Working for Citizenship in the Liminal Space
Social Reproduction in the Emergency Family Shelter System

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Abstract

Family homelessness remains an endemic social problem in Canada. Parents residing in the family shelter system must continue raising their children, although they lack the means afforded by housed and employed parents. Despite government efforts to enact anti-poverty strategies such as affordable housing and social welfare, free market hegemony has contributed to the neoliberalization of social policy. The historical development of the current welfare state regime shows that the residual nature of social welfare in Canada depends on a high degree of *familialization.* The purpose of this exploratory research is two-fold: an exploration of how the political economy of social welfare shapes the lived experiences of parents practicing *social reproduction* in the family shelter system and how these parents' *social rights* are configured within the Canadian welfare state. I answer my research questions by adopting a narrative analysis of interviews with 23 homeless parents in the Greater Toronto Area. I apply life course theory to show how the respondents' narratives of their lived experiences in the family shelter system uncover linkages between their social reproduction activities and the political context that structures them. I conceptualize the Family Residence as a *liminal space* and the Residence clients as *liminal citizens*, defined as those in receipt of social welfare and subjected to state surveillance. The analysis of the interviews uncovers three findings. First, homelessness results from *compounding deprivations* as a result of market-based poverty that subsequently leads to extreme social exclusion. Second, the difference between housed and homeless parents is that homeless parents face a *triple burden* in that they are expected to fulfill their responsibilities as clients in the family shelter system, obtain housing to transition out of the shelter, and carry out social reproduction. Third, social rights remain deeply *familialized* and therefore contribute to intensified social exclusion for homeless parents without adequate state support. The research

concludes with a policy recommendation that embraces the *housing as a right* framework to inform a robust anti-poverty strategy. This research yields two major contributions. First, my findings complement the literature that centres citizenship in liberal welfare states as an analytical framework in the study of modern poverty. Second, I conclude that the Canadian welfare state commits to familialization rather than universalism in order to uphold liberalized capital markets.

Keywords: Homelessness, families, social reproduction, welfare state

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Chapter One
AN INTRODUCTION TO HOMELESSNESS AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

Social reproduction, defined as everyday tasks required to reproduce current and future generations (Bakker 2003; Bezanson 2006; Bezanson and Luxton 2006; Laslett and Brenner 1989), remains a fundamental human practice despite the onset of modernization and the acceleration of everyday life. Indeed, we not only require nourishment, rest, and leisure, we also need emotional support from those we call our family. The family is a social institution in which current and future generations are produced, reproduced, and nurtured. Mothers and fathers therefore need access to social reproduction inflows – housing, income, social programs, education, healthcare, and even time – to carry out these vital activities to fulfil not only their potential but their children's potential as well. Access to the means of social reproduction in Canada, however, is not entirely universal. Parents without the adequate means to care for their children, other adult family members, and themselves run the risk of becoming homeless.

Homelessness remains a persistent social problem in Canada, and affects families as much as individuals. Homelessness is an ascribed social status, defined in Canada as:

> [The] situation of an individual or family without stable, permanent, appropriate housing, or the immediate prospect, means and ability of acquiring it. It is the result of systemic or societal barriers, a lack of affordable and appropriate housing, the individual/household's financial, mental, cognitive, behavioural or physical challenges, and/or racism and discrimination. (Canadian Homelessness Research Network 2012: 1)

Gaetz et al. (2012: 2) identify three main types of homelessness. "Provisionally accommodated" means people do not reside in a dwelling but gain access to accommodation, though the arrangement is not permanent. Governments, non-profits, or personal arrangements grant this type of temporary housing. "Emergency sheltered" refers to people entering emergency shelter and support programs when they cannot secure housing themselves. Finally, "unsheltered people" are those not residing in housing or emergency shelters, unless weather

conditions become inhospitable. The authors also identify "at-risk of homelessness" to refer to people who experience housing insecurity, or who are vulnerable to homelessness due to "poverty, personal crisis, discrimination, a lack of other available and affordable housing, and/or the inappropriateness of their current housing (which may be overcrowded or not does not meet public health and safety standards)" (*ibid*.). Across the country, and specifically in the Greater Toronto Area, the rising costs of living and housing, the increasing dominance of precarious employment, and the ongoing withdrawal of social welfare contribute to already vulnerable households' deepening poverty and possible homelessness. All these point to the prevailing tendency for liberal welfare states to institute a neoliberal approach to policy, in which social protections for poverty, unemployment, and homelessness are clawed back in the name of individual households being self-sufficient through life-long attachment to paid employment. Moreover, the racialization and feminization of poverty persists in Canadian civil society, which further threatens the well-being of racialized parents, immigrant families, and lone-mother families. Trends occurring in government, labour markets, and housing markets shape the political and economic determinants to homelessness that affect vulnerable households more than households with the capacity to weather the ever-shifting conditions endemic to capitalist, liberal welfare states. Homeless persons or families access emergency shelters, live outdoors, or temporarily and discontinuously reside with friends and family. Homeless people often access municipal and provincial services. According to the Street Needs Assessment, 63 percent of homeless people used housing and homelessness services (i.e., drop-in and referral centres), 69 percent used health and treatment services, and 66 percent used non-housing specific services (i.e., food banks and job training).[1] Unsurprisingly, 80 percent of those in the Street Needs

[1] These numbers represent the entire sample, as the demographics for services used were not categorized.

Assessment needed affordable housing, and the same number needed subsidized housing or a housing allowance. Additionally, the number of newcomers using the shelter system has increased from 4.9 percent of the shelter population in 2014 to 5.9 percent in 2016 (Employment and Social Development Canada 2016). In summary, nearly a quarter of the homeless population in the Greater Toronto Area are families, more than a half of them accompanied by dependents. The majority of homeless families are poor and primarily rely on government transfers as an income source.

My primary concern in this exploratory study is the cause and impact of homelessness for families in Canada. Families (i.e., at least two adults who may or may not be accompanied by non-adult dependents) make up 24 percent of the total number of people using city-administered shelters in Toronto, of whom 9 percent of families reported part-time employment as a source of income. Of the residents in family and Violence Against Women (VAW) shelters, 14 percent had a dependent, with approximately one-half of them with one or two dependents and one-quarter with three dependents. Of the residents in family and women-only shelters, 62 percent received Ontario Works (OW) and 20 percent received the Child Care Tax Benefit (CCTB).

Additionally, my focus is the emotional effect homelessness has on parents. Although the cause of homelessness among families is similar to individuals (Gaetz, Gulliver and Richter 2014), a noted difference is that domestic violence is a major determinant for families, with the majority of homeless families are headed by lone mothers (Dotson 2011, Gulliver-Garcia 2016). Moreover, women's experiences reflect how sudden homelessness, particularly for mothers, points to the feminization of poverty as a contributing factor in experiencing a housing crisis. Research has shown that 71 percent of women in the shelter system report fleeing intimate partner violence (Burcycka and Cotter 2011:5), and the majority of families in the shelter system

are headed by lone mothers, although those outside the shelter system typically make up the "hidden homeless" who stay with friends or family (Gulliver-Garcia 2016). Children who experience homelessness are more likely to be homeless as adults, as well as have contact with child welfare services and the criminal justice system. Research has shown that children residing in the emergency shelter system are susceptible to behavourial and emotional problems (Bassuk and Rosenberg 1990; Zima, Wells and Freeman 1994). Chronic poverty has a serious impact on children, who have been shown to exhibit cognitive and developmental impairments (Mani, Mullainathan, Shafir, and Zhao 2013; Noble, Houston, Kan, and Sowell 2012; Noble et al. 2015).

Families come into contact with the emergency shelter system in their own way. Many families make up the hidden homeless, or those living with friends, family, or acquaintances until they find a new residence, leaving them out of official homeless counts. Parents are hesitant to remove their children from school and would prefer to stay in someone else's home close to their community. Other families may feel that the shelter system is unsafe for their children and avoid them (Gaetz, Gulliver and Richter 2014; YMCA Canada 2012). Families who do stay in the shelter system tend reside there twice as long than single adults and youth; thus, the majority of families are *temporarily* homeless (Gaetz, Dej, Richter, and Redman 2016). Not only do stressors such as unemployment and family breakdown factor into the cause of homelessness, families in the shelter system do feel stressors during their time as clients. They are overwhelmed by what they feel to be an anarchic environment with little privacy (Gaetz, Dej, Richter, and Redman 2016; Sylvestre et al. 2018).

Homelessness in 21st-century Canadian society is thus indicative of the broader social context surrounding transformations in social policy. One of my goals for this research project

was to map out a conceptual framework to explain the structural determinants of homelessness. Since the mid- to late 1990s, Canadian social policy on income assistance has shifted from a somewhat universalist model (but largely for white Canadian citizens) to a means-tested model (Jenson and Saint-Martin 2003). This transformation was accompanied by reductions to social welfare spending. The federal government has also stepped back from implementing an affordable housing strategy since the 1980s, although the federal government and Ontario provincial government laid out an affordable housing plan in 2016–17 and again in 2017–18 (Department of Finance 2016). The policy trends from the 1990s to present day suggest a neoliberalization of the Canadian welfare state (Ilcan 2009), in which social protections have been clawed back in favour of promoting citizen responsibility and self-sufficiency.

A prominent concern within feminist political economy is the degree to which welfare states require parents to decouple themselves from the labour market to care for others and themselves, supported by income transfers and social programs. This *familialization*, or downloading of care work onto the family (Jenson 2004; Lewis 2009; Kim and Hwang 2019), is a fundamental variable in determining a family's social mobility. I argue that the Canadian welfare state endorses familialization within social policy and this contributes to low-income families' vulnerability to homelessness.

Homelessness compromises family members' integrity and dignity. The "costs" needed to remedy family homelessness are not solely monetary. Family cohesion, mental health, and social mobility are effectively compromised when parents and their children experience housing insecurity and loss. Homeless families dependent on the emergency shelter system must persist, despite not having full access to the means of social reproduction; they must reproduce themselves and their children on a daily basis, while at the same time exiting the shelter system.

How do current political and economic conditions related to social welfare sculpt their lived experience as parents? For analytical purposes, I propose reframing how emergency homeless shelters are understood in their role within the broader welfare state.

A possible approach to framing the political economy of social welfare is to situate the homeless shelter itself as ancillary to the welfare state. I argue that an emergency homeless shelter is a *liminal space*, or a space of "between-ness" that can lead to a transition from one status to another (Turner 1995). In the case of emergency homeless shelters, people transition from being homeless to housed. To date, little research conceptualizes homelessness in terms of liminality (Chamberlain and Johnson 2018; Berman et al. 2009). Framing homeless shelters as a liminal space permits an analysis that explores the social processes homeless parents undertake to regain a "housed status," and therefore points to the structural conditions that give shape to their lived experiences.

Given this broader political economic context, my research is driven by two questions. How do transformations in the Canadian welfare state shape homeless parents' social reproduction practices? I set out to explore how poverty as a citizenship issue, and therefore a relational issue, influences low-income households' capability potential for self-determination and autonomy. My analysis specifically explores practices of social reproduction in families, such as its intensification or abatement, its structure and patterns, and its effect on women and men's financial and social autonomy. I seek to understand how social reproduction is experienced by homeless families and whether and how this social reproduction is familialized. In order to address these questions, this chapter will outline my research method, the three results from the research, their contribution to poverty research, and the objectives for each chapter.

For my research method, I conducted semi-structured interviews with parents living in an emergency family shelter (referred to as a *Family Residence* or *Residence*, an emergency homeless shelter for parents and their dependants) in the Greater Toronto Area. The interview questions explored the constraints and contradictions faced by low-income families, incorporating a gendered approach to understanding how people manage social reproduction in the home and in the shelter system. This allowed me to explores the connection between social reproduction and the ways in which social rights have been renegotiated under the current citizenship regime, with an emphasis on mapping out the relationship between states, markets, and families.

My analytical framework adopts *life course theory* to answer my research questions. Life course theory is a constructive approach to understanding how transitions in parents' lives are deeply, although often imperceptibly, influenced by structural conditions (Elder 1994). The first transition I explore is when the participants lost their homes due to their poverty and made the decision to enter the Family Residence. For my purposes, I define poverty as compounding deprivations that contribute to the breadth and depth of low income experienced by vulnerable households. Homelessness is largely caused by chronic poverty in relation to particular localized labour market, housing, and social policy conditions (Gaetz 2012). How households navigate these deprivations that eventually "lead" them into the emergency shelter system becomes apparent in the narratives I collected. Their narratives illustrate how this transition materialized for them as they plotted a course through the shelter system.

The second transition encompasses the strategies the participants adopted in order to practice social reproduction as clients in the Family Residence. My research focuses on specific transitions in homeless parents' life courses that point to how social reproduction is politically

conceptualized by the Canadian welfare state and how this informs the allocation of social welfare. I explore how parents tell their stories of entering Family Residence and their experiences therein. These narratives provide insight into how intersecting social institutions limit upward social mobility for certain households. Specifically, I explore multiple transitions in peoples' life courses that illustrate how interactions between the state, the market, and the family erode to the point of a housing crisis.

My analysis generated three results from the interviews. The first result shows that in the case of the respondents in the Family Residence, for them to exit liminality meant demonstrating competent citizenship. The parents interviewed were deemed eligible for social protections, like remaining clients in the Family Residence, if they continued to exhibit moral behaviours. Not only did this entail being "good parents," but also being "good clients" in the Family Residence. Much of daily work for parents, besides social reproduction, was to actively look for new housing and follow the Residence regulations. By doing so, the parents were entitled to continue being clients in the shelter system. The respondents were largely expected to fulfil two important tasks as members in a liminal space. First, they had to conform to the rules and regulations of the Residence, which were often enforced by intensified surveillance of their behaviours. Like many emergency shelters, the Family Residence monitored the parents' daily activity, such as through curfews. Enforcing behaviours that housed parents take for granted, such as choosing when to retire for the evening, suggests that the residents lacked the same degree of autonomy available to housed parents. Secondly, the parents had to remain accountable for their behaviours. This was accomplished by demonstrating to a caseworker that they were actively seeking a new home, typically by following their *housing plan*. A housing plan is effectively a contract between the client and the Family Residence in which the clients are expected to contact a set number of

potential landlords per day and report their activities to a housing worker. These daily interactions between the clients and housing workers, along with other state actors such as social workers and the Children's Aid Society, illustrate how the "client" in the Family Residence is socially produced and buttressed by the neoliberal project.

Under neoliberal rationality, adult family members are assumed to provide social welfare to other members, and women are assumed to carry out this unpaid work (Coulter 2009; Ilcan 2009; Larner 2006). Women are viewed as default caregivers, who will voluntarily decommodify their labour to do unpaid domestic work when the state withdraws social support (Jacobsen 2007; Luxton and Corman 2001; Luxton 2006). However, households have a threshold with regards to counterbalancing market failures, in that they may not possess the assets or capacity to supply "the demand, the labour, the intangible social assets that the public and private sectors need to reform" (Elson 1998:199). Familialization imposes considerable stress on families. Many depend on extended kin to provide housing, food, and childcare. Moreover, the strategies used by low-income families to maintain social reproduction are oftentimes short-term and unsustainable since "households cannot, however, manage social reproduction on their own, and women's labour in their homes is endlessly elastic. Without sufficient support, standards of living drop, the most vulnerable households typically collapse, and a crisis in social reproduction is produced" (Luxton 2006:38). As participation in the labour market provides resources in the form of wages and benefits, families exchange those resources to provide material support for social reproduction; yet the question remains as to how low-income families manage the contradiction of not having sufficient income to reproduce their family with little or no support.

The lack of political protections for vulnerable families' social rights increases the risk of homelessness. The participants' homelessness at the time of the interviews was largely the result

of compounding deprivations as a consequence of their incapacity to performatively accomplish their citizenship. I show that the inflows for social reproduction in the emergency shelter system largely mirror those practiced in typical homes, with one crucial exception. Although the Family Residence offered substitutes for the means of social reproduction, parents struggled to maintain the continuity of the household; in other words, the respondents reported ongoing activities to ensure a sense of "normalcy" for their children while performing daily parenting tasks. The respondents worked to ease the transition into the Family Residence for their children by ensuring that the family continued to be cohesive and consistent in their everyday experiences as members, within a specific environment that compromised the collective sense of what constitutes a normative household.

The second research result shows that parents were juggling a double burden while residing in the emergency shelter system. Not only were they obligated to care for their children, they were also obliged to fulfil the Family Residence's expectation for the parents to find new housing. What I refer to as the "albatross," in reference to Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner"[2] (Wordsworth and Coleridge 2010), describes the burden the parents carry with them due to their "perceived" failures as caregivers, and by extension, as upright citizens. Indeed, while many respondents were grateful for the Family Residence, in large part due to the respite offered to them after experiencing poverty-induced trauma, many others reported an erosion of individual liberty resulting from intensified surveillance of their behaviours in relation to the Family Residence's expectations that they re-house themselves and attempt to conform to the rules and regulations established by the City of Toronto.

[2] I am much obliged to Cara Weston (2018) for suggesting this metaphor.

