015) believe that autoethnography enables the researcher to utilise and reflect on one's own practices, critique social and cultural beliefs and analyse their commonalities and disparities. I am relying on reflections, personal narratives of experience and creative reconstructions in poetry and prose to form the data collection in this research, to provide insights, as well as an opportunity to describe and analyse (graphy) personal experience (auto) to understand cultural experience (ethno) (Ellis, 2004; Holman et al., 2023).

Utilising reflective and creative practice approaching both self and others provides a rationale for how I make sense of this fractured and fragmented experience that not only belongs to me, but some others whose experiences have been described, conflated and ultimately completely fictionalised to protect their identity.

Self

It has been 15 years since I lived rough and yet still everything I do can be accounted for as an act of *Homefullness*, an attempt at individualisation, at reclaiming a sense of lost citizenship. I am not sure how long I was homeless, or lived rough for, anymore, but it was over a decade. I remember living in the trees at Bondi Beach in a tent for maybe months or years before I was moved on. I know I stayed at a caravan park in Byron Bay, until I lost my poetry with which I used to beg. This represented an existential threat and I had to go back to Sydney, where I had kind of conned my way into the lease of an office space for 25 dollars a month and I was sleeping on the floor. It was a building that housed the 'humanist society' in Sydney and I think it was on the strength of that ideology that they let me stay. I had to leave Byron Bay Van Village and return to the streets of Sydney to survive.

When I pitched a tent in the inner city when I got there, I joined the ranks of a subaltern class, one I knew well from Geelong, socially excluded from the hierarchy of opportunity, we were the ones for whom welfare and charity functioned. We were in contemporary capitalism's safety net but excluded and cordoned off from 'respectable society.' It was here that I made the crude comparison with the Indian caste system, through observation of the rigid, and yet silent social and cultural divisions in contemporary Australia between the 'haves' and 'have nots.' In some ways, I was a fraud. I wasn't born into deprivation, I had a middle-class background which, on the surface, provided relative opportunity and security.

Others

Having met people on the street, born into poverty and degradation, physically dying of drug addiction, often from backgrounds of abuse – physical abuse, sexual abuse, and severe emotional abuse, I saw my own homeless experience as one of privilege. There is a pertinent comparison here with Ferrell's (2018) 'ethnography' which can be considered a kind of an autoethnography, but one where the comparative privilege of the researcher is maintained. I often expressed my ethnographic observations of the misery that surrounded me in poetry, or poetic prose. The

intention was to move the audience, who were passers-by on the street, with stories of people who I identified as being like me at that time, social outsiders, or outcastes. Here is a brief example, describing the Newtown birdman in Sydney:

The Newtown Birdman

Bearded and bedraggled, he walked the city streets for reasons unknown, eating from garbage cans. He wore the stench of modern city streets, on his shoulders, like a cross. A street person.

Since his disengagement from society, childhood memories swirled in his simple, mangled brain. Ask him to make a sound like a cow, he'd oblige. A chicken? He'd oblige. A duck? Again, perfect imitation. A sheep? The genius of it all.

A horse?

His face would screw up, lines indicating a hard life just got harder, as he'd reply in dismay, "Mummy and Daddy didn't have horses on the farm." (Welsh, 2014)

The Newtown Birdman would have been considered one of the 'disposable people' in *The Making of the English Working Class*, where Thompson (2013) claims there is a class of people deemed 'disposable' in contemporary capitalism, due to the early enclosures of land and the eviction of 'peasants' who moved to the cities and, due to being 'in excess', were forced onto the streets to beg. The same cycle is at work in the contemporary example of 'mallrats' in Geelong. Who are the parents of these vagrant children? Where do they come from? What attracts them to the streets? Do they know the term 'mallrat'? Do they consider themselves to be 'mallrats'? What do they think about that term and how did they come to be? Are mallrats homeless or 'at risk' of homelessness? I know that I never considered myself a 'mallrat', though some people saw me as one. Whilst 'mallrats' are not necessarily homeless (though some may be), they are a part of the social ecosystem of the street, the malls, the drug deals, fights and one of the primary reasons being homeless and rough sleeping is dangerous.

The fetishisation and politicisation of homeless people is an issue in the now extensive Literature on homelessness. These phenomena occur on both sides of the issue. You will hear politicians

and the middle-class claim that they are committed to 'cleaning up the streets' of the scourge of the visual of homelessness, while the liberal Left proudly associates themselves with the symbolic figure of the homeless man, or woman, the beggar who provides for them a certain completeness of human experience. The experience of being in 'street corner society', characterised by recent criminological literature on the subject as 'small things', where the study of 'everyday transgression' is inevitably a reflection on the political economy of power (Popovski & Young, 2022).