The third research result illustrates that familialization disproportionally disadvantages parents experiencing social marginalization due to systemic racism and sexism. Chronic poverty that contributes to family homelessness is especially acute for racialized mothers, who constituted the majority of my respondents. Lastly, liminality is a socially produced phenomenon structured by the dominant political culture that enshrines familialization rather than universal social welfare. My research shows that liminality elicited complex emotional reactions that characterize the respondents' lived experience was shaped by the structural determinants of homelessness. Parents who were grateful to be in the Family Residence typically were homeless due to the cost-of-living deficit that racialized parents are more likely to experience. Indeed, the state has a contradictory relationship with social rights. Social reproduction is essential to the human condition, yet social rights are not formally codified for protection. Social reproduction remains deeply familialized, since women are expected to be the primary caregivers when a family undergoes a crisis such as unemployment or housing loss. Fathers also experience familialization in a distinct manner. The breadwinner ethos that informs men's role in the family was deeply felt by the men in the study as they struggled with reconciling their temporary incapacity to provide for their children. Although the Family Residence did provide substitutes for the means of social reproduction, and support and encouragement for parents to find new housing, the neoliberalization of social welfare structured the respondents' experience of liminality.

This research contributes to scholarship on poverty and homelessness by expanding social reproduction and citizenship as analytical concepts beyond their current usage in the literature. There is limited research on how parents with little or no paid employment perform social reproduction while residing in transitional housing or having no housing. Much literature

on social reproduction focuses on working-class women as they perform these tasks alongside paid employment (Bezanson 2006; Laslett and Brenner 1989). The current political and economic milieu of the labour market and social welfare in Canada renders timely discussions of the social processes that currently besiege working families. These political and economic conditions exude pressure onto working families to meet their basic needs and intensify poor families' vulnerability to deeper poverty and possibly homelessness.

Broadly speaking, *citizenship* means membership in a nation-state. Membership is reproduced in people's relationship to social institutions, ranging from the labour market to local government to the family (Brown and Baker 2012; Davis and Issitt 2007; Marshall 1950; B. Turner 1993; 2008). Canadian research on citizenship, although critical in spirit, focuses on immigration, with an emphasis on identity formation, social policy, and transnational relationships (Bakan and Stasiulis 2003; Davies and Issitt 2007; Dobrowolsky 2016; Goldring and Landolt 2013). As a corrective to previous research, my project explores the sociological and philosophical foundations of citizenship to posit an analytical framework for understanding the causes and consequences of poverty in contemporary liberal welfare states. I argue that citizenship is granted upon birth or settlement; it is a life-long practice to actually retain one's citizenship over the life course. From this standpoint I introduce the concept of the *liminal citizen* to describe how the research participants are socially positioned in the Canadian welfare state. The liminal citizen is one who is in receipt of some type of social welfare, in which I include the emergency shelter system, and is subjected to greater state surveillance than other citizens, since they must make themselves accountable to caseworkers.

It was therefore important in framing this analysis to emphasize the connection between poverty and citizenship as an overarching theme to frame the analysis. Citizenship is the idea of

belonging to society and having rights and responsibilities attendant thereto. If the social rights of citizenship entail some degree of reasonable protection from the state for the social welfare of its members (Aravacik 2018), then the question remains as to why some households are more susceptible to poverty than others. Although the examination of structural conditions that contribute to poverty, such as social welfare, affordable housing, and decent employment, is significant in illustrating the environment in which particular citizens must navigate to secure a degree of social mobility, such analysis alone is insufficient to discuss the relational determinants to poverty. Citizenship is not just a political status; rather it encompasses a constellation of practices that, when performed correctly, crystallize one's membership in society.

Drawing on the research results, I argue that since social rights are not protected under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, social welfare remains familialized and deeply gendered. A significant challenge for homeless parents in the emergency shelter system is to balance their responsibilities as good parents and their responsibilities as liminal citizens. The tension parents feel fulfilling both responsibilities as "good citizens" illustrates that social rights are peripheral to the neoliberal rationality that has transformed the Canadian welfare state. However, legislating social rights into the Charter has limitations. The Canadian state's complicity in violence against women, LGBTQ communities, Indigenous people, and racialized minorties, and its limitations in enforcing regulatory interventions in the market, reveal the barriers to depending on legisatlavie frameworks to redress inequalities in housing, employment, and social welfare.

The remainder of this dissertation is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 2 discusses the social determinants to homelessness and the social consequences that result from the political willingness to allow homelessness to persist in Canadian society. This chapter examines the

ways in which social welfare and security, the lack of affordable housing in the Greater Toronto Area, and the growth of precarious employment have contributed to the homeless crisis. As an important reminder of government's role in addressing homelessness, I review how the Canadian state has conceptualized and politically responded to the homelessness crisis. Lastly, I discuss how homelessness is indicative of furthering social exclusion from civil society for vulnerable families, using Sen's (2000) theory of social exclusion to explain how exclusion operates in modern capitalist nations.

Chapter 3 outlines my theoretical framework for analyzing family homelessness. I discuss how neoliberalism has contributed to welfare state restructuring and its impact on the gendered division of unpaid domestic work, the social organization of the family, the relationship between paid and unpaid work, and the moral regulation of poor families. I then consider how feminist political economy, as a method of linking the state, and the market, and the family as social institutions that generate growth, wealth, and opportunity, is employed to conceptualize current welfare state restructuring. In this section, I also examine work on social reproduction. The chapter then reviews the sociological literature on citizenship, starting from Marshall (1950). I work towards a model to understand how citizenship is maintained across genders in contemporary capitalism and highlight the relationship between the capacity to be employed (and employable) and the guarantee of citizenship rights. I define liminality and familialization and their application to the research.

The remaining chapters offer an analysis of the interviews I conducted. Chapter 4 discusses my methods and reviews the participants' demographic information. I explain how I use a narrative analysis of the transitions the participants' experienced in their life courses, focusing on their time in the liminal space of the family shelter system. In this chapter I define

narrative analysis and life course and how they apply to my analysis. Furthermore, I discuss my ontological and epistemological position from a critical realist standpoint, which I argue suits this study as it recognizes the limitations of interpretive approaches to sociology. Lastly I summarize my reflection on this study with special attention as to how my social position influences my interpretation of the data and how I select particular narratives as evidence.

Chapter 5 analyzes the participants' self-reported causes of homelessness and their experiences transitioning into the Family Residence. My goal is to illustrate how the participants' conditions prior to entering the Residence structures their experiences as clients, as well as show that households made vulnerable from poverty are at risk of experiencing homelessness. I introduce the concept of the model citizen in relation to my theoretical framework, where the model citizen is a productive, self-sufficient member of society. Here I apply Sen's notion of deprivation to explain how the participants' social position resulted from compounding deprivations. I further argue that their deprivation stems from their incapacity to perform as model citizens since their circumstances included periods of dependency on the state or stigmatization due to substance use or criminal prosecution.

Chapter 6 discusses how the participants practiced social reproduction in the Family Residence. The participants experienced their entrance to the Residence as a noteworthy transition in their life course, one in which complex, difficult emotions arose as a result of their new identity as clients in the emergency shelter system. I frame this transition as a feeling of continuity, or a straightforward transition into the Residence that resembled the everyday routines of maintaining a household. However, some participants relayed a feeling of disorder or the feeling that their lives were disrupted from the transition. I argue that the preconditions that contributed to the participants' sense of continuity or disorder at the time of the interviews.

Moreover, I provide details on how they accessed the means of social reproduction, both inside and outside the Residence, by close analysis of how participants actually carried out social reproduction. I conclude that social reproduction continues in difficult circumstances yet hampered by the triple burden of being homeless parents. The participants were expected to care for their children, follow the Residence's regulations, and search for a new home, placing considerable strain on them.

Chapter 7 tackles the question of social rights as contingent on citizenship-as-practice, and illustrates this in the participants' lived experience as clients in the Family Residence. This chapter discusses how social rights are situated in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and concludes by discussing the relationship between capitalist accumulation and the lack of rights to housing. During the interviews, the participants were asked to reflect on their life after leaving the Residence and whether or not they are entitled to decent housing. The analysis revels that the participants' internalized the prevailing norm that housing is earned, which suggests that citizen-as-practice pertains to housing inaffordability and the social rights of citizenship. The interviews suggest to me that the Family Residence normalizes the management model of homeless interventions and effectively justifies the need for an emergency shelter system in lieu of a comprehensive affordable housing policy.

Chapter 8 summarizes the major findings. I also offer policy recommendations on how to shift towards a culture that values housing as a right more so than housing as a commodity, with an emphasis on pointed interventions in the housing market. I conclude this chapter with my reflections on how this research has implication for political sociology, namely that future research on poverty in liberal welfare states could give closer examination of the social rights of citizenship and their enshrinement in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Chapter Two
THE SOCIAL CAUSES OF HOMELESSNESS

Homelessness can be viewed as a "canary in the coal mine" phenomenon. The social character of homelessness in Canada points to the inefficacy of the contemporary policy regime in alleviating poverty. Indeed, homelessness may be argued to be an extreme outcome of a failing welfare state, particularly as racialized women experience housing insecurity or possible loss when social welfare falls short more acutely than non-racialized women. Homelessness can also be understood as a "barometer for poverty." That people do not have a home suggests that the interrelated institutions of the government (federal, provincial, and municipal), the market, and the family create unequal economic conditions for the vulnerable and their families. To study homelessness means understanding the limits of a liberal welfare state (Esping-Andersen 1999) like Canada's in protecting citizen's social rights and how those limits are defined by race and gender.

Current Canadian literature on homelessness primarily discusses the causes of family homelessness and critiques social policies designed for homeless families (Schiff 2007; Tezli 2012; Varney and van Vliet 2008). Several intersecting social trends suggest the importance of moving beyond this focus to consider how homelessness, employment (or the lack thereof), and social policy shape everyday domestic practices normally undertaken in stable housing conditions. Indeed, the objective of my research has been to explore how families experiencing homelessness cope with the daily tasks necessary to reproduce a household. However, any sociological research on everyday life requires context, and therefore I begin with a summary of homelessness as a phenomenon.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section outlines the major trends that

led to Canadian welfare state restructuring. This section also discusses the rationale behind welfare states in capitalist liberal democracies in Europe, the United Kingdom, and Canada. The second section describes the demographics of homelessness in Canada and the Greater Toronto Area. The third section summarizes the structural determinants of homelessness by discussing how Ontario Works, Ontario Disability Support Program, unaffordable housing, and precarious labour contribute to the likelihood a household will experience homelessness.

Welfare State Restructuring in Canada

The changing welfare state is crucial to understanding the causes and experiences of homelessness in contemporary society. In this section I discuss welfare state restructuring in Canada to contextualize the economic and political zeitgeist underpinning contemporary family homelessness. A working definition of the welfare state is largely contingent upon historical, political, and economic conditions unique to national governments in Western Europe and North America. However, the underlying assumption is that the welfare state refers to governments granting provisions, such as social programs pertaining to health, housing, education, and income, in order to sustain citizens' social welfare (Castles et al. 2010). By drawing from the literature on the Canadian welfare state, my goal is to provide a description of broader political economic changes in Canadian society as a means of situating homeless families in a structural analysis of homelessness. I focus on policy mechanisms implemented in the mid-1990s to demonstrate the political economic context that influences modern family life. I note that in reconstructing an historical narrative, there will be omissions, especially when attempting to include all the political voices that have contributed to Canada's social policy regime. My goal in

this section is to highlight key historical moments and the rationales shaping social policy, rather than providing a complete historical account.[3]

Esping-Andersen (1999) developed his typology of welfare capitalism in response to post-industrial labour market structures. Welfare capitalism pertains to how governments regulate the degree to which citizens can decommodify[4] their labour during their life course, and how social policies are codified to facilitate citizens' exit and entry from the labour market. Although income assistance programs such as maternity leave and employment insurance are key parts of welfare capitalism, other relevant programs include housing supports, food banks (or vouchers), and childcare. Non-income programs remain imperative to welfare state regimes since they supplement the necessary requirements for life (i.e., housing, food, and care) that are lacking for poor households due to chronic market-based poverty. Under Esping-Andersen's typology, Canada is considered a liberal welfare state: Canadian welfare capitalism seeks market solutions to social problems, either by providing the bare minimum in resources (typically income) to survive, or offering subsidies to private partners as a means to ease citizens back into the labour market. Canadian citizens are entitled to means-tested programs that offer moderate assistance, yet those who claim entitlements often experience stigma and surveillance by the state.

The philosophical basis for the Canadian welfare state, as developed after 1940, was largely influenced by Keynes's (1936/2008) *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* and Beveridge's (1942) *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (commonly known as the *Beveridge Report*), and was seen as a means to adapt to a changing economic and political

[3] See Finkel (2006) for a rigorous historical analysis of state formation and social policy development in Canada.
[4] Decommodification refers to the capacity to voluntarily withdraw from the labour market without penalty, therefore determining the degree to which citizens are subjected to market dependency (Orloff 1993).

landscape (Rice and Prince 2013). Growing industrialism and urbanization, the rise of labour movements, and demands from interest groups and citizens pressured the federal government starting from the 1890s to respond to the social problems endemic to industrial capitalism. Keynes argued that full employment (i.e., where all people capable of working are employed) would be possible through government expenditures to stimulate national economies:

> He contended that the level of unemployment is determined by the level of output, which in turn is determined by the level of effective demand. Effective demand is affected by expenditure, which is affected by the supply of income. Keynes divided income into consumption and investment and demonstrated that individual decisions made about consumption and investment would not necessarily create full employment. (Rice and Prince 2013: 62)

During Keynes's time, heterodox economic thought upheld the notion that full employment was always possible, since people will continuously take up employment regardless of the wage. Therefore, unemployment was a deviation rather than a feature of industrial capitalism. Keynes argued that unemployment was a result of deficient effective demand, meaning that employers scaled back private investments in production costs and hiring new staff (Keynes 1936/2008). In other words, government social spending was necessary for economic growth. Government could either bolster private or public investment by reducing interest rates or encourage public consumption through redistribution schemes and direct transfers.

The *Beveridge Report* (see Abel-Smith 1992) argued that the previous system of means-tested public welfare would eventually give way to social security. Canadian legislators would adopt Beveridge's central tenets. Both Keynes and Beveridge informed social policy reforms in North America and Great Britain by proposing a progressive approach to developing collective rights in the 20th century as an answer to changing demands of modernization. The Canadian welfare state currently implies a social contract that outlines citizens' responsibilities in exchange for social protections from the state (Finkel 2006).

In order to grasp the significance of welfare state restructuring, one must understand how social welfare was managed prior to neoliberal hegemony, which state actors facilitated these transformations, and the rationale that underscored legislative changes. From Canada's Confederacy in 1867 to the Second World War, social welfare was not administered by the state but instead by private charities largely managed by women (Finkel 2006). However, the economic and employment crisis engendered by the Great Depression, along with the influx of Second World War veterans returning from Europe who required employment, brought significant welfare state expansion into Canadian households.

The federal government acknowledged that the Canadian welfare regime required an overhaul to meet citizens' economic needs. After the Second World War, Canadian social policy adopted Keynesian economic theory, particularly in defining the state's role in ensuring social stability:

> The universalist welfare state is founded on the conviction that government has a legitimate and major role to play in altering the market economy's unequal distribution of income, wealth and opportunity. Industrialization brings increased prosperity and a better standard of living for most. But the private market cannot on its own eliminate risks to economic security from unemployment, low wages, illness, disability and old age. (Battle and Torjman 2001: 13)

The Canadian welfare state can be traced back to two programs that reflect Canada's social policy character: unemployment insurance, legislated in 1940, and family allowances, legislated in 1944. Although Bennett's Conservative Party advocated for a social and economic policy package in 1935 reminiscent of Roosevelt's New Deal, the Supreme Count defeated the bill in 1936 by ruling that "Bennett's New Deal"[5] was unconstitutional (Waite 2012). King's Liberal

[5] Bennett's social and economic policy package included the *Weekly Rest in Industrial Undertakings Act*, the *Limitations of Hours of Work Act*, the *Minimum Wages Act*, the *National Products Marketing Act*, the *Employment and Social Insurance Act*, the *Farmers Creditor's Arrangement Act*, and the *Dominion Trade and Industry Commission Act*.

Party, which won the federal majority later in October 14, 1935, would incrementally roll out moderate versions of Bennett's New Deal five years later. Other programs, such as the *Canada Health Care Act* (1984)[6], the *Canada Pension Plan* (1965), and the *Guaranteed Income Supplement* (1966) eventually came to shape the role the Canadian state would play in ensuring citizens achieved a reasonable standard of living.

Historically, liberal welfare states legislated social policies, such as maternity leave and employment insurance, which gave women the opportunity to decommodify their labour during the course of their lives (Esping-Anderson 1999). Illness, pregnancy, and unemployment were considered an integral part of human life and were understood to affect women in dissimilar patterns compared to men. State actors today, although not universally, view employment as the best means to exit poverty. However, the growing presence of precarious labour in Canada (Vosko 2006) along with stagnant wages relative to inflation (Rozworski 2015) indicate that employment alone is not sufficient to enable women and their families to achieve upward mobility. Class boundaries between households remain enshrined in that social welfare does not adequately meet the needs for working-class or working-poor families.