The Spectacle

The streets: Sitting ***hungry*** *and humiliated.*

Everybody's there but nobody knows you. Everybody knows you but nobody's there.

Where is everybody?

Being with the other beggars becomes you, so say my school teachers. (Welsh, 2014)

Social Ecosystem of the Geelong Streets in the 90s

I will now describe the social ecosystem and hierarchy of the streets in Geelong, and speculate a possible generative relationship with homelessness and rough sleeping. It seems that when a transgressive subculture develops and becomes a counter-culture, born from poverty, despair and disenchantment, which ultimately expresses itself as transgression, and what French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan would call the jouissance of transgression, which he classifies as the enjoyment of rebellion. In the 2016 documentary 'Mallrats', it is apparent that this 'label' (Welsh, 2016) is an ontology proudly inhabited by the various locals interviewed in the film. What has developed is a micro-inverted social structure, where the law and conventional roles sit at the bottom of a hierarchy, consensus social values have been abandoned for shared transgressive values that include in their subtext a 'war' with the enemy of the law, no inclination to work or make a meaningful contribution to society and a penchant for all manner

of social deviancy including violence and illegal drug use. Though what I describe in the extract above is being an outsider among outsiders. Whilst there is a wealth of research on the problem of homelessness in rural and regional areas, the experience of homelessness, the ontology of homelessness, the humiliation of being visible and still among your own peers, your generation appears to be largely unexplored as a mental health phenomenon (Cloke, Milbourne, & Widdowfield, 2000; Batterham, Reynolds, Cigdem-Bayram, & Parkinson, 2024).

It is apparent that the street and the external reality of the surroundings, even the moral panic and/or disgust and indignation of the broader community have all been internalised by the selves of the participants in the film, who stand as defiant symbols of transgression (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994). This not only symbolises the loss of these particular children to this nihilistic void, but also provides a vacuum into which future generations may be sucked. The response from the broader community is one of classic 'moral panic' and the language of war permeates both sides of the divide between 'mallrat' and so-called respectable citizen. Indeed, I am overwhelmed by a sense of guilt, having once been on the other side of this social terrain and, at one time a significant part of the problem in terms of drugs, somewhat contributing to a solution in terms of my poetry, which not only sought to and somewhat succeeded in documenting the lives of this silenced and oppressed population. The police and social services are enemies of this state within a state, this Hell, this lawlessness. It is under surveillance like a prison and, like a prison, there is no concern for well-being of the body and mind of the prisoner, only for those the prisoner may harm, and infect. A community police display in the centre of the 'mall' and cameras throughout can be seen as an attempt to create the geography of Foucault's 'Panopticon,' where the prisoner can be watched 24/7, from all angles (Elmer,1975). There is a sense of the Indian caste of 'untouchables' about the way these human subjects are treated. The social environment of the mall is one where there is a consensus that the law has failed, is corrupt and there is no trust of anyone who appears to be 'straight' or a part of conventional society. In this regard, it operates very much like a prison social environment and the idea that this is a carceral space is inescapable. Mallrats, an identity I once perhaps inhabited.

I remember in Geelong how I tried to trade in my social and cultural capital and become one of the oppressed, all because I liked listening to the 'Streets of London' (McTell, 1969) and was

maybe too sensitive to be the kind of man maybe my father wanted me to be. I ended up in the services there, partly out of fascination, which is appalling really, and partly because I was in need or 'at risk' in the end, just because I'd let go of all my middle-class sensibilities. In a way, I ended up homeless because I wanted to be homeless, but it still wasn't a choice. However, it was more of a choice than some of the people I met along the way, who were born into domestic and criminal violence, criminality and deprivation. The ones for whom the only institutions they knew were human services and boarding houses. I'd been to university, had a good, close extended family who I had essentially turned my back on and chose not to believe in society, and so found myself outside society. It was no real surprise and at first it was kind of an adventure. However, like the Stanford experiment or something, I would eventually experience it as real.