However, despite the rolling out of social welfare programs for Canadian households, not everyone benefited from them. I discuss how women and Indiginous people were not beneficiaries of the welfare state as examples. Indeed, after World War Two, women were excluded from receiving most benefits due to traditional gender roles that structured the post-war labour market. The exception was the Mother's Allowance, legislated in 1944, which was transferred to women with children under 16 years old to improve households' purchasing power

[6] Fiscal arrangements for health care expenditures were originally legislated as the *Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act* (1957) and the *Medical Care Act* (1966). They were rolled together in 1983 to clarify the federal government's fiscal obligation to the provinces.

after the Depression (Gavigan and Chunn 2007). Nonetheless, the Mother's Allowance entrenched traditional gender roles by providing a supplemental income to mothers that would make them dependent on their male partners' wages. This would reinforce the breadwinner-homemaker model of the family favoured by the Canadian welfare state since many poor households could not live up to this ideal model of the family (ibid.). Though the development of the welfare state did illustrate policymakers' growing concern to honour social rights in Canada, Indigenous people were not incorporated into the welfare regime. The British North America Act abolished Indigenous self-goverance and transformed Indigenous people as wards of the state, implying that they were not fit to manage their traditional territories and those territories should be entrusted to the settler government. The government's primary goal was to eliminate "dependence" on federal funding and assimilate Indigenous people into Canadian society. One strategy to accomplish this was instituting the brutal residential school system to forcibly remove children from their families and impose an assimilative "curriculum" upon them (Abele 1997; Angell and Dunlop 2001). The historical experiences of women (and especially racialized women) and Indigenous people demonstrate that the 20th century development of the Canadian welfare state was created to entrench the white colonial culture that favoured men as the principle family breadwinner.

Although some welfare state restructuring was implemented in the 1970s, federal spending on social programs remained consistent until the 1990s (Pulkingham and Ternowetsky 1997; Russell 2000). While the federal government does invest in social policy, provinces and territories are solely responsible for policies concerning poverty and well-being. However, provinces and territories share some policy areas, such as housing and employed, with the federal government. The federal government funded provincially run programs through the Canada

Social Transfer (CAT) and the Established Programs Financing Agreement (EPFA), which were in effect since the 1960s. In 1995, the Liberal government under Jean Chretien repackaged the CAP and the EPFA into the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST). The CHST gave the provinces increased discretionary power to allocate the transfer payments, thereby dissolving their obligation to the federal government to redistribute mandated amounts to social programs under the EPFA, while the total transfer payments decreased by 30–35 percent (Russell 2000). In this critical moment, the relationship between the federal and provincial government was realigned to accommodate an emerging neoliberal mode of governance.

The shift from CAP to the CHST in 1995 had serious implications that allowed Canada to withdraw from its obligations to meet basic economic and social rights as ratified in the UN International Covenant of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and subsequently permitted citizenship to be reconfigured from this policy standpoint. In order for provinces to receive CAP funds, the federal government expected provinces to comply with terms outlined by the ICESCR[7]:

> CAP required that social assistance be provided to any person in need, regardless of the reasons of the need for support; that levels of assistance take into account the basic requirements of recipients, in terms of food, shelter, clothing, fuel, utilities, household supplies and personal requirements; that welfare services continue to be developed and extended; that provincial residency requirements and waiting periods not be imposed; and that appeal procedures from decisions relating to assistance be made available. (Jackman 1999:74)

Under the CAP framework, social welfare was universal in its application and promoted a basic standard of living for Canadians in need. The CHST, however, modified the provincial governments' obligation to uphold economic and social rights in favour of government flexibility. As Jackman (1999: 75) explains:

[7] See Chapter 3 for a further discussion on the ICESCR's role in the protection of social rights and its relation to modern citizenship.

> Of the national conditions previously imposed under CAP, only the prohibition against provincial residency requirements continues to apply under the CHST. Whereas federal CAP transfers matched provincial welfare spending, annual CHST amounts are set in advance and the transfer is not in fact tied to any type or level of provincial spending.

Provincial governments were free to implement punitive and regressive reforms to social assistance. Typically, these reforms involved workfare programs and reduced benefits (up to 25 percent in Ontario) that disproportionally affected the poorest citizens, such as single mothers. If claimants did not comply with the workfare program, their benefits were at risk of being reduced or even cancelled. The idea of flexibility therefore underlay the provincial governments' attempt to reduce the number of supposed welfare dependants and expediently funnels claimants back into the labour market, usually into low-wage jobs. The social right to meet basic needs was no longer inalienable, according to this policy change. In making the distinction between "deserving" and "undeserving" poor (i.e., unemployable and employable), social rights were contingent upon claimants' compliance with workfare in order to continuously commodify their labour-power. In this way, citizenship was tied to productivity in the labour market (or preparation for the labour market by participating in workfare programs), in contrast with the previous policy mandate, which had recognized that social welfare must meet ICESCR standards for social and economic rights.

The first hints at restructuring in Canada occurred in the mid-1980s. Although the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is argued to have laid the pathway to the erosion of state intervention (Campbell 1993; Grinspun 1993; Grinspun and Kreklewich 1994), Russell (2000: 37) states that de-indexation of household transfers "was a malaise born of restraint [i.e., austerity] combined with some selective re-dedication of existing expenditures to initiatives that more conducive to post-welfare discourses." As a result, "the real value of family allowances could diminish by up to 3 percent a year without compensatory redress." The social

consequences triggered during welfare state restructuring can be identified in the changing relationship between the federal and provincial governments. A critical component of welfare investment is expressed within the transfer payment system, as this funding structure exemplifies the intra-governmental commitment to achieve equilibrium when investing in capital or welfare.

The method of "policy by stealth," that is, reforms legislated without public consultation or obscured by technocratic language, continued as the Liberal Party introduced a neoliberal rationality to policy legislation that eroded policy in form of rollbacks to spending (Battle 2018). The rationale for neoliberal welfare state restructuring was rooted in ongoing debates on how best to manage the Canadian economy as the nation entered international partnerships in an increasingly globalized economy (McKeen and Porter 2003). In other words, the previous Keynesianism policy regime, as viewed by the private sector and particular state actors, was seen to impede economic growth in numerous sectors. In the 1990s, the Liberal Party argued that funding social welfare coupled with maintaining a "bloated" public sector workforce was costly in the face of mounting federal deficits (Rice and Prince 2013). The Liberal Party advocated for greater investment in capital development in light of Canada's international trade agreements with the United States and eventually Mexico.[8] Furthermore, social welfare programs were deemed to disincentive workers from acquiring full employment. From a fiscally conservative perspective, "generous" social benefits deterred people from entering the labour market, since their material needs were partially met without relying on wages.

[8] The federal New Democratic Party (NDP) and Conservative Party of Canada (CPC) held few seats in the House of Commons through most of the 1990s (Russell et al. 2015). Both parties did not oppose the Liberals' push for liberalizing global trade and reducing social welfare, as signified by the NDP and CPC supporting the Social Charter in the Charlottetown Accord in 1992. The Social Charter in the Accord proposed amendments to the Constitution of Canada to remove barriers to global trade. Although voters rejected the Accord in the 1992 referendum, I argue that the consensus among the three federal parties to support Canada's competitive position in the global market illustrated that neoliberalism dominated federal politics in the 1990s.

As noted by Paus (1994), capitalist liberal democracies like Canada began embracing neoliberal restructuring of the welfare state to encourage economic development towards robust competitiveness in the global market. Typically, what defines neoliberalization from a policy perspective is the notion of "less government," which involves "rolling back" social spending and greater emphasis on individuals to remain attached to the labour market as a primary means of social mobility (Peck and Tickell 2002). The gradual restructuring of the welfare state in Canada signalled a shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism. Contrasted with Keynesianism, where states *invested* in social welfare during periods of national economic prosperity, neoliberalism *divested* in social welfare regardless of the economic climate. A major trend in this neoliberal restructuring has been devolving care work responsibility from the state to the family, making social policies more market-friendly (Luxton 2006; McKeen and Porter 2003; Paus 1994). Neoliberal restructuring emphasizes the self and the family as sources for social provisioning as opposed to the state (i.e., familialization), which places a greater burden on citizens already struggling to meet their basic needs. As a result, low-income families face greater risk of experiencing homelessness.

Class boundaries that divide the deserving and the undeserving poor and erase "working poor" families from the "queue" illustrate the rolling-back/rolling-out phenomena associated with neoliberal social policy (Peck and Tickell 2002). During periods of legislative neoliberal reform, the state withdrew funding from social welfare programs and re-established a new model of social governance. Canadian social insurance therefore shifted from a universalist model to an intensified targeting model. Understanding change and crisis as endemic to the human life course through the interplay of major life events and the labour market's social character, the role of the immediate post-war welfare state was to ensure a modicum of social insurance. Neoliberalized

social policy shifted towards the targeting model. For example, the 2017 National Housing Strategy proposed initiatives to "strengthen the middle class" and "cut chronic homelessness in half" in order to "fuel our economy" (Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation 2018). The initiatives appear to target two groups: middle-class households and those experiencing chronic homelessness. A more comprehensive affordable housing policy would gravitate towards a universalist model to acknowledge that housing insecurity is a widespread problem for many Canadians not necessarily described in policy briefs concerning homeless interventions. The National Housing Strategy exemplifies the rolling-back/rolling-out phenomena in that after years of rolling back affordable housing policy, a targeted initiative is rolled out that appears to have greater concern for economic development than safeguarding human rights through access to decent housing.

Specific social and economic policy mechanisms were established to facilitate welfare state restructuring. Brodie (1997: 4) identifies four strategic mechanisms for contemporary governance: "maximize exports; reduce social spending; curtail state economic regulation; [and] enable market forces to restructure national economies as parts of transnational or regional trading blocks." Using this framework, I identify two important dimensions of welfare state restructuring that are relevant to this discussion, because they are considered to have had the strongest influence on policymaking during this period (Clarke 2007; Coulter 2009; Ilcan 2009; Larner 2006; McClusky 2003; MacLeavy and Peoples 2009). These are decreasing state expenditures on social programs, and increasingly favouring privatizing and subsequently profitizing social services hitherto managed in the public sector, typically including care work for seniors and children. Decreased funding for social programs coupled with the privatization of social services define the distinct character of the contemporary Canadian welfare state.

O'Connor (1973) observes that welfare states consistently experience a contradiction when planning state expenditures for social programs. Under capitalism, welfare states endeavour to make certain people's private wealth increase and to preserve the social order by justifying the current economic order. State policies, therefore, are legislated to promote "social investments" (infrastructures such as roads and education that encourage worker productivity), "social consumption" (social insurance such as childcare and tax benefits), and "social expenses of production" (social programs such as Employment Insurance and the Canadian Pension Plan that reproduce the social order) (Rice and Prince 2013: 92). However, a contradiction arises when welfare states attempt to balance capital investment and welfare investment. In short, as social programs become more accessible, the public increasingly claims them. Welfare states seek revenue through taxation to continue administering programs, yet eventually balancing capital investment and welfare investment becomes impossible (O'Connor 1973). Moscovitch and Drover (1987) extend O'Connor's argument by stating that capital and welfare have an inverse relationship. Furthermore, in times of poor economic performance, "it has become easier for government to reduce taxes on capital then to increase public expenditure, producing the net effect of continuously shifting the tax burden from corporations to persons (37).

The second key dimension of welfare state restructuring was the shift from universal benefits to targeted benefits. Targeted programs fall under two categories: *needs-tested programs* and *income-tested programs*. Needs-tested programs invasively determine clients' income and assets to determine eligibility. For example, Ontario Works (OW) employs this model, since it is designed to be a "last resort" if an individual experiences income insecurity. Income-tested programs, on the other hand, only examine household income derived from income tax returns. The Canada Child Tax Benefit employs this model. However, OW has increasingly become an

income-tested program, since assets and savings determine eligibility. Other income-tested programs also examine non-income requirements for eligibility, such as residency restrictions. Income testing for OW eligibility signalled an ideological change in how to regulate poverty in Canada.

The rationale for targeting programs was to ensure that only households in real need would receive benefits, thereby reaching deserving citizens instead of the "indolent poor." In other words, targeted social programs only consider households in financial destitution, with no assets, as potential beneficiaries. Working-poor families,[9] however, may also require social programs, particularly OW and EI, given that they receive low wages and few or no benefits, and often are not unionized (Statistics Canada 2010a, 2010b). Targeting therefore delineates new class boundaries by relocating working households outside the *raison d'état* of contemporary welfare states. Only the most deserving households are eligible for state benefits, leaving out the majority of undeserving households – such as working-poor households that are eligible for welfare but whose incomes are not near the poverty line as established by the Market Basket Measure (MBM)[10], which Statistics Canada uses to determine if a household is low income – to seek financial security strictly through the labour market.

Although targeted programs appear rational and efficient, since they only apply to groups truly in need, the literature from critical policy studies and political economy shows how targeted programs discursively reassemble class boundaries. The neoliberal logic underpinning this shift

[9] In Canada, the "working poor" are defined by distinguishing between low-income workers and low-paid workers. Statistics Canada (2010a) clarifies their distinctive characteristics: "Low-paid workers are individuals whose work effort is high, but whose earnings are low. However, they are not necessarily low-income workers if their needs are met only through their own earnings as well as those of other family members. A low-income worker, therefore, is a person whose work effort is high throughout the year, but whose family income is below the low-income cut-off."
[10] The MBM sets a standard of living by measuring the cost of goods and services in a geographic region and then comparing those costs to incomes in households with two adults aged 25 to 49 and two children aged 9 to 13 (Statistics Canada 2011).

was to accurately identify populations in need and provide social welfare support. The assumption was that targeting would make programs efficient; it would involve implementing a political rationality to balance economic development with social expenditures (Beeson and Firth 1998; McCluskey 2003; Palley 2004). Prior to the historical reforms discussed, most Canadians[11] did have access to a few universal programs applicable to their living circumstances, such as the Family Allowance (Battle and Torjman 2001). After 1944, with the inclusion of Unemployment Insurance and Family Allowances, universality principally applied to men earning a family wage in the labour market. The post-war welfare state assumed that families were modelled after the male breadwinner, in which men were the primary earner for the family and women provided unpaid domestic work (Lewis 2001). The post-war welfare state political imagination envisioned family stability by enforcing normative gender roles: men's earnings through full and continuous labour sustained a household and contributed to social insurance, and women's unpaid work supported social reproduction.

The emphasis on targeting as a component of welfare state restructuring may be understood through the social contract between the Canadian state and citizens. Canadian social welfare prior to the so-called Golden Age was largely residualist in that the state viewed that individual attachment to the labour market was the best means to end poverty (Battle and Torjman 2001). Unemployment and poverty after the Great Depression and the Second World War led federal policymakers to take a more structuralist view of poverty and as a result oversee an institutional approach to social welfare, developing governmental bodies to administer social programs (Guest 1997). Brodie (1997) offers conceptualization of neoliberal rationality as

[11] I should emphasize that *most* does not refer to First Nations people and non-citizens, who were historically excluded from the Canadian policy regime. The state primarily supported Canadian citizens and nuclear families (Finkel 2006).

performativity, where "state practices are increasingly being formulated within the terms of the market" (234). State performativity aims to devolve social provisioning to the domestic sphere, therefore encouraging familialization where women face constraints in commodifying or decommodifying their labour in the market (Brodie 1997). Although social programs aimed to ameliorate poverty, post-war social policies tended to reflect the universalist notion that all Canadians were susceptible to income insecurity at some point in their working lives.

Armstrong and Armstrong (2001) note that these transformations in the Canadian welfare state signify an amendment to the social contract, one where collective risk was replaced with individual risk, and that "instead of a commitment to full employment through state intervention, there has been a growing commitment to reliance on market mechanisms inside and outside the state, as well as an emphasis on individual responsibility for finding and keeping paid work" (17). Nonetheless, social programs were legislated to benefit specific groups based on income payments, age, and number of dependents. Social programs such as Family Allowances, which were universal and given to mothers (and later replaced by Child Tax Benefits in 1993), fall under this category.

Welfare state restructuring was largely accomplished by gradually eroding the previous policy regime. The universalist notion that the state is responsible for alleviating poverty caused by market failures was streamlined so that significantly fewer people were eligible to receive social insurance or income assistance. Primarily working-class and working-poor families felt the consequences: the elimination of previous social protections against poverty intensified familialization. Indeed, the political assumption that families would be the first to provide needed care re-entrenched women's traditional role in the family (Jenson 2004). The expectation that families first take up the work of providing social welfare to their members demonstrates an

intensification of neoliberal logics in the Canadian welfare state. Although familialization characterized liberal welfare states throughout the 20th century, and therefore a family's well-being was primarily women's responsibility, the post-war policy regime had appeared to challenge women's incapacity to decommodify their labour. Simply put, neoliberal welfare state restructuring in Canada pointed to a familialization of social reproduction.

From a feminist political economic perspective, two additional arguments can be added to O'Connor and Moscovitch and Drover's theories of welfare states, in which governments typically aim to preserve normative capitalist relations and are inclined to shift tax burdens onto households. First, three aims of social policies – social investment, social consumption, and social expenses for production – have the tendency, either intentionally or unintentionally, to reproduce normative gender roles in the home and in the workplace (Brodie 1997). Second, when the tax burden shifts onto citizens, it squarely lands primarily on women's shoulders, especially poor, working-class, and racialized women (Clement 2001; Gabriel 1999; Galabuzi 2006; O'Connor, Roof, and Shaver 1999; Sainsbury 1999).