Conversely, my colleagues who resided on the same streets, took up the same begging spots and squats, often had nothing to begin with. I sometimes experienced this nothingness as a utopian existential freedom and, as nihilistic as that may become, even that nothingness is sort of a luxury. It was a choice, even if I couldn't see it back then. The mere fact that I chose to speak on behalf of the oppressed, saw the injustice of my social surroundings in Geelong, where the 'mallrats' resided right in the middle of town, this was a kind of a luxury. The idea that I had 'fallen' and the shame felt by my father, for example, were both luxuries. There were others who had NOTHING, were born into nothing, threw nothing away because there was nothing to throw away! They couldn't regret their life choices because they had no life choices, at least when considered from Adler's perspective of transitioning from feelings of inferiority to a sense of superiority (Abramson, 2015). I think I see it as more about achieving freedom from this somewhat limiting dichotomy, which can be linked to Paulo Freire's (1996) critical and liberating literacy, where social and cultural capital, like Education, can serve to empower those disempowered by Adler's structure. I saw a kind of dystopia in their lives by which I was deeply moved. Now I can see the potential for 'conscientisation,' a Freirian idea that encourages oppressed populations, those who might harbour feelings of inferiority, to be emancipated altogether. This somewhat utopian vision suggests that oppressive structures are prisons from which we can be freed through understanding, rather than hierarchies in which we battle for supremacy.

There were kids like this on the street, or close to it. They'd grown up in squats, surrounded by drug deals, dereliction, filth and a kind of savagery. The middle-class blamed them, like it blamed me and that's not fair!! I met many women who were sexually abused by many as children and then tortured their whole adult lives. I tried to believe we had a connection because I had people close to me who were arseholes with vile and violent tempers, though also tertiary-educated, professionals and, in some ways, brilliant minds; certainly, they were valued by society, developed resources and laid the foundations for me to do the same – even if their emotional and psychological worlds were ones of turmoil. The degree to which mental health issues cause pain to the social self is often dependent on the social and material resources at one's disposal. It is somewhat about the sense of self and the luxury one has been afforded to express and explore that self.

I guess I had a sense of insecurity, of ontological dysfunction from when I was very young. In this way, the street became a symbol of my own unconscious. The street was how I felt anyway. So living there, writing my poetry and selling it there, among the local homeless people of whatever community I found myself in, made complete sense, and was a 'transgressive jouissance' in Lacan's terms. However, for those with whom I associated, it was empirically real. This observation in itself reveals the complexity of communities existing on the streets and in homeless environments. In a way, it is an appalling act of Bourgeois privilege to label myself 'homeless' or oppressed, in comparison to them and, by the same token, it is equally problematic to distinguish myself from these comrades of experience, as if I am somehow superior. They might consider themselves the same, I certainly do, for I envy their knowledge of pain and nothingness in what can only be considered a sick perversion. This is particularly so in terms of my life's progression to now. There was a time when I might have wound up in prison, very likely at some point. Instead, I reside, at least socially and economically, in the university and consider it a kind of a prison. My prison, like my street, is only imagined. It is a metaphor of a prison and, whilst I may know or have known people who have had that real experience, I cannot know that real experience itself.

Whatever the label, the modus operandi is the same, to control and maintain a structure that separates the haves from the have nots, the oppressed and their oppressors. It is a structure

overtly based on public safety, for example, but the idea of just what that safety is, how it is maintained and the dehumanisation of those who pose a threat, seen through the 'moral panic' that plagued this community at this moment in history and was written into the biographies of the condemned 'mallrats,' of which I became one.

The Uniform

I remember in Geelong being shown the ropes, formally by the workers, and informally by my toothless comrades who immediately recognised me as one of their own. This was reinforced from both perspectives when we were all given green (or was it blue) windcheaters by the local Salvos, so that we all became recognisable as a group and indeed we began to form a group identity. Someone else in the same uniform would walk up to you and say, 'Give us a smoke, cunt!' Though they may never have met you, they immediately recognised your social status by the uniform and knew that you were one of 'them'.

The Emailed Poem

ARTEFACT 1: An email

Reflections of a PSP Worker

At this time, to mark our program's conclusion, I wish to offer the following reflections.
As a Personal Support Program Case Worker, I am touched by the lives of the people with which we work; and the tenacity of the human spirit. I was recently equally touched when I read a poem written by a Footscray resident who also is connected with our program and goes by the name - *The Outcaste Weakly Poet* which is his writing pseudonym.

PSP Case Manager - Footscray

The Plant

She is planted in the concrete
Like a post-seed tree

Locked beneath her sunglasses
Eyes rolled back. They stare
At her brain or what's left there
Of girlish dreams
The hemline of her jeans
Sewn a frayed pink
Why she doesn't drink
Her methadone
It's unknown
To all but her and I
And the dealers who pass by
On any given day
In the heart of Footscray
As I walk by and hear them say
"You lookin'?
You searchin'?"
And I begin
To say
I'm lookin' for a girl
Or I'm lookin' for a world
Lost inside a girl
I'm lookin' for a grain
Of truth lost in a vein
I'm lookin' for the things
She used to treasure
I'm lookin' very thoroughly
Although I'll never
Find them once again
They must be in her vein
Her body by the needle has been hollowed
Her mind by her body has been swallowed

The truth replaced by methadone
No-one can call her on the telephone
She's slumped beneath the ring-tone
As if dead
But I read
Her dream-book
It said
Husband
Kids
Cooking
Once I've finished looking
For another
Hit. (Anon, 2010)

Questioning the realm of lived experience

The above is an artefact from a lost world. The email communication, including the poem was written in 2009, when Footscray was still a mecca of crime and misery. It was the community and location in which I lived during the final days of my addiction and alcoholism. I was also living in unsecured communal housing, conditions that resembled the insides of jail, without the guards and the shadow of the law. It was a small collection of one room bungalows and a shared concrete bathroom. One of my neighbours had acquired seven vicious dogs who lived in the shared yard on the property. I would travel to and from Deakin University to attend supervision meetings toward the end of my Masters' thesis.

If we consider the definition provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, where a person will experience homelessness **when there is a lack of suitable accommodation alternatives and their current living arrangement**: is in a dwelling that is **inadequate**; or has no tenure, or if their initial tenure is short and not extendable, I was homeless (ABS, 2024). Though at this time, I wouldn't have considered myself homeless. Due to the fact that I possessed a lease and in

comparison to past experiences, I felt *Homefull*. This was not only reflected in the lease, which was enough for me at that time. However, clearly, when you consider the tone and power relations described in the email artefact, I was still socially situated as a welfare client and a homeless person, and living in a dangerous situation. Although this was a movement from living in a tent in Sydney, or a squat in Geelong, I remained in precarious accommodation. My personal safety was compromised, and I felt a sense of powerlessness in the punitive and often carceral behaviour of the landlord. They would appear without notice, fix things, make rules for 'residents', who were actually tenants. I am attempting to map the evolution of my own identity here to gain a clear picture of the point at which I ceased to be a 'homeless person' and began to occupy my current identity, the skin I am in. When did the scars begin to heal? When did I become who I am? This is not merely a question for me, but for anyone transitioning from long-term homelessness into conventional society.

Utopian and dystopian perspectives as epistemological approaches to treating the social illness of homelessness.

Conclusion: Homelessness & intellectual freedom

The poetry I made on the street was for a particular 'public' of passers-by, who perhaps had no experience of homelessness, but were socially conscious enough to be made aware of the inequality they encountered on the street. As a homeless intellectual, I enjoyed a freedom of expression that is absent elsewhere in the social structure, such as the university establishments, where intellectual freedom is espoused as a value, but limited by social and economic objectives. For example, at one university intellectual freedom may be a priority. Whereas, at another institution, justice may be the prevailing value, so the freedom to speak, to say whatever you like has limitations as to who it may harm. Then one day I was about to teach the privileged the dangers of freedom of speech and political expression, that's right, the *dangers*, because words can be harmful in different cultures, but they can also express one's position. Then I was contacted by my Iranian friend and collaborator, who told me a story of a woman who had

spoken out against the oppressive Iranian regime in which she lived, was jailed for four years for speaking her mind. Then, when she was released she disappeared! It made me wonder what we mean when we say freedom of speech in a country like Australia.

The concept of choice

Due to my social position as a 'homeless person', it meant that I was somewhat informally exempt from society's laws and informal rules, according to what one can and cannot say. I was free from the social consensus that perhaps bound other writers, and certainly bind me today, as a teaching and researching academic. This ontology was reflective of the 'hobo myth' immortalised in the American psyche by Hemingway, Woody Guthrie and Bob Dylan. In the Australian context, the qualities of freedom and empowerment encapsulated in the transgressive US literature is replaced by the dull and clinical language of social health, where the homeless are 'in need' or 'at risk'. The freedom of the homeless person in the celebrated American myth is replaced by a kind of helplessness to which I gave voice in my old writings, referred to in this chapter. This refers to the historical discourse in sociology regarding homelessness, where two polar perspectives have been contrasted: the pathologization of homelessness and its romanticisation, often linked to the concept of 'Wanderlust.' What is peculiar about the experience of homelessness is that these polarities exist simultaneously in the human subject: we are simultaneously free from the binds of society and a number in an almost carceral system of care.