Social policy in the 21st century draws from the neoliberal logics dicussed previously and adapted them to contemporary concerns for social risk in a competitive, globalized economy. Where the postwar welfare regime was founded on collectivism (though that collective was imagined to be primarily white, male breadwinners), the neoliberal "turn" in social policy manifested in the early 21st century as a "third way" that avoided both statism and marketism, which I argue remains today (Brodie 2007). This third way avoids the dichotomy of postwar collectivism and neoliberal social investment often used to by academics to describe welfare state transformations. Both collectivism and neoliberalism acknowledge that shared social risk, such as homelessness, is the reason for developing social security. Furthernore, working from

Brodie's (2007) discussion of the third way, I argue that both approaches to social policy aimed to discipline populations into adapting to changing conditions engendered by capitalist economics. The difference between these two modalities that is still present today is that neoliberal social policy emphasizes shoring up individual capacity to adapt to social risk. As I argued previously, neoliberal social policy downloaded social costs of managing risk to households, which justified familialization. I now turn to the limitations of liberal welfare states to further elucidate the consquences of the neoliberal turn in social policies.

Philosophical and Ideological Limitations of the Welfare State

Social policy has legal and political limitations. I argue that the state's role is not to eliminate poverty but instead manage poverty. For example, since social assistance in Ontario is considered a program of last resort (Maytree 2019), the design of programs that could effectively eliminate poverty would have to be underscored by an economic paradigm other than capitalism. By contrast, the ideal political condition in the current economic climate is to minimize state regulation and intervention in the private sector, with the goal of maximizing economic growth. Minimized state intervention facilitates citizens' consumption of commodities and services, which are refined within the free market crucible (Battle 1998; O Riain 2000; Dunlop 2009). The best practice in social policy therefore is to establish a baseline considered optimal to achieve a humane[12] standard of living.

[12] How a "humane standard of living" that promotes an adequate quality of life is defined is contingent upon historical and social factors. Inflation certainly determines the base amount households require for basic social provisioning. Furthermore, necessities could be considered luxuries at certain times, such as an internet connection, but then considered necessary in the future for some households. A standard of living, therefore, is subject to state discourses and practices that explain poverty and legislate public policies to address it.

I argue, however, that the Canadian welfare state was not grounded in fundamental human rights but rather was developed as a salve for the harms caused by free market capitalism, and thus a means to curtail socialist revolution among the poor and working class. Prussian statesmen Otto von Bismarck's 1883 social programs in Germany, which included health insurance, employment insurance, pensions, and protections for workers and children, laid the groundwork for social welfare programs in Britain and eventually in North America (Briggs 1961). Bismarck's *Staatssozialismus* (state socialism) legislated a balance between liberals and socialists to satisfy the growing popularity of Marxism in state politics, which found resurgence in Beveridge's 1942 Report on *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (Abel-Smith 1992). In Canada, Leonard Marsh's 1943 *Report on Social Security for Canada* (or the *Marsh Report*) mirrored the tenets found in the *Beveridge Report* (Marsh 2018; Moscovitch 2016 [1983]; Moscovitch and Drover 1987).

The historical trajectory from Bismarck to Beveridge to Marsh suggests that the political foundation for the modern welfare state is to encourage worker productivity by guaranteeing baseline social protections, since destitution could unravel the social order and constrict economic growth. For example, the central cause of homelessness is that individuals or families lose their homes, and therefore affordable housing policy makes for a prime example of contemporary welfare state logics. Affordable housing confronts property monopolies in urban centres, and yet the "state is required to secure the conditions of reproduction of the market – *laissez faire* is inevitably and continuously planned" (O'Riain 2000: 193). Private property is an investment that *concentrates* and *centralizes* capital (Marx 1990: 804), thereby erecting legalized enclosures around desirable pockets within the city in service to capital accumulation. Rent-

seeking exemplifies the trend towards the increasing financialization of the economy as opposed to investments in the real economy (Hudson 2015).

The problem with social policy writ large is that policy alone cannot remedy the abuses or outright structural violence people experience as financially capable elites sculpt or simply exploit housing markets. Unchecked "free marketism" has outpaced states' capacity to apply substantive correctives through social policy (Offe 1984; Ringen 2017). Simply put, *financialization* "refers to the increasing importance of financial markets, financial motives, financial institutions, and financial elites in the operations of the economy and its governing institutions, both at the national and international levels" (Epstein 2001:3); financial instruments could be added to the list. For example, in the case of the Toronto housing market, the rising cost of housing prices and rents have been attributed to three reasons: households being granted inflated loans well above their income level from private lending companies rather than banks (Kirby 2017); a dwindling supply side, since homeowners are reluctant to sell to avoid land transfer taxes; and most importantly, in reference to financialization, the growing trend in housing speculation (Kirby 2017; Financial Post 2017).[13] Speculative housing investment occurs when households with enough capital purchase property solely to sell it off for profit rather than to reside in the property (Financial Post 2017). Rather than investing in the real economy, such as building and maintaining a stock of affordable housing, financially privileged households view housing as a means to accumulate wealth.

Trends in the financialization of housing are but one explanation of how housing security and homelessness are related. The lack of affordable housing, which will be further discussed in the section concerning the structural determinants to homelessness, resulted from 30 years of

[13] Low interest rates and foreign home buyers have also been held responsible for the housing bubble in Toronto, yet their influence has been shown to be rather minimal (Financial Post 2017).

deinvestment in affordable housing policy and investment in promoting private home ownership, both of which could not support the population growth that occurred during the same period. The financialization of housing and the deinvestment in affordable housing were products of the neoliberalization of social policy. In both cases, the underlying logic was to draw state support away from low-income households and encourage self-sufficiency through home ownership, since owning property is viewed as an invaluable asset.

While a thorough examination of financialization and its consequences on housing goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, what is relevant is that elites dictate market forces to accumulate and amass wealth, leaving poor households on the periphery. Rent-seeking and speculation qualify as financialization, as rent represents a payment for the provisional use of land or assets. Regular payments contribute to aggregate unearned income, or the total sum of asset income, which is considerable in the Greater Toronto Area. The average rent in 2016 for a bachelor apartment was $1,425, a one-bedroom apartment was $1,710, and a two-bedroom apartment was $2,230 (Toronto Real Estate Board 2016), and figures have grown steadily since then. Just as having too many or too few organisms in an ecosystem disrupts its functioning, the prevailing trend of financialization inhibits growth in the real economy, such as housing affordability and availability, figures that have grown steadily since then. The state, by and large, is performative: it responds and appeals to capital rather than guiding national economic growth (Brodie 1997), and then attempts to ameliorate the social costs or harms resulting from market relations. Although the state's telos appears to uphold the social contract, and in fact does to a considerable degree, the philosophical foundation for the welfare state has been to enshrine and preserve capitalism as the basis of the productive sphere of everyday life, and the *raison d'état* for the 20th and 21st centuries.

Homelessness in Toronto and Canada

Since homelessness remains a policy problem for the Canadian welfare state, a discussion on the causes of homelessness would be incomplete without understanding how the scope of the crisis. A cursory examination of homelessness at the national scale points to a deepening crisis. Every year, an estimated 150,000 to 300,000 people are homeless in Canada, with:

> [families staying] in shelters increased by over 50% between 2005 (6,205) and 2009 (9,459) [and] the average length of shelter stay for families was 50.2 days, an increase of 50% over five years … more than triple the average stay for the total population of people who experienced homelessness. (Gaetz et al. 2013:21–27)

One example of substantive data on homeless populations in a central metropolitan area (CMA) is the 2013 and 2018 Street Needs Assessment administered by the City of Toronto (City of Toronto 2021a). According to this survey, the homeless population in Toronto in 2013 was estimated at 5,253 individuals and in 2018 was estimated at 8,715.

The Structural Determinants of Homelessness

Two theories explaining homelessness dominate the literature: one accounts for individual determinants, which include mental health and market capacities, and the other accounts for structural determinants, which include social welfare and labour market trends (Daly 1989, 1996; Duhaime 1996; Roy 1995; Shapcott 2007a, 2008b; Shier, Jones, and Graham 2012). In scholarly discussions concerning the causes of homelessness, the most cited structural determinants include lacking social security, unaffordable housing, and regular employment (Laird 2007). I adopt the second approach as this perspective better illustrates the relationship between the political economy of social welfare and rates of homelessness. I discuss these three

structural determinants in order. I review the changes to income assistance policies since these contribute to the breadth and depth of poverty among families, and therefore are a factor in the structural determination of homelessness.

Capitalism and poverty

A discussion on the social causes of poverty would be incomplete without framing these causes with the broader capitalist economy, since employment income persists as a factor whether household will experience homelessness. Income typically comes from employment; this means Canadians must sell their labour-power, or their capacity to work, in the labour market in exchange for a wage or salary. The Canadian (and global) labour market is the foundation of the capitalist economic system, in which employers own the means the production, while workers produce the goods and services for capital to sell in the market (Marx 1990). Therefore, the character of the relationship between labour and capital provides insight into how capitalism contributes to the cause of poverty.[14]

Capital and labour underwent dramatic changes in their relationship throughout the 20th century. From the 1940s to the early 1970s, capital typically viewed labour as an asset; meaning that skilled workers were considered an investment because labour produced wealth for firms (Heron 2012). The Great Depression signalled a crisis in capitalism, with mass unemployment and little economic growth (Finkel 2006). In response, the Canadian welfare state known today was formed to insure against future crisis, while labour unions exercised their bargaining powers to improve working conditions, receive benefits, and increase wages (Heron 2012). The

[14] By "capital" I mean those who own privately or publicly held businesses and by "labour" I mean the total number of employable workers in North America and labour unions. Workers can be unionized or not unionized. My purpose is to describe the major changes to capital-labour relations in the 20th century; a detailed historical account lies beyond the scope of this paper.

relationship between capital and labour during this period was reflected in Canadian social policy with the introduction of Unemployment Insurance (now Employment Insurance), maternity leave, and pensions after the 1940s (Dunlop 2009; Finkel 2006; Mahon 2008). The social contract labour had with capital at this time outlined labour standards that protected workers from economic crisis or exploitation.

The 1970s were a period in which capital rewrote its social contract with labour. The oil crisis and the elimination of the Bretton Woods system contributed to the 1973–75 recession – more specifically a stagflation, with high unemployment and high inflation (Hellema 2019; Merrill 2007; Steil 2013), affecting the global economy. Capital adapted to the recession by targeting the protections for labour standards established by the labour movement after the Second World War (Peters 2017). The ideological position that steered the regressive direction on labour standards was capital's view that labour was a cost that must be controlled rather than an asset. In light of the recession, this new relationship was reflected and enforced by capital implementing wage suppression and defaming unions, and eventually by the state rolling back social welfare and social insurance (Dumenil and Levy 2004; Haddow and Klassen 2006; Huber and Stephens 2001; Peters 2017; Clayton and Pontusson 1998; Regini 2000). Granted, the relationship between labour and capital had always been antagonistic, since both parties strived to fulfil their interests, with capital seeking greater profit and labour seeking better wages and improved working conditions (Marx 1990). However, their antagonism intensified after the 1970s, with labour losing bargaining power and facing job insecurity, and capital gaining political power to dictate the terms of the relationship.

This paradigm shift in global markets was a factor in state deregulation of the market economy in the United States and Canada, permitting government to distance itself from its role

in managing the national economy. Government regulation had been central to the post-war promise to roll out protections for citizens through a developed welfare state (Glyn 2006; Merrett 1996; Clayton and Pontusson 1998). The notion that the state could reliably afford social welfare to workers was eroded, leaving labour vulnerable when bargaining with capital. The shifting relationship between capital and labour in the 20th century contextualizes how capitalism causes poverty in the modern economy. Simply put, I argue that poverty is the inevitable consequence of the system that structures the global economy.[15] Income distribution and inadequate employment income are two grounds on which capitalism causes poverty, both of which are consequences of modern labour–capital relations.

Income is distributed to employed people, and of course to those who already own substantial wealth through their ownership of the means of production. The majority of those who are considered poor, as measured according to the MBM, are those who cannot work, either permanently or temporarily, or those who should not work based on their personal circumstances, such as being a new parent or recovering from illness or injury.[16] Workers who are unable to sell their labour-power or are unable to earn a sufficient income to maintain a standard of living experience poverty. Capital's political gains from the 1970s onward exacerbated poverty rates among people who cannot or should not work; clawbacks to social welfare that historically gave workers bargaining power had the greatest effect. Labour market trends for the last 40 years show capital's active campaign, allied with the state,[17] to undermine

[15] It should be noted that extreme poverty rates across the world fell 36% since 1990 (World Bank 2020). It would be prudent to mention, however, that it was extreme, *absolute* poverty that declined, as opposed to relative poverty, meaning that much of the developing world still lives beneath the minimum standard for liveable conditions (Hickel 2015).

[16] Statistics Canada (2018b) low-income statistics show that single elderly seniors and lone-mother families are vulnerable to poverty. People living with a disability are also vulnerable to poverty (Crawford 2013; Statistics Canada 2008).

[17] Poulantzas's (1976, 2000) functional perspective views the state as meeting a society's needs of which it governs. Since capitalism is the dominant economic system in North America, capitalist states will prevail. Capitalist states

labour standards. De-unionization and wage suppression were two such strategies, along with capital's growing dependence on precarious employment, as discussed later in this chapter. For many workers, paid employment no longer guarantees a reasonable standard of living. Employed people are susceptible to episodic poverty that may lead to periods of homelessness in much the same way as historically vulnerable groups. Income distribution and inadequate employment are by-products of modern capitalism that cause poverty.

Ontario Works

Ontario Works (OW) is an income assistance program for unemployed individuals and parents seeking work. Prior to 1998, income assistance in Ontario was divided into two programs: General Welfare Assistance (GWA) and Family Benefits (FB) or the "mother's allowance" (Gavigan and Chunn 2007; Government of Ontario n.d.). Single parents, the elderly, and people living with disabilities received FB, whereas all other "categories" received GWA. In 1997, the province redesigned income assistance and created OW and ODSP, the two programs used today. When federal funding for income assistance programs shifted with the introduction of the CHST transfers in the 1990s, provinces received a *carte blanche* on how to allocate those funds. Provinces were no longer obligated to uphold a minimum standard of living for welfare recipients. With low rates and caps on savings and income earnings, people on income assistance programs are highly susceptible to homelessness.

The degree to which poor households relying on income assistance are vulnerable to homelessness relates to how the Ontario provincial government redesigned the policy

will likely "side" with capital during its disputes with labour, although capitalist states must capitulate to labour to avoid social upheavals.

architecture for social assistance programs. The *Ontario Works Act*, SO 1997 revised the eligibility requirements and service delivery model of what was then referred to as Family Benefits and General Welfare (Government of Ontario 2012). The new legislation resulted in reduced transfer payments along with a greater emphasis on responsibilization and surveillance of benefit recipients. The introduction of Ontario Works signalled a shift in the state's responsibility from providing social security for women to reaffirming and making benefits contingent on their efforts at attachment or actual attachment to the labour market. This shift was a means for the government to create individual, "private solutions to the systemic problems of unemployment, underemployment, and the gender division of labour" (Mayson 1999: 89). The inadequacy of Ontario Works incomes is startling: adults with no children receive $8,510 annually, a single parent with one child receives $19,045 annually, and a couple with a single child receives $25,936 annually (Tiessen 2016:13).

In fact, the inadequacy of benefit incomes can be traced to a key turning point in 1995 when Ontario's Progressive Conservative government under Premier Harris implemented the "Common Sense Revolution" (CSR), a platform inspired by the federal Liberal 1993 Red Book and the US Republicans' 1994 "Contract with America." The CSR entailed deep tax cuts to benefit incomes, up to 30%, followed by a rolling back of government services (i.e., a "small" government). The implicit intent was to discipline citizens into being responsible for their social welfare. In 1995, benefits from Ontario Works were reduced by 21.6%, leaving most households impoverished while they continued to access income support. The majority of households on Ontario Works had to spend more than half of their income on rent, and therefore typically had $200 to $300 per month to pay for groceries, utilities, and childcare expenses. Furthermore, under the *Social Assistance Reform Act*, SO 1997, allowable household assets were reduced by

80%, meaning that if a single parent with one child had more than $1,457 in assets they would not be eligible to receive benefits; prior to the reform the limit had been $5,000 (Community Development Halton 2016) – in other words, the 1995 reforms to provincial income assistance intensified state surveillance of poor women (Gilliom 2001; Little 2001; Morrison 1998). Income assistance clients were expected to create and abide by an employment plan in which professed self-reliance and determination to quickly re-enter the labour market (Morrison 1998). "Snitch lines," referred to as Fraud Hotlines, were created so members of the public could report OW clients who allegedly committed welfare fraud. State surveillance, along with reduced benefits and strict financial eligibility requirements, points to an individual responsibilization of women's poverty in Ontario. Ontario Works functions as a state apparatus to morally regulate the poor, through which women (and men) must demonstrate that they have embodied a social character that abates stigma by working for pay, thus proving themselves to be morally responsible parents and workers.

Ontario Disability Support Program.

Like Ontario Works, the Ontario Disability Support Program (ODSP) is a part of Ontario's social assistance architecture. A significant change to the administration and delivery of ODSP in 1998 was the devolution of services to the public. Clients are now expected to seek out supports from their families and communities before making claims on the state (Ministry of Community and Social Services 2016). The individual assumption of responsibility in ODSP – requiring claimants to request supports on their own – intersects with the limited degree to which the state can provide income assistance. Eligibility for ODSP is solely determined by a claimant's disability status, which is assessed using three criteria: "1) a "substantial" impairment that is

continuous or recurrent and expected to last one year or more; 2) a "substantial" restriction in an activity of daily living; and 3) verification of both substantial impairments and substantial restrictions by a qualified health professional" (ODSP Action Coalition 2011:10). Lightman et al. (2009:n.p.) note that the current model for ODSP eligibility

> derives from the legacy of medical model discourse that sustains biologically driven representations of bodies as *either* able (and employable) or disabled (and unemployable). This characterization mirrors the segregation of the poor into "deserving/ undeserving" categories associated with the Elizabethan Poor Laws, a set of principles about "deservedness" for benefits that dates from the early 1600's in England and remains the basis of much social welfare policy today.

Typically, if recipients demonstrate capability for employment, they complete an employment agreement under the ODSP Employment Supports and remain in contact with their caseworker (ODSP Action Coalition 2011). The rationale is that a considerable number of recipients are capable of being employed. Therefore, "streamlining" the system had been required to ensure only deserving recipients would receive benefits and to reinforce labour market attachment for potential "abled" workers; "ability" has increasingly emerged as a precondition for full citizenship (Chouinard and Crooks 2005; Wilton and Schuer 2006). Transfer payments were frozen from 1993 to 2005, and despite nominal increases of 1% per year between 2005 and 2009, transfer payments have decreased by 19.3% since then, leaving households with a monthly income below 1993 levels if inflation is taken into account (ODSP Action Coalition 2014). As a result, households who receive ODSP are suspectible to chronic poverty.

Lack of affordable housing

A shortage in affordable housing, along with reduced funding for housing programs, has been cited as a major cause of homelessness in Canada (Bryant 2004; Eberle et al. 2001a, 2001b; Gaetz 2010; Hulchanski et al. 2009). Lack of affordable housing is certainly a by-

product of the eroding social security net in Canada, and Ontario specifically.[18] The Canadian welfare state expanded after the Second World War to include housing supports for low-income citizens through investment in insured mortgages, social housing, and rental housing (Gaetz 2010: 21). The federal government created intermittent housing programs throughout the 20th century: housing for veterans in the 1940s, social housing in the 1950s, and finally a community-based affordable housing strategy in 1964 that supported mixed-income housing, which lasted until the 1980s (Suttor 2016). However, as a means to shrink the national deficit, the federal government made significant changes in the 1980s to emphasize home ownership with less state support, and defunded housing subsidies. The federal government ceased funding an affordable housing strategy in 1993 and downloaded responsibilities for housing to the provincial governments in 1996, which means that a significant amount of the CHST (further devolved into two block transfer payments, the Canada Health Transfer and the Canada Social Transfer, in 2004[19]) must be managed and allocated by provincial governments. Since 1996, expenditures for housing programs have plummeted (Gaetz 2010).

The demand for affordable housing has expanded. In 2015, 171,360 Ontario households were on the affordable housing wait list – compared to 126,103 in 2003 – with an average waiting time of approximately 3.9 years for families, 4.4 years for seniors, and 3.9 years for single adults and couples (Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association 2016: 9). Nearly half of households in the Greater Toronto Area pay up to 30% and higher of their monthly income on rent; meanwhile, rents increased by 29% between 1996 and 2006 (Wilson 2009: 34). Most

[18] My purpose is not to describe the various affordable housing programs available in Ontario so much as to provide a brief history of affordable housing, the current situation regarding accessibility, and the legislation for increased funding in the 2016 federal and Ontario provincial budgets.
[19] The CHST and eventually the CHT/CST are grants transferred from the federal government to the provincial governments to fund health care and social welfare. The grants come with general provisions as to how the transfer payments are to be spent.

strikingly, the City of Toronto has neglected current units and their condition is considered to be substandard.

The partnership between the Ontario provincial government and the federal government led to affordable housing investments that, on the surface, appeared to substantively address the housing crisis in Ontario. For example, in 2001, the federal government rolled out the Affordable Housing Initiative (AHI), cost-matching $680 million for two years with provinces, territories, municipalities, and the third sector to build or renovate rental units (Gaetz, Gulliver, and Ritcher 2014). The AHI was renewed in 2003 with a $320 million investment targeting vulnerable populations. After the 2008 recession, the federal government invested in affordable housing as a stimulus package, yet between 2008 and 2014, spending was lower than in previous years (*ibid*.). The federal government invested $2.075 billion to upgrade existing units in the 2009 budget. The Ontario government provided matching funds amounting $622 million for affordable housing, and the municipal government of Toronto included another $75 million for the project (City of Toronto 2009; Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2009). The Investment in Affordable Housing (IAH) began in 2011 as a bilateral agreement between the federal and provincial/territorial governments to assist low-income households with housing insecurity (*ibid*.). Though considered a success, as 183,642 households were assisted, mostly in Quebec, the majority of the investment went into renovating units in disrepair (*ibid*.). The 2016 budgets for the federal and Ontario governments continued this budgetary trend: the federal government proposed $2.3 billion for affordable housing over the course of two years, funnelling $261.6 million in 2016–17 and then $242.8 million in 2017–18 to the IAH (Department of Finance 2016: 98). Provinces and territories were expected to match the federal funds. Furthermore, the federal government promised $13.1 million in 2016–17 and $72.6 million in 2017–18 to

construct and support affordable housing units. The Ontario government proposed in its 2016 budget to allocate $178 million to affordable housing in a three-year period, and allocating $45 million from that budget to the Community Homelessness Prevention Initiative (CHPI) (Ontario Nonprofit Network 2016; Province of Ontario 2016: 2). Two points can be drawn from this account. First, affordable housing investment for low-income households declined over a 25-year period. Second, much of the spending was geared towards renovating existing units rather than constructing new ones.

The most recent development for affordable housing policy in Canada is the federal National Housing Strategy, legislated in 2017. The Strategy entails a 10-year plan to spend over $72 billion dollars to decrease homelessness in half and build or renovate the affordable housing stock, with the express purpose to "strengthen the middle class" (Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation 2018b). With a partnership with all orders of government, along with the non-profit sector, for-profit sector, and academics, the Strategy initatives include shoring up local affordable housing sectors and providing support for affordable housing research.

Outside of the National Housing Strategy, governments have made piecemeal decisions regarding the specific mechanisms through which to implement housing policies. For example, as part of the Housing Opportunities Toronto Action Plan 2010–20, the City of Toronto had invested $900 million into revitalizing and repairing existing housing units as of 2014 (City of Toronto 2021b). The 10-year plan also aims to build 1,000 new affordable housing units per year,[20] yet without federal or provincial support the city contends that they will fall short by

[20] Since 2019 the Ontario government implemented new programs into the housing strategy. On April 2019, the Canada-Ontario Community Housing Initiative provided funding to expand and maintain community housing. On April 2020, the Canada-Ontario Housing Benefit provided portable benefits to help pay rent, even if tenants move to another address. Starting on July 21, 2021the government plans to simplify rent-geared-to-income rules for landlords and tenants (Province of Ontario 2020).

5,735 units over the 10-year period (9). The political will to develop a housing strategy currently thrives yet municipalities are expected to shoulder the burden of building and maintaining affordable housing, keeping in mind that the federal budget of $2.3 billion must be distributed across all regions rather than a handful of CMAs. Whether these investments will reduce housing inequality and even homelessness remains unknown, considering the ethos underscoring welfare state politics.

Wilson (2009) argues that investments in an affordable housing stock may alleviate current problems with the housing system, yet no level of government has proposed a long-term strategy, such as rent control, unemployment, availability of "good jobs," and access to affordable post-secondary education, to address the persistent structural determinants to housing inequality. Whether in fact the slow progress the National Housing Strategy will effectively redress the harms endured in a liberal housing market is unknown. Nonetheless, a National Housing Strategy cannot challenge the capitalist monopoly on housing, not without at least acknowledging that housing security is epiphenomenal to poverty, and poverty is endemic to capitalism.

The three models of homeless intervention and Housing First

The government response to homelessness in Canada today has involved one of three options, which need not be mutually exclusive: prevention, management, and transition models (Gaetz 2008). Governments that implement prevention models provide income assistance programs and social services that offer security to households and thereby are intended to prevent homelessness. Income assistance such as Ontario Works or housing assistance such as rent subsidies fall under the preventative models. Gaetz and Dej (2017) define homelessness

prevention as falling into three categories: primary prevention, which tackle structural determinants; secondary prevention that provides interventions for people vulnerable to or experienced homelessness; and tertiary prevention to provide supports for people to swiftly exit homelessness (36-37). Government management models make available services to manage a housing crisis, such as emergency shelters and food banks. The third sector, particularly charities for the homeless, is also invested in the management model. Lastly, governments that embrace transition models, or transition to housing models, help individuals and households find secure housing before or during a crisis. In Canada now, since homelessness increased in the 1980's, all levels of the state continue to invest in the management model while transition and preventative models were overlooked (Gaetz 2008).

Housing First, which is currently implemented in Canada, is a transition model that operates from the assumption that clients can achieve stability by being placed into secure housing, also known as rapid rehousing, and then connecting them to health, employment, or related services (Gaetz, Scott, and Gulliver 2013). Service providers target potential clients either currently experiencing homelessness or through outreach. The Homelessness Partnering Strategy, now called Reaching Home, of Employment and Social Development Canada supports the program (though federal investment in municipal programs amounts to 25%), and typically municipal organizations administer the services (Government of Canada 2020). The Housing First approach targets populations experiencing chronic or episodic homelessness although those who are chronically homeless would greatly benefit from the program. Moreover, one core principle for Housing First is consumer choice and self-determination, meaning that clients may find supports to integrate them in to the private rental market or social housing. Housing First was introduced in the early 1990's and adopted in Canada in 2005 (Gaetz, Scott, and Gulliver

2013; Tsemberis 2010). As Housing First became increasingly accepted in Canada, this indicated a policy shift towards the transition model. I am optimistic that that the program will continue to see positive results, since it directly confronts the root cause of homelessness – the multiple health or employment reasons that may hamper an individual's ability to maintain secure housing.

For the most part, the political response to homelessness in Canada has been emergency shelters and services that provide short-term assistance during a crisis (Laird 2007). Because the homeless population increased throughout the 1980s and 1990s, in 1999 the federal government launched the National Homeless Initiative (NHI) (later renamed the Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS), then Reaching Home with double the funding) to provide revenue for community-based programs to address homelessness (Gaetz 2010: 24–25). Yet these are stopgap solutions that operate for rather short terms, as they are founded on neoliberal conceptualizations of citizens' rights and responsibilities. Neoliberalized citizenship entails maximizing individual liberty by providing choices for social insurance in the marketplace at the expense of reduced social spending (Root 2007). Services aimed to support homeless people fall under provincial government jurisdiction, yet creative solutions to develop strategies that end homelessness typically fall to municipalities and communities. As a result, the provincial governments' efforts to prevent homelessness remain inadequate in supporting vulnerable populations (Gaetz 2010; Pomeroy 2005).

Outside of Housing First, which is comparatively recent, current prevention models were and are insufficient because they were based on the political assumption that the state is not entirely responsible for solving poverty; that responsibility has been devolved to communities, families, and individuals. The primary role for institutions, which include the public sector and

the third sector, is to mitigate homelessness through interventions in times of crisis, rather than to adopt preventative measures such as housing supports. Although the provincial government provides income assistance and programs for mental health and substance abuse issues, the prevalence of homelessness, along with a reduced social welfare system, demonstrates that preventative and management approaches to homelessness are currently inadequate. The ways in which citizenship is entangled with the homelessness, precarious labour, and social reproduction further suggest that the political responses to homelessness in Canada is to intervene at the point of crisis rather than protecting citizens' social rights to a reasonable standard of living that includes a roof over their heads. Nonetheless, management models imply that homelessness is a persistent social problem that must be controlled rather than solved. Governments have demonstrated through their policy platforms that citizens are primarily responsible for their financial security and acquiring housing in the private market, rather than expecting governments to provide them with long-term solutions.

Precarious employment: Gendered and racialized dimensions

The shift from stable to precarious employment, or employment that is low-paid, part-time or contractual, and with few or no benefits (De Wolff 2006; Vosko 2006) – the opposite of "good" jobs – greatly contribute to homelessness (Peressini 2007) . The capacity to insure against a household crisis, such as unemployment, eviction,[21] or ill health, hinges on an adequate income, combined with robust social networks and high human capital (Echenberg and Jensen 2009; Eberle et al. 2001a, 2001b; Gaetz et al. 2013).

[21] See Desmond (2016) on the role of housing financialization and evictions on household poverty.

McMahon (2014) defines households as middle class if they annually earn $35,000 to $70,000, leaving roughly a third of their income for discretionary spending. To have a middle-class income, adult household members are typically employed in sectors, such as, health care; educational services; public administration; professional, scientific, and technical services; and finance and insurance (Workopolis 2017). Meanwhile, precarious jobs, are typically found in retail, accommodation and food services, which annually pay less than $30,000 (Lewchuk et al. 2013; Workopolis 2017). The sectoral distinctions between poor (or working-poor) households and middle-class households highlight a class boundary.

The proliferation of precarious labour in Canada, and specifically in the Greater Toronto Area, contributes to chronic poverty. Since the early 1980s, the labour market shifted from the standard employment relationship – long-term or life-long employment, liveable wages, job security, and adequate benefits – to casualized employment relationships, which include fixed-term contracts, temporary/seasonal employment, or self employment (Vosko 2006). Shifts in the private sector, particularly massive layoffs to adapt to technological advancements in productivity, led to fewer opportunities, followed by an unprecedented growth in the service industry (Esping-Andersen 1999; Firebaugh 2003). Another cause to the shrinking workforce is the number of firms that either relocated to other nations with liberalized labour laws or simply evaporated due to globalized competition (Broad 2000).

In the Greater Toronto–Hamilton Area, approximately one-half of the working population is precariously employed. (Lewchuk et al. 2013). Women are more likely to be on the secure end of the precarious index.[22] This number coincides with the fact that women have "benefited from more secure employment in sectors such as health care, education, and the

[22] The precarious index measures job security, with deep insecurity on one end of the index and permanent security on the other.

public sector. These sectors have been somewhat shielded from the recent turmoil in labour markets" (30). Racialized groups and recent immigrants constitute the majority of precarious workers (31). Although historically people of colour have disproportionally made up the casualized workforce, current trends in the labour market cement the racialization of the full-time working poor, who are often concentrated in urban centers (Vosko 1999; Gabriel 1999). Even permanent, full-time employment for working-class or working poor women and men does not provide enough income to sustain a household.[23] Stagnant wages significantly affect unskilled and low-skilled workers: not only does wage-based poverty increase hardship in households and leaves them vulnerable to a housing crisis. Low-income households are unable to deposit surplus income into savings when more than 50 percent of their income pays for rent and amenities, along with child care costs (Gaetz et al. 2013).

Historically, most Canadian women, regardless of their social position, were formally excluded from the formal labour market. The norm that expected women to remain in the private sphere was not entirely put into practice among Canadian households. Women across racial lines have always worked outside the home (Bradbury 1989, 2007; McCallum 2014), yet those narratives were (and are) largely invisiblized. Women, particularly white women, entered the labour market *en masse* beginning in the 1970s (Fudge and Vosko 2003), yet racialized women remained on the periphery of full employment and its benefits (Das Gupta 1996; Galabuzi 2006; Lewchuk et al. 2012).

[23] The minimum wage in Ontario at the time of writing is $14 per hour, increased from $11.40 on January 1, 2018 (Province of Ontario 2021). Yet in relation to inflation over time, the minimum wage only increased marginally since 1975, with the 2014 minimum wage equal to approximately $10.10 at the 1975 rate. Galarneau and Fecteau (2014) show that the minimum wage rates underwent four periods. The rate decreased from 1975 to 1986, increased from 1986 to 1997, decreased again from 1997 to 2005, and ended with another increase from 2005 to 2015.

The *colour-coded labour market* Galabuzi (2006) provides a theoretical explanation as to why women of colour, Indigenous people, and immigrants experience underemployment and limited social mobility. The social organization of the labour market is founded on racialization (Brand and Bhaggiyadatta 1986; Hughes and Kallen 1974; Galabuzi 2006; Bolaria and Li 1988), which forms exclusionary boundaries around whites in Canada in order to retain their power and privilege (Backhouse 1996; Bolaria and Li 1988), giving rise to the notion of "majority groups" and subordinate "minority groups." This lead to the ongoing project to differentiate minority groups as "other" (Henry and Tator 1985; Galabuzi 2006). Racial segregation in Canada is also rooted in the British colonial mission to establish a white settler society. For example, the *Indian Act* (1876) differentiated "status" Indigenous people from the rest of the population, enforced by state paternalism and cultural genocide (McCallum 2014; Short 2010; Woolford 2009). Racialization occurs informally in everyday life and formally in legislation like the *Indian Act*, such as Canadian immigration policy (Taylor 1991; Thobani 2000; Walker 2008), the criminal justice system (Backhouse 1996; Tator and Henry 2006), and education policy (Henry et al. 2017; James and Turner 2017). The entrenched white dominance in society through its social institutions is instrumental to white settler-nation formation.