The issue of freedom in the homeless, homed and Homefull populations in contemporary societies where citizens are viewed as having a degree of choice is significant here, and one component of Adler's theory that considers the act of being as a process of becoming, where human behaviour is inherently social and directed toward achieving the goal of transitioning from inferiority to superiority. Throughout this chapter, I have referred to my own somewhat privileged background that influenced my tendency, or even capacity, to self-identify as a 'homeless person' during the period in which I was homeless.

This chapter raises the following questions for consideration:

- How can the concept of choice be understood in the context of homelessness, particularly considering for instance Adler's theory that human behavior is inherently social and directed towards achieving the goal of transitioning from inferiority to superiority?
- In what ways does the notion of privilege influence the self-identification of homelessness, and how can we address the ethical implications of distinguishing oneself from others with similar experiences?
- How does the process of responsibilisation play a role in shaping the identity of individuals experiencing homelessness, and what insights can be gained from comparing one's own experience to those of others who have faced more extreme poverty and addiction?

By exploring experiences of homelessness through these lenses, we might find new ways to address issues around experiences in relation to identity and trauma for people transitioning from homelessness or insecure housing into more secure and sustainable living circumstances.

References list

Abramson, Z. (2015). The meaning of neurosis according to Adler. *The Journal of Individual Psychology, 71*(4), 426-439.

ABS. (2024). *N.A., Australian Bureau of Statistics*. https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/4922.0Main%20Features22012

Allen, D. C., Adams, T. E., & Jones, S. (2015). Learning autoethnography: A review of autoethnography: Understanding qualitative research. *Learning*, *2*, 2-2015.

Anon. (2010). Personal communication (email).

Batterham, D., Reynolds, M., Cigdem-Bayram, M., & Parkinson, S. (2024). *The changing geography of homelessness in Australia (2001–21) and its structural drivers* (AHURI Final Report 429, Issue. https://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/429

Cloke, P., Milbourne, P., & Widdowfield, R. (2000). Homelessness and rurality: 'Out-of-place' in purified space? *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 18*(6), 715–735. https://doi.org/10.1068/d205t

Davidson, D. (2001). *Subjective, intersubjective, objective* (Vol. 3). Oxford University Press.

Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2011). Autoethnography: an overview. *Historical social research/Historische sozialforschung*, 273-290.

Elmer, G. (2012). Panopticon – discipline – control. In *Routledge handbook of surveillance studies* (pp. 21-29). Routledge.

Ferrell, J. (2018). Criminological ethnography: Living and knowing. In S. Rice & M. Maltz (Eds.), *Doing ethnography in criminology* (pp. 237–258). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96316-7_12

Freire, P. (1996). *Pedagogy of the oppressed (revised)*. Continuum.

Goode, E., & Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994). Moral panics: Culture, politics, and social construction. *Annual Review of Sociology, 20*(1), 149–171. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.20.080194.001053

Grosfoguel, R. (2008). Transmodernity, border thinking, and global coloniality. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais, 80*, 1–24.

Holman, E. A., Jones, N. M., Garfin, D. R., & Silver, R. C. (2023). Distortions in time perception during collective trauma: Insights from a national longitudinal study during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Psychological Trauma, 15*(5), 800–807. https://doi.org/10.1037/tra0001326

Laing, R. D. (1994). The divided self. *The British Journal of Psychiatry, 165*(3), 420–423. https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.165.3.420

Langer, L. L. (1993). *Holocaust testimonies: The ruins of memory*. Yale University Press.

McCarthy, L. (2013). Homelessness and identity: A critical review of the literature and theory. *People, Place and Policy Online, 7*(1), 46–58. https://doi.org/10.3351/ppp.0007.0001.0005

McTell, R. (1974). Streets of London. [Recorded by Ralph McTell]. In Streets... [CD]. Transatlantic Records.

Maltby, C. (2016). *Mallrats* [Documentary film]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dyc11SCI7_Y

Popovski, H., & Young, A. (2023). Small things in everyday places: Homelessness, dissent and affordances in public space. *The British Journal of Criminology*, *63*(3), 727-747.

Thompson, E. P. (2013). *The making of the English working class*. Penguin Books.

Warren, I., Ryan, E., Corrales, T., & Welsh, S. (2022). Harmful structures, silenced voices, decolonisation, abolition, and repair. *5th International Conference for Carceral Geography*, University of Melbourne, 2022.

Welsh, S. (2014). *The Outcaste Weakly Poet: A Social Statement* [Performance] (Unpublished). https://vuir.vu.edu.au/37249/1/The_Outcaste_Weakly_Poet_A_Social_Statement.docx

Welsh, S. S. (2016). *Real fiction theatre as drama education* (Doctoral dissertation, Victoria University).