In relation to the labour market, racialized minority groups' labour value, or how much an individual's labour is compensated, is subordinate to the white majority group (Elabor-Idemudia 1999; Galabuzi 2006; 2008; Ng 1990; Stasiulus 1990). Racialization resulted in labour market segmentation, with whites occupying professions with high prestige and income and racialized people overrepresented in low-waged professions and having lower wages or salaries compared to whites in the same professions (Block and Galabuzi 2018). Women and men of colour typically experience labour market discrimination in two ways. They can be expressed as

economic discrimination, in which employers assume that people of colour have inadequate human capital, and *exclusionary discrimination*, in which employers do not offer promotions once hired (Galabuzi 2006: 42). The social construction of race and the social processes of racialization explain the disproportionate number of racialized workers in precarious employment, which contributes to their vulnerability to poverty.

The racialization of poverty in Canada has been well documented. The rates of poverty for racialized and Indigenous men and women illustrate the relationship between the historical roots of systemic racism in Canada and the colour-coded labour market. In Toronto alone, racialized people make up 62 percent of the total number of people in poverty (Colour of Poverty 2019: 2), with racialized men 24 percent more likely to be unemployed and racialized women 43 percent more likely to be unemployed than their white counterparts. Furthermore, Aboriginal women and men experienced much higher rates of unemployment (63 percent) compared to the average unemployment rate in Ontario (7 percent). The employment rates for racialized groups are attributable to the credential gap (i.e., non-domestic post-secondary degrees are not recognized in Canada), workplace discrimination, and racist hiring practices, such as people not being hired if they have "foreign" names and employers being more likely to require racialized people to undergo criminal record checks.

A significant number of racialized immigrant households today experience poverty compared to the rest of the population, typically as a result of a lack of human capital and the credential gap, or the devaluation of foreign educational credentials in Canada (Government of Canada 2016; Kazemipur and Halli 2001). The colour-coded hierarchy in the labour market prevents racialized immigrants from developing their human capital and assimilating into their

host country. Much like racialized groups born in Canada, chronic underemployment or low-wage employment contributes to immigrant households' likelihood to experience homelessness.

Precarious employment has detrimental effects on a household's well-being. Lewchuk et al. (2013: 54) found that precariously employed people in low- and middle-income households experienced higher degrees of anxiety around employment, had trouble carrying out domestic work, spent less time with friends and family, and experienced food insecurity. The very nature of precarious employment means that households live "pay cheque to pay cheque" and are not capable of accumulating enough savings to weather a crisis and makes necessities such as housing and household amenities unaffordable (Chekki 1995; Peressini 2007; Lyon-Callo 2004).

At the surface, the relationship appears obvious: much literature points to chronic unemployment or underemployment as a main cause for homelessness (Clapham 2003; Daly 1996; Laird 2007; Layton 2000; Murphy 2000). Colonialism, slavery, and immigration policy intersect and entrench the social attitudes towards racialized and gendered workers that subsequently manifest in the social organization of the labour market. However, precarious labour alone does not explain why particular workers are susceptible to poverty. The racism and sexism endemic to the labour market as a whole create the conditions that make women and people of colour vulnerable to homelessness.

Summary

Homelessness remains a persistent social problem in Canada. Current research shows that although households are more likely to experience episodic than chronic homelessness, the notion that particular citizens in a wealthy nation must endure shame and anxiety while struggling to re-house themselves is reprehensible. Decreased spending on social welfare has left

poor households few avenues to escape poverty, especially if they are funnelled into low-paying jobs to satisfy workfare requirements. The federal government has recently rolled out the National Housing Strategy as part of its anti-poverty strategy. However, Canada's historical absence from developing such a housing plan, along with the residual nature of the Canadian welfare state, may hinder the policy's desired outcome. At present, we are witnessing a stagnant approach to delivering affordable housing amidst an inflating housing bubble (accompanied by escalating rents). And with causalization in the labour market, more and more households rely on diminished incomes. The structural determinants to homelessness do not affect everyone equally. Women, people of colour, people living with disabilities, Aboriginals, and seniors are acutely vulnerable to homelessness. The structural determinants also highlight a definitive class boundary, one that exacerbates social exclusion and prevents poor households achieving upward mobility, creating a vicious cycle of poverty that erodes citizens' well-being and welfare.

At the end of this review, I am left with these questions: beyond social exclusion, what are the other social and political consequences of homelessness for families? Additionally, in what ways does homelessness speak to the political boundaries of the welfare state? Human well-being is interwoven with the social rights of citizenship, in that the capacity to reproduce the self and others is precipitated by the redistribution of national wealth and service delivery. The sociological notion of social exclusion provides the foundation on which I build a theoretical model to tackle these questions.

Chapter Three
A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

My research questions are as follows: First, how do homeless families manage social reproduction in liminal spaces? Second, does this management point to a deepening familialization of care work? I was specifically interested in whether and how liminal spaces like emergency shelters reflect a heightened familialization of social reproduction, where women are more likely to provide care work themselves or share the responsibility with other women in their homes in the absence of substantive, supportive state policies (e.g., affordable daycare). This would suggest a change in how state provisioning facilitates vulnerable families' social reproduction, such as through crisis grants or social assistance benefits. Familialization reflects an ideological position taken up by welfare states to not provide supports under the assumption that women will naturally provide care. The implication of government assessment of eligibility for support is that the individual should first turn to their family for support rather than social welfare. As states roll back social spending, privatized forms of social support (daycare) and social insurance (pensions) emerge as options. Households may choose the type of private social supports or insurance to purchase in the private sector, giving rise to *market citizenship* in sharp contrast to the social rights of citizenship (Marshall 1950), or the rights to support.

In this chapter, I outline the theoretical concepts that informed my research design, including my qualitative data collection and analytic strategies. I focus on how political economies play a significant role in shaping subjectivity and practices within working families. First, I describe feminist political economy's theoretical tenets and how they frame my research questions. I then demonstrate how feminist political economists' work on social reproduction is fruitful in showing how the relationships between states, markets, and families manifest in

people's lived experiences. I explore the notion of familialization as an emerging ideological justification and means of providing care for adults and children. Next, I discuss the literature on citizenship, as it provides new insights into the structural determinants of homelessness. From this literature I describe the concept of the model citizen as part of my analysis and provide examples from income assistance policy and affordable housing policy to illustrate the model citizen in action. In order to understand how homelessness is experienced in shelters, an institutional response to family poverty, I incorporate the concept of liminal spaces. In the course of my analysis, I discovered that liminal spaces produce liminal citizens, a topic I explore in greater detail in Chapter 7. In summary, my theoretical framework takes up social reproduction from the perspective of feminist political economy, and specifically enables an examination of whether and how liminal spaces concerning homelessness contribute to the entrenchment of familialization in welfare states.

Feminist Political Economy and Intersectionalism

Broadly speaking, political economy involves examining how the material organization of society produces antagonisms, contradictions, and transformations within "social relations as embedded in the economic, political, cultural, and ideological, all located in time and space" (Clement 2001:406). Political economists recognize that everyday social relations reproduce economic and political processes; human agency presupposes political economic relations. In other words, social actors and social structures co-constitute one another.

Marx (2016) contends that societies are emergent totalities generated by the aggregate sum of social relations people enter into to satisfy their productive goals for material goods; these relations of production form the economic base from which the superstructural components

of civil society, be they culture or law, spring forth and constitute subjectivities. Marx's argument that the social ordering of civil society is a product of human social relations suggests how the social position of homelessness is not singularly caused by an unidentifiable external force but instead is relationally produced in individuals' interactions with multiple institutions, such as families, social security, homeless services, and the labour market. Indeed, this view underscores the review of the structural determinants of homelessness presented in Chapter 2. To understand the social order of civil society requires an analysis of the institutional components that make up the total of human social life, or as Marx (2016: 3) argues, "the anatomy of […] civil society, however, has to be sought in political economy."

Feminist political economy expands the definition of material organization beyond the market. Orthodox political economy enforced a binary in civil society between the productive sphere and reproductive sphere; this was accompanied by much scholarship on the political economy of the productive forces that constitute society. A broader feminist definition of material organization, however, includes social reproduction in the family as foundational for economic production and growth (Barker and Kuiper 2003; Ferber and Nelson 1993; Jacobsen 2007; Power 2004). Thus, feminist political economy corrects for how traditional political economy overlooks categories such as domestic work, family relations, and the gendered division of labour in its analysis.

Feminist political economy is concerned with how the lived experiences and well-being of women, men, and families are shaped by the political choices that inform economic and social policies (Barker and Kuiper 2003). Feminist political economy examines the role of non-market activities in contributing to national economies (Nelson 1995) and largely focuses on "production and reproduction, the workforce, and the state" (Andrew, Armstrong, and Vosko

2003: 2). In addition to economic indicators such as market prices for wages and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) expenditures, feminist political economy concerns itself with outcomes such as health, well-being, and social coherence (Ferber and Nelson 1993). By highlighting the reproductive as paramount to economic health and human well-being, feminist political economy, as applied in my research, requires emphasizing the deeply relational nature of the productive and reproductive spheres; their association is bilateral rather than unilateral. As a theoretical orientation, feminist political economy enables an examination of how the material organization of labour and social policy influences familial social relations for working homeless families, and vice-versa.

From a methodological standpoint, feminist political economists endorse two positions. First, since traditional political economy encompasses a masculinist bias in its approach to economic analysis, in that it relies upon a more positivist and quantitative method (Nelson 1996),[24] feminist political economists advocate for an approach that may also be qualitative in nature. Hence, using a feminist political economy perspective in a qualitative study can shift the lens to economic activities neglected by traditional economics, such as how families experience social reproduction. Second, as gender remains a principal means of socially organizing bodies in families and the workplace, feminist political economists argue for a gender-based analysis of the economic relationships between states, markets, and families (Elson 1998; O'Connor, Roof, and Shaver 1999; Waring 1989).

The history of 20th century feminist research on everyday life in the domestic sphere drew from Marx and Lefebvre. Feminists linked women's material conditions in the home as a

[24] My use of a feminist political economy framework does not suggest that I am positing a philosophical objection to positivism per se. Rather, feminist political economy is beneficial in illuminating the analytical categories overlooked by traditional political economy's gaze. Positivist research does not produce knowledge inferior to non-positivist research, but merely a different mode of knowledge.

point in the capitalist production line, which resulted in women's unpaid work being subsumed under capitalism (Federici 2013). This led to women's distinct subjectivities as they navigated the "micropolitics" of the home, which included both the kitchen and the bedroom (Federici 2004). Additionally, in contrast to white feminists, Black feminists argued that the home was not necessarily a site for women's oppression but a refuge from systemic racism (Johnson and Lloyd 2004; Smith 2000).

In sum, feminist political economy recognizes how central gender is in the social organization of economic production across the public, private, and domestic spheres, while recognizing that these spheres are deeply interrelated (Benston 1971; Jacobsen 2007; Waring 1989). The economic processes that link these spheres together show how economic life is embedded in social relationships, and that the notion of the autonomous, rational actor found in other economic models reflects an androcentric bias in (re)constructing an ontological foundation that approximates an economic "reality." Other, non-feminist economic models privilege the public over the private, the objective over the subjective, and the individual over the social, all of which reproduce cultural motifs associated with a male-centred perspective. Feminist political economy expands the definition of what constitutes economics by incorporating the actors involved in the social organization of economic life. Shifting the focus from traditional economic topics, such as those activities conducted purely in the market, to those considered being non-market activities, such as housework and child care, allows notions such as provisioning to become integral to the analysis of broader economic processes (Nelson 1995).[25]

[25] A useful means of conceptualizing this division would be the distinction between productive and unproductive work, where productivity is determined by the work's evident contribution to surplus value (Armstrong and Armstrong 2001).

Feminist scholars and of course feminist political economists long established that women are more likely to experience periods of poverty than men, a phenomenon referred to as the feminization of poverty (Armstrong and Armstrong 2001). In Canada, women earn $0.87 per dollar earned by men, varying with age cohorts and occupational categories (Moyser 2017). This disparity in wages has remained a persistent trend in Canada despite women's increased labour market participation from 76 percent in 1997 to 81 percent in 2015, and despite the increase of women aged 25 to 54 graduating with university degrees, from 18.3 percent in 1997 and 35.1 percent in 2015 (Drolet, Uppal, and LaRochelle-Côté 2016). Ideological valuation of traditional gender roles in the private, reproductive sphere and the public, productive sphere contributes to reproducing the social organization of women and men in the home and in the workplace (Armstrong and Armstrong 2001). Along with labour market inequalities, the state has contributed to women's poverty throughout the 20th century and into our current political context.

The feminization of poverty can be attributed to how women were positioned in past and present social policy. The male breadwinner model, which dominated the social organization of households and the labour market from the 1940s to the 1970s, certainly meant that women did not entirely incur the same employment benefits as their male spouses (Fudge and Vosko 2003; Vosko 2003). Women who mothered after 1940 were universally entitled to the Family Allowance until 1985, when the Conservative Party introduced means-testing. In 1992, Family Allowances were eliminated and replaced with the means-tested Child Tax Benefit (Rice and Prince 2013), in which households received monthly transfers in amounts relative to their income and number of children. Policymakers assumed a particular social organization of the family in

terms of dividing paid and unpaid labour, therefore favouring nuclear families with normative gendered roles.

Lewis (2009) compares the late 20th century welfare model in Europe and the United States with the early 20th century welfare model, referred to as the "breadwinner model." This meant that families were organized around the principle that men worked full-time to earn the family wage and women worked for pay part-time or not at all and performed the majority of unpaid domestic work. Lewis sees the early 20th century breadwinner model as having been replaced by a "flexicurity" model, or both promoting women's increased participation in the labour market and at the same time encouraging them to perform social reproduction. Canada can be seen to have adopted this model as well, in that income assistance programs have transitioned from "passive" models in which recipients collected entitlements to "active" models that streamline recipients back into the labour market. Lewis contends that the conflict of women's role between paid and unpaid labour has yet to be reconciled under the "flexicurity" model.

Gender alone does not account for the structuration of poverty in Canada, in that women and men are not solely defined by their gender but also by the intersecting axes of multiple demographic identifiers that may complement or conflict with each other (Crenshaw 1989). The racialization of poverty persists in Canada as a significant social problem, particularly in urban centers. Galabuzi (2006) and Li (2008) reveal a colour-coded hierarchy in the labour market, in terms of labour market segmentation and racial differences in annual household income, founded on racialized typologies such as white, black, Asian, and Indigenous. These typologies imbue social and moral worth to individuals on the basis of colourism, or degrees of skin pigmentation, with "white" as the core social group and darker pigmentations on the periphery. The othering or

racialization of non-white bodies is deeply related to Canada's colonial history and establishment of the model citizen, of designating *which* people are entitled to membership into Canadian civil society, thereby "deserving" political and subsequently social rights (Porter 1963). Galabuzi (2006: 111–113) illustrates this argument by showing a rundown of occupational segregation and income gaps between whites and racialized groups:

> Racialized group members were underrepresented in many highly paid occupations, and overrepresented in low-paying sectors of the economy and underrepresented in higher-paying jobs in those sectors. The sectoral segregation is a major reason for the lower incomes of the racialized group. The underrepresentation in many higher-paid occupational categories, though not in every category, is a key contributor to the racialized income gap.

Intersecting with racialization, research has shown a correlation between immigration and household poverty: visible minority immigrants who have lived in Canada for one to five years are more likely to be precariously employed than immigrants who have resided in Canada for 10 or more years (Lewchuk et al. 2013: 20–21). Canadian research on newcomer homelessness shows that refugees and immigrants struggle with finding affordable housing in the GTA and therefore disproportionally experience housing insecurity and "hidden homelessness" compared to native-born Canadians (Preston et al. 2011).

Arguably, provisioning in the home forms the nucleus for economic activities across numerous institutions, since production of surplus is predicated upon the reproduction of people who are physically and emotionally capable of selling their labour in the market (Power 2004). Hence, feminist political economy examines the relationship between domestic and wage labour and the gendered differences in how they shape the division of labour and individual subjectivity, with a goal of illustrating "the interpenetration of households and formal economies, communities, and markets" (Armstrong and Armstrong 2001: 3). As an overall analytical

framework, feminist political economy is also useful for examining how family dynamics are influenced by their relationship to the state and the market.

Social reproduction

Feminist political economists have drawn attention to social reproduction as a relational process integral to families' contribution to national economies. In this section I outline the principle concepts and dicuss how capitalism structures social reproduction. Feminist political economists apply theory from Marx and Engels, along with contemporary theories on class and race, to show the linkages between states, markets, and families as three interrelated institutions that shape people's lived experiences (Benston 1971; Bezanson and Luxton 2006; Dalla Costa and James 1972; Laslett and Brenner 1989; Morton 1972; Picchio 1992). Social reproduction refers to how the working population can be maintained and reproduced by means of material support such as food, clothing, housing, health care, education, and socialization, or by means of emotional and social support (Bezanson and Luxton 2006). Laslett and Brenner (1989:382–383) provide a comprehensive definition:

> Feminists use social reproduction to refer to activities and attitudes, behaviors and emotions, responsibilities and relationships directly involved in the maintenance of life on a daily basis, and intergenerationally. Among other things, social reproduction includes how food, clothing, and shelter are made available for immediate consumption, the ways in which the care and socialization of children is provided, the care of the infirm and the elderly, and the social organization of sexuality. Social reproduction can thus be seen to include various kinds of work – mental, manual, and emotional – aimed at providing the historical and socially, as well as the biologically, defined care necessary to maintain existing life and to reproduce the next generation.

Feminist researching on social reproduction also emphasizes how the relationships between states, markets, and families are principally organized along gender dimensions. That is, social policies such as OW, deployed to alleviate the labour market imbalances that segregate women

into low-paid employment, fail to take into account that women are more likely to take on unpaid, domestic work to care for their families (Armstrong and Armstrong 2001). The gendered differences in social policy delivery contribute to the feminization of poverty. In this way, the state and market interact to shape women's subjective and material position in capitalist economies.

The linkages between states, markets, and families assumed in this perspective become apparent in the ways in which the domestic sphere contributes to external economic and political spheres. The domestic sphere is not an isolated institution but is rather interdependent with the public and private sectors; as Marx (1990: 366) argues, the "maintenance and reproduction of the working class remains a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital." Luxton (2006: 36–37) further argues that "the production of goods and services and the production of life are part of one integrated process" and "social reproduction does more than identify the activities involved in the daily and generational reproduction of daily life. It allows for an explanation of the structures, relationships, and dynamics that reproduce those activities."

The concepts *outflows* and *inflows* have been taken up in feminist political economy as an analytical framework for the economy of social reproduction, keeping in mind the relationship between states, markets, and families. Outflows are resources taken into the household, such as earnings, assets, investments, services, and networks, and inflows are the actual social reproduction activities like childcare and chores (Rai, Hoskyns, and Thomas 2014: 89). It should be noted that other feminist political economists have used the concepts inputs and outputs instead (Munro 2019). My reason for deferring to outflows and inflows is that the concepts conjure an image of resources flowing into the household and then to family members, and conceptually I appreciate that as an accurate description of family economics.

The relationship between markets and families should be deconstructed to illustrate how these two institutions structure one other. Social reproduction under capitalism begets questions on how relations of production preserve capitalist accumulation and power. Bakker (2007) argues that social reproduction is interconnected with capitalist accumulation in that the state persistently seeks opportunities to divest or attach social reproductive responsibilities to families during periods of economic growth or risk. This relationship shows that the productive and reproductive spheres are related since capitalist economies depend on families to reproduce labour-power since capitalism lacks the mechanicisms to do so (Daly 2011). As Fraser (1995, 2011) points out, the continuous crisis of surplus distribution to families highlights the struggle to maintain a consistent boundary that seperates the productive and reproductive spheres, since economic regulation and modification places considerable stress on social reproduction. For example, during the Great Depression, the 1970's recession, and the 2008-2009 recession, workers carried the cost of reduced social spending (Fraser 1995). I now briefly turn to the relationship between families and the state.

Of particular importance to this research is how women and men are "imagined" as citizens in the Canadian welfare regime. This is relevant insofar that imagined citizens, or their relation to the means of the production, justifies how particular policies are designed and delivered to households. Although Daly (2011) advances the *adult worker model*, or the movement of degendering inviduals in the family, as a useful way in understanding how European states (and I include the Canadian state here) have attempted to dismantle the breadwinner-homemaker model in social policy. However, Daly argues that the *dual earner, gender specialized, family model* (2011: 19) captures the current social dynamics in modern families in Europe and by extenstion Canada as well. Under this model, mothers and fathers are

considered to be "equal" earners yet their familial responsibilities are organized along gendered lines. With the relationship between the state, markets, and families established, I now direct my attention to the lived experience of social reproduction under capitalism.

A problem poor and working-class households face under capitalism is *depletion under social reproduction* (Rai, Hoskyns, and Thomas 2014). This concept means that "resource outflows exceed resource inflows in carrying out social reproductive work over a threshold of sustainability, making it harmful for those engaged in this unvalued work" (ibid.: 88-89). Depletion can occur in multiple sites when a family's inflows are insufficient to reproduce the household. One site can be the individual in that insustainability of social reproduction is reflected in their poor physical and mental health. Another site is the household, where depletion is "measured by the decrease in collective household resources, including lack of leisure time spent together, failure to manage the consequences of an increase in the number of household members engaged in wage labour and reduced support structures" (ibid.: 90). The third site is the community where less time is devoted to political mobilization and fewer community resources available. Lastly, harm resulting from depletion can be identified in four ways. *Discursive harm* pertains to disregarding the importance of household work while reifying traditional racial and gendered hierarcihies. *Emotional harm* means the negative emotions like guilt and shame that arise with being a working mother. *Bodily harm* relates to gender specific physical strain that comes with depletion. The *harm to citizenship entitlements* is how particular people are considered to be "non-contributors" to the economy and therefore denied entitlements such as income assistance (ibid: 91-92). To conclude, depletion has social, political, and even medical consequences for poor and working-class households (cite authors again).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Canadian welfare state underwent neoliberal restructuring in the mid-1990s. A feminist political economic framework enables an approach to homelessness informed by the ways in which welfare state restructuring rested on and reproduced familialization. Neoliberal restructuring also involved a transformation in the conceptualization of the rights of citizenship, a transformation that can also be associated with familialization.

Familization is the cultural assumption that families should be the primary sources of social welfare (Izuhara and Forrest 2013). This was typically the case for pre-welfare state socieities, and remains a pertintent topic when discussing the role neoliberalism has in shaping familial attitudes and government transfers. Since neoliberalism promotes market solution to social problems, Forrest and Hirayama (2009) argue that opportunity structures have devolved to familial networks. However, which concept to use to describe this phenomenon is debated. Concepts such as re-familialization (i.e. a return to familialization during periods of state austerity), and de-familialization (i.e.social polices in liberal welfare states provide social welfare outside familial networks) are two such examples (Kurowska 2016). For my purposes, I selected familialization to explain trends in Canadian social policy because the concept suggests that seeking welfare is accomplished within patterns of social relations internal and external to the family. Though I agree that familialization does intensify and abate in accordance to economic trends, which makes concepts like re- and de-familialization viable conceptual models, I argue that absolute de-familialization is not possible since the family remains the primary socializing and caregiving institution. Therefore, some degree of familialization will always persist despite economic conditions. My choice of using only familialization reflects the findings of my research and the arguments I make in this dissertation..

Citizenship and Social Rights

To understand the current state of how social rights are conferred onto citizens under the neoliberal policy agenda in Canada, my discussion begins with Marshall's (1950) definition of citizenship and its relationship to the capitalist mode of production and social class.[26] For Marshall (1950), nations bestowed citizenship on people as a means for them to achieve equality, for "all who possess the status [of citizenship] are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed" (18). Citizenship, therefore, denotes membership to a society, rather than strictly defined by Residence or birth, and contrasts with the notion of social exclusion.

Social exclusion constitutes a type of discrimination, where individuals are excluded from participating in the social, political, or economic aspects of their community. Discrimination that leads to social exclusion is founded on individuals belonging to a particular group defined by class, race, or gender. As a result, these individuals are either obstructed or denied access to the rights and opportunities available to other societal members (Silver 1994). Homelessness represents a form of social exclusion. Homeless individuals may not be capable of accessing social welfare or housing, or may not fully participate in their community due to poverty and stigmatization (Pleace 2003; Walsh 2006). I consider social exclusion as an example of structural violence since excluded groups cannot fulfill their potential to pursue full, meaningful lives (Farmer 2004). As research has shown that homeless adults and youth experience a high degree of criminalization (Gaetz 2013; Kellen et al. 2010; O'Grady, Gaetz,

[26] Marshall (1950) distinguishes between two types of social class structures. First, social class may be a formal institutionalized social order upheld by law and custom, oftentimes conceptualized as social stratification. In thus first case, cultural differences arise between stratified classes, making them distinct from one another. Second, social class may "emerge from the interplay of a variety of factors related to the institutions of property and education and the structure of the national economy" (Marshall 1950:18–19). For my purposes, I adapt the second notion of social class, as most literature on inequality point to market relations as generative of class structure (Béteille 2003; Marx 1990; Wright 1997).

and Buccieri 2011), the excessive legal regulation of the homeless points to exclusionary measures targeting a particular group.

Marshall (1950) conceptualizes citizenship as having three distinct elements: civil, political, and social. Whereas the civil element consists of the right to exercise liberty and the political element consists of the right to exercise political authority, the social element, or social rights, consists of "the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security, to the right to share to the full the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Marshall 1950: 8). In other words, in his definition, citizenship entails the right to actively participate in civil society and doing so requires fulfilling material and non-material needs to provide for a basic standard of living.

Marshall's theory on the development of social rights remains salient in political sociology, in that social rights of citizenship are integral to social cohesion. However, Bryan Turner (2008:69) argues that Marshall's theory of citizenship has three significant weaknesses. First, Marshall views the development of citizenship as a "natural" evolution of expanding rights, rather than resulting from working-class political struggles in the United States and Britain. Second, Marshallian theory excludes the historical development of citizenship in nations such as China and Southeast Asia that did not parallel the America and British experience (and by extension the Canadian as well). Third, Marshall conceptualized citizenship as racially, ethnically, and culturally homogenous and prioritized class divisions over racial divisions, thereby overlooking cultural effects on political history and citizenship.

Turner further highlights the necessity of discussing the productive and reproductive basis of citizenship. Citizens are not passive, claims-making subjects; instead, citizenship is practiced through fulfilling responsibilities to the political community. One responsibility

pertains to productivity: "individuals and social groups [often just men] achieved effective entitlements through gainful employment which was essential for the provision of adequate pensions and superannuation in later life" (B. Turner 2008:70). The second basis for citizenship, the responsibility for reproduction in the private sphere, enables men and women to earn entitlements for the birth and care of children, as well as care for the ill and elderly. Reproduction entitled women to citizenship, since households with children were "replenishing the nation" and therefore vital to the political community's ongoing survival. Women were not entitled to full citizenship, however, in that they could not vote (legal rights) as men did until the early 20th century in Canada, for example. Military service was also a route to citizenship; service members, along with veterans, were entitled to pensions, housing, and health care.[27] Marshall's and Turner's contributions to citizenship relate to my theoretical framework in that social rights, as a component of citizenship rights, are the basis for social cohesion in the political community, and citizenship rights represent a reciprocal relationship between citizens and the political community, specifically the state.

Jenson (2004) and Jenson and Saint-Martin (2003) contextualize Marshall's work within the Canadian historical experience, arguing that social citizenship, as a criteria for social cohesion, was largely defined by the federal government as representing and protecting individual rights, with a nod to "second-class citizens" constituting social groups in need of Constitutional protections. The significant difference between the post-war Canadian welfare state and the post-1990s welfare state, according to Jenson (2004), is the shift in citizenship regimes that resulted with restructuring. *Citizenship regimes* are "the institutional arrangements, rules, and understandings that guide and shape concurrent policy decisions and expenditures of

[27] My analysis only focuses on the productive and reproductive basis for citizenship, since no participants reported previous military service in the interviews.

states, problem definitions by states and citizens, and claims-making by citizens" (Jenson and Saint-Martin 2003:80). The post-war welfare regime, which included government spending on transfers and services, was described as necessary in fulfilling the state's responsibility to alleviate financial (and hence social) hardship for individuals, families, and communities during periods of slow economic growth. This made sense given the Keynesian ideology and economic doctrine at the time (see Chapter 2 of this dissertation). However, throughout the 1970s and 1980s and fully realized in the early to mid-1990s through economic restructuring, social expenditures came to be viewed as "dampening economic growth, protecting inflexible labour markets, hindering labour force participation, [and] fostering welfare dependency" (82). These led to the need for improved efficiency in targeting citizens with genuine needs.

Competition in a globalized market and the looming threat of deep, lasting recessions incentivized policymakers at the federal and provincial levels to reform the Canadian welfare regime from social expenditures to social investment. Jenson (2004) replaces "neoliberalism" with "social investment" as a technique for active welfare states to explain these political transformations. In other words, modern welfare states prompt citizens to invest in their human capital in order to remain self-sufficient, and the role of the state is to "activate" those who have required assistance to re-enter the labour market. After the 1990s, the Canadian welfare state retracted social expenditures and, in turn, responsibilized citizens to rely less on the state and more on families and communities (Jenson and Saint-Martin 2003; Jenson 2004; Larner 2006). An implicit understanding was that individuals would remain commodified in the labour market by perpetually developing their human capital. Inequality, as an emergent property of institutionalized market relations, is not incompatible with the capitalist mode of production, since citizenship guarantees the civil right to acquire wealth and property, but does not guarantee

that citizens can either actually attain or retain both (Marshall 1950:20). Inequality remains a necessary component of capitalism, since keeping workers impoverished ensures that wealth mostly flows to those who own the means of production, thereby compelling workers to strive for an improved standard of living (20–21). By reducing the capacity to make claims to the state for support, and shifting those responsibilities to the state and the family, the capitalist market was able to remain unfettered in achieving competition between stakeholders to maximize profit.

As noted, citizenship necessitates not only rights but also responsibilities. In the post-war social rights citizenship regime, claims-making was permissible if citizens actively participated in the labour market; they had the right to social protections from the state if they were unemployed for structural reasons, such as recessions or redundancies, or because of illness or old age. The reciprocal relationship between citizen and state, mediated by exchanging rights and responsibilities, was less conditional between 1945 and the early 1990s. Jenson (2004) defines citizenship by the "responsibility mix," or the fundamental boundaries that separate the responsibilities between the welfare diamond (i.e., the state, the market, the third sector, and the family). Responsibility has two dimensions: the responsibility to care for one's self, family, and community, and the responsibility to participate in society, either through paid employment or volunteering. The responsibility mix outlines citizens' rights and responsibilities, which include not only Marshall's three elements of citizenship but also the degree of inclusion and exclusion in civil society, establishing a situation in which, as Jenson and Saint-Martin (2003:81) summarize, "that which the state does not take on [e.g., social reproduction] is left to markets, families, or communities." Halfmann (1998) maintains that citizenship has a dual characteristic, in that it is both selective and universal. In other words, states provide membership to *all* citizens on the basis that we fulfil obligations (i.e., pay taxes and obey laws) and in return the state

guarantees protections, thus making citizenship universal. However, citizenship can be selective, in that individuals can be included in the political system but not into civil society. For example, Indigenous people in Canada have not been afforded the same rights as non-Indigenous people, particularly in light of how treaty rights have been ignored by the federal government (Asch 2014; Morse 1994). The fact that income assistance programs are implemented differently for Indigenous people living on reserves illustrates that they are considered to have a distinct and secondary relationship with the state (Kubik, Bourassa, and Hampton 2009; Satzewich and Wotherspoon 2000). The reserve system displaced Indigenous people from the social rights of citizenship, since the system legislated different rights and responsibilities (Morse 1994). These historical relations developed from the 18th and 19th centuries informed the citizenship regime of the 20th century and onwards into contemporary Canadian society.

In summary, in the Canadian post-war welfare state, entrenching civil rights with the instatement of citizenship under early capitalism solidified individual rights to pursue wealth with a reasonable degree of social insurance against collective risks (Marshall 1950:39-40). The neoliberalized welfare state of today engendered an unequal class structure that largely ignores collective risks associated with market fluctuations, such as unemployment and stagnant wages and benefits. Hence, the challenge for contemporary welfare states under late capitalism is to balance collective risks, such as unemployment, with market forces so as to not impede capitalist accumulation, culminating in "rollbacks" and increased means-testing.

After the 1990s, the neoliberal shift to intensified responsibility, particularly in terms of continuous employment and economic self-sufficiency, effectively rewrote the social contract to delineate the modern political boundaries around civil society (or political community) that determine, to some degree, the possibilities of new forms of social exclusion or inclusion. There

appears to be some agreement that Canadian society is witnessing a citizenship "shift" in which citizens' right to make claims to the state for social provisioning is largely determined by their participation in the labour market (Cohen and Pulkingham 2009; Fudge 2005; Ilcan 2009; Rose 1996; 1999a; 1999b).

In 21st century Canada, the dialectical relationships between states, markets, and families have produced a historically unique citizenship regime today referred to as market citizenship. Broadly speaking, market citizenship arose during the state's development of neoliberal logic towards social provisioning (in which labour standards were deregulated and social welfare were eroded) and reliance on partnerships with the private sector to provide for citizens (McKeen and Porter 2003). Although the capacity to exercise social rights requires supports such as food, clothing, healthcare, and education, for my purpose I look to employment as an essential prerequisite in fully participating in Canadian society, given that employment provides people with an income to afford basic needs. Employment generates a family income, which can then be exchanged for basic commodities. Market citizenship thus contradicts Marshall's (1950) argument for the distribution of wealth into social programs as a means of extending social rights, and therefore promoting greater inclusivity and coherence. Fudge (2005) argues that market citizenship entrenches gender inequality in both the home and the market, since women are more likely to carry out social reproduction for which few if any supports exist to alleviate women's double duty (Armstrong and Armstrong 2001). The fundamental rationality informing this shift in the relationship between citizens and the state was the construction of the citizen as consumer; that is, by extension of liberal political theory, citizens were regarded as rational decision-makers whose market capacities are rewarded with equitable wages, salaries, and benefits (Saint-Martin 2006). The notion of "active citizen" relates to B. Turner's (1993:2)

notion that citizenship entails "practices (juridical, political, economic, and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups." As such, an efficient model for providing social welfare would empower citizens in choosing services, and at the same time encourage services to be more adaptive and responsive to citizens' needs (Root 2007:58–63).

The state's role has changed from providing universal social welfare to eligible citizens to only providing for citizens who "recognize the limits and liabilities of state provision and embrace her obligation to become more self-reliant" (Brodie 1997:231). Citizenship rights and their enactment under our contemporary political arrangement are largely contingent upon increased attachment to the labour market and self-sufficiency. Drawing from this perspective on citizenship, I argue that the contemporary social welfare regime in Canada created a *model citizen* to accommodate the changes in social welfare and the labour market.

The model citizen is critical to my analysis in that demographic characteristics, such as gender, race, and citizenship have long been in play in vulnerable people's lives even before a housing crisis occurs. I conceptualize the model citizen as one who is a white, able-bodied citizen (either natural-born or naturalized) with sufficient human capital in terms of education and employment experience. This model assumes that the individual is capable of continuous employment, is self-sufficient and therefore not dependent on social welfare, and seeks out opportunities for upward social mobility. In terms of access to employment, housing, and income assistance, differential access to material resources reflects the social hierarchy that structures various markets, most saliently labour and housing (Porter 1965). The model citizen operates as a conceptual model for who gains access to those markets, largely divided along class, gender, racial, and ability demarcations. Clearly, this model varies from one context to another, since the

political milieu shapes any institution as partially determined by the social demographic composition of stakeholders and gatekeepers. Nonetheless, the moral hierarchy of citizenship devalues people who are not white, able-bodied, Canadian citizens. The moral hierarchy is founded on one's capacity for productivity outside the home, and productivity is defined by physical capability, interpersonal skills, cultural knowledge, educational attainments, and having a suitable work ethic (Galabuzi 2008; Li 2008). The moral hierarchy structured by the model citizen determines who is a "good" citizen, who is granted the right to social inclusion to civil society and the right to access appropriate resources to sustain life. Since the participants do not (allegedly) conform to these moral virtues of a work ethos, with the exception of the few who were employed, they can be conceptualized as having experienced material deprivation and social exclusion as a precondition of their homelessness.

In the following sections, I provide examples of how income assistance policy and affordable housing policy transformed the produce the model citizen under the current neoliberal social welfare regime.

Production of the model citizen in income assistance policy

The primary rationale for expanding the welfare state, as partially implemented by Canadian state actors, was founded on Keynesian economics. From the Keynesian perspective, poverty was viewed as largely a structural phenomenon, since the market proved to be susceptible to fluctuations – the "booms" and "busts" described by Keynes (1936/2008) – and therefore left workers vulnerable to market adjustments. The logical response, then, was to hold the state responsible to provide means for social provisioning within households when the male breadwinner experienced unemployment. As a stark contrast to Keynesian economics, policy

discourse in the mid-1990s viewed employment as the primary means to avoid poverty and foundational in sustaining household well-being (Government of Canada 2016).

Economic growth and full employment were interrelated. The relationship between increased economic growth as expressed by the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and decreased unemployment is also argued in Okun's Law, according to which a 1% decrease in unemployment results in a nation's 3% increase to its potential GDP (Okun 1962). Keynes observed that economic growth does not necessarily incorporate the non-working population into opportunities presented by increased productivity. When classical economists posit that employment rates are subject to the natural laws of growth and productivity, they overlook how unemployment remains stable for historically vulnerable groups, such as students, recent immigrants, seniors, people living with disabilities, racialized people, First Nations people, and low-educated and low-skilled workers, regardless of economic conditions. Marx (1990: 782–784) referred to this population as being effectively trapped as the "reserve army of labour," essential to capitalist economics and composed of under- and unemployed people from which capitalists draw during labour shortages.[28] Full employment would be incongruent to this reserve army of labour, since they cannot be easily incorporated into the labour market, particularly those with low human capital, weak social networks, and members of stigmatized social groups (e.g., substance users and those living with a disability or mental illness). These populations require intensive state and community supports to find meaningful employment.

[28] Marx (1990) characterized the reserve army of labour was as stagnant, latent, a floating pool, and pauperdom. Stagnant populations are those in precarious and oftentimes hazardous occupations and subsequently seek better opportunities. The floating pool populations are recently unemployed and also seek employment, although they are conscious of slipping into deeper poverty. Latent populations are those who have not been fully incorporated into normative capitalist relations yet are capable of working; recent immigrants are examples of this population. Lastly, pauperdom refers to those who cannot be incorporated into capitalist economics at all, at least for the time being, such as the homeless in contemporary post-industrial society. These groups either have low human capital (in the case of latent or stagnant populations) or are marginalized (certainly in the case of paupers but also latent and stagnant populations), or both.

Nonetheless, Keynes (1936/2008) argued that full employment should be a societal goal in order to sustain economic development. Full employment meant, first, eliminating involuntary unemployment, such that workers could decommodify their labour in response to transitions in their life course, and second, aggregate demand for labour that would increase effective output. Although Keynesian principles, particularly full employment, were not fully embraced by the federal government, the "Golden Age" of Canada's welfare state (Mahon 2008) adopted social insurance coverage to protect citizens from economic storms. This was a lesson sorely learned from the Depression:

> Social security was designed to ensure continuity of living standards over the ups and downs of the economic life cycle. It was designed to provide wage stabilization for the emerging middle class, not to provide subsistence to the poor. In contrast to means testing, there are two principles of state distribution: universality and wage replacement. Universality means payments become entitlements, rights of citizenship or earned benefits. Wage replacement means that benefits are linked to past earnings and are at levels high enough to maintain a continuity of living standards when the wage earner leaves the labour market through illness, unemployment or disability. (Hulchanski 2004: 17–18)

For nearly five decades, with the occasional amendment, the post-war Canadian welfare state remained intact in administering welfare for workers and non-workers.[29]

It has been argued that homelessness was the outcome of the noticeable rollback of social services since the mid-1980s (Peck and Tickell 2002). The gradual restructuring of the welfare state reduced government transfers to individuals and households in need. The state's withdrawal from social provisioning in times of crisis, both private and public, led to the creation of new forms of governance to solidify the relationship between markets and workers, often with highly

[29] Note that welfare for non-workers, such as income assistance, was largely punitive, as a means to regulate an "unproductive population." Maki (2011) argues that programs for "destitute" women were instruments for "moral correctives" to alter behaviour and lifeways. Common practices include surveillance of clients' personal lives and finances, threats to deny them benefits, and outright stigmatization (Chunn and Gavigan 2004; Coulter 2009; Gavigan and Chunn 2006; Mosher 2000).

gendered and racialized consequences. What was once referred to as the "social security net" transformed into a "social security trampoline," bouncing the poor back into employment (Jenson and Saint-Martin 2003). For my purposes, I look to the tightening of eligibility for Ontario Works (OW) and the Ontario Disability Support Program (ODSP), as well as funding cuts to community services for the homeless, as significant determinants of housing insecurity. Since most homeless individuals and families surveyed in the Street Needs Assessment report government transfers as their primary source of income (Shelter, Support, and Housing Administration 2013), it would be prudent to examine these programs in depth and consider whether or how they promote vulnerability rather than promote economic inclusivity. Emergency homeless services, such as drop-in centres, shelters, and food banks, are viewed as the "last line of defense" against absolute destitution (Gaetz 2012).

Homelessness has increased in the Greater Toronto Area in the last 20 years. Massive cuts to social programs, due in part to the Harris government's "Common Sense Revolution," have been isolated as the major causes for this increase. The federal and Ontario government discursively acknowledged homelessness as a legitimate social problem in 2015–16 through press releases, policy briefs, stakeholder meetings, and budget announcements. The term "homeless" itself was first introduced in the early 1980s; prior to this period, provincial and municipal governments recognized that poor males unattached to a household were frequently "unhoused" (Hulchanski et al. 2009). The term created a category to describe a complex social phenomenon and in turn provided the state with a tangible vocabulary to develop an administrative apparatus to "solve" the problem. The rather dramatic cuts in social assistance rates, increase in unemployment, and decline in affordable housing from the 80s onwards precipitated a visible rise in homelessness (Gaetz 2010) and signalled how austerity approaches

to social policy failed vulnerable citizens in times of welfare state restructuring. Instead of challenging the social, political, and economic determinants of homelessness, and the very foundation of capitalist political economy, the state strategy was to ameliorate market failures by managing the crisis: sheltering those sleeping rough or deemed unacceptable to do so (e.g., mothers with young children), accompanied by minimal funding for affordable housing.

This policy shift was crystallized in the *Poverty Reduction Act*, SO 2009. This new mode of governance applies equally to "abled" workers and "disabled" (potential) workers. The *Poverty Reduction Act*, SO 2009 outlines the Ontario government's commitment to integrate the poor into the labour market and break the cycle of intergenerational poverty transmission.[30] Although the Act recognizes that poverty disproportionally affects women, single mothers, racialized people, First Nations people, newcomers, and differently-abled people, the Act integrated families, communities, and the third sector as partners in eliminating poverty (Legislative Assembly of Ontario 2009). The Act reasons that to eliminate child poverty, substantive investments in education are needed to provide opportunities for children to enter higher occupational sectors. In other words, poverty reduction depends on partnerships with families and communities to develop an individual child's human capital rather than financing the welfare state infrastructure. The human capital approach in the Act reflects the trend towards social investment strategy taken up in policymaking (Saint-Martin 2006), in which investments into child development and educational policy are implemented to produce self-reliant citizens who can weather economic hardship with their firm attachment to the labour market, being able to "bounce" back into employment without claiming entitlements.

[30] Intergenerational poverty transmission means that children in poor households inherit their parents' poverty into adulthood since little or no transfers of wealth occur from one generation to the next. In Canada, research has shown that children in households that receive income assistance are likely to apply for income assistance in adulthood (Beaulieu et al. 2005; Gaszo et al. 2019; Smith-Carrier et al. 2019).

Both the *Social Assistance Reform Act*, SO 1997 and the *Poverty Reduction Act*, SO 2009 have the same rationale for transitioning citizens out of poverty: families and communities should be the primary resource for either exiting poverty or achieving upward financial mobility. Schedule A, Section 1 in the *Social Assistance Reform Act*, SO 1997, or Bill 142, describes the Act's purpose:

> (a) recognizes individual responsibility and promotes self-reliance through employment;
> (b) provides temporary financial assistance to those most in need while they satisfy obligations to become and stay employed;
> (c) effectively serves people needing assistance; and
> (d) is accountable to the taxpayers of Ontario. (Legislative Assembly of Ontario 1997)

The change to individualized solutions to reducing poverty (i.e., the individual seeks out employment, falls back on savings, or depends on the family income) requires a paradigm shift un how citizens relate to the state. As reasoned in the neoliberal ethos, citizens' rights are contingent upon satisfying their *responsibility* to contribute to the political community in terms of employment income or reproduction. Citizens are expected to be self-reliant in remaining attached to the labour market as opposed to depending on the state for support, since they are held accountable to the society: self-reliance and self-improvement are virtues that define the model citizen and therefore a worthwhile moral character. These ideas have roots in Western political theory. Aristotle (2015), for example, defines the model citizen (or city-dweller) as one who upholds the city's constitution. Smith (2004:84) also contends that a person is not a model citizen unless they "promote[s], by every means of his power, the welfare of the whole society of his fellow-citizens," suggesting that civic responsibility is associated with maintaining the society's constitution as it supports the constellation of networks supporting production and reproduction. If the constitution of a society depends upon self-reliant citizens, as self-reliance promotes economic growth, responsible government spending, and individual autonomy, then

social policy in the form of income assistance can promote this virtue through disciplining low-income populations. The monthly allowance places people at risk of becoming homeless. As argued by Smith-Carrier and Lawlor (2016), any poverty reduction strategy – though one is clearly needed given the depth and breadth of poverty in Ontario – that fails to enshrine citizens' rights to a basic standard of living will only absolve the state's responsibility to end the cycle of poverty and place the reasonability for upward or lateral social mobility back onto women and men. Like the *Social Assistance Act*, SO 1997 before it, the *Poverty Reduction Act*, SO 2009 sought to re-entrench an intensified residual welfare state, drawing social insurance and social supports away from citizens in crisis. The two Acts signify a historical trajectory towards a largely absent welfare state whose purpose is more to discipline than support to produce the model citizen.

Production of the model citizen in affordable housing policy

Housing and income insecurity have been part of the social fabric of Canadian society throughout the 20th century; yet the term "homeless" only emerged in the 1980s. The term emerged from efforts to discursively comprehend and define a growing social problem, which included single people or families living on the streets or residing in emergency shelters, that was aggravated by dwindling affordable housing stock and increasing wage-based poverty.

Provincial and federal spending for affordable housing declined as a result of the neoliberal shift in governance. Hulchanski (2004) refers to this shift in housing policy as from "rehousing to dehousing"; in other words, families and individuals are not supported by the state to remain housed ("rehousing") but instead must navigate the housing market alone, and therefore vulnerable to market inequalities ("dehousing"). The federal government's solution to

housing insecurity was through the marketization of social security, which heralded the view that citizens exercise greater autonomy by choosing their housing options in a liberalized private market. The logic underpinning austerity calls for responsible and efficient social spending, although austerity results in the human cost of increased homelessness. Therein lies the contradiction in the political response to homelessness in the last 30 years: removing the affordable housing strategy in exchange for a marketized solution created housing insecurity in a period of stagnant wealth growth for poor families. Social assistance was conceived to aid the poorest of the population to avoid absolute destitution but not to facilitate upward mobility – that was to be accomplished by the individual in the market. While the early designs for social security were grounded in rewriting the social contract, they did not openly challenge capital's hegemony over everyday life and indeed over social policy legislation, particularly policies that eroded citizens' capacity to decommodify their labour, such as affordable housing.

Where federal housing policy lies along the security-assistance continuum depends on the governing political party in Ottawa. The Liberal Party of Canada introduced the Investment in Affordable Housing Initiative to expand and improve the affordability of housing stock over 10 years, which suggests an incremental approach to assist homeless populations by gradually rolling out construction projects and repairing existing units. The Conservative Party of Canada, however, does not have a recent parliamentary record of legislating affordable housing bills during the 39th, 40th, and 41st Canadian Parliament (See Library of Parliament n.d.a and n.d.b for records of private members bills and government bills passed), and so one can assume that the Conservative's assumption was that housing needs should be met in the market rather than the by state providing social assistance. Neither federally dominant party fully supports the social assistance end of the welfare state continuum, with the Conservatives not having a housing

platform at all and the Liberals only legislating a modicum of support. In past and present governments' responses to poverty, residualism has largely defined the political relationship between citizens and the state. Although states redirected their efforts from poor relief to institutionalized welfare states by investing in social programs, those defined as liberal welfare states typically remained on the periphery of everyday life until citizens applied for assistance during a crisis or transition, therefore making these states "residual" (Esping-Anderson 1999; Esping-Anderson and Korpi 1986). The state's residual position on housing policy writ large centers the model citizen. Privileging home ownership in housing policy suggests that a model citizen is one who has the means to do so through their attachment to the labour market. This then entrenches the argument that property ownership confers citizenship. I now turn to how a citizenship perspective of poverty lends itself to how I conceptualize the determinants of deprivation in modern capitalism.

Capability and citizenship

Sen's (2000) work on social exclusion, deprivation, and capability establishes a social, political, and economic basis to participation in civil society. Whereas citizenship means a legal membership to a particular nation and therefore establishes the degree to which an individual is entitled to rights and protections from the state, deprivation means the lack of material allowances considered to be necessities to live in a society. Considering the degree to which deprivation limits the capability to have an active practice of citizenship lends a definitive dialectical character to the relationship between state and citizen. The capability approach emphasizes the feasible means required for people to have a decent quality of life, which can be affected by external factors such as labour market conditions and welfare state regimes.

The capability approach could be best understood through the relational deprivation engendered by the relationship between states, markets, and families. Relational deprivation has a dual meaning: the excluded person is not relationally linked to the wider civil society – and the communities that constitute civil society – and, secondly, they experience stigma as "diminished persons" in various social fields (Sen 2000). Social exclusion entails material deprivation and relational deprivation. The study of poverty often focuses on material deprivation and the distributional issues that arise when states legislate types of social insurance and assistance. Yet relational deprivation speaks to the relationship between states, markets, and families. Social rights ensure citizens can ostensibly participate in civil society when they can access the means of social provisioning, such as a decent income, housing, education, and health care. The relational deprivation associated with social exclusion manifests in a lack of participation, representation, and integration that greatly limits personal (and household) power. In this way, the capacity to fully participate in civil society is limited, since supports for poor households are provisional and insufficient. For example, research suggests a causality between poverty, social exclusion, and mental illness (Boardman 2011; Morgan et al. 2007; Murali and Oyebode 2004); those experiencing homelessness in addition to mental health issues have difficulty in finding employment (Poremski, Whitley, and Latimer 2014; Social Exclusion Unit 2004). To be poor does not simply mean not having enough money; as Golding (1995: 231) argues, "poverty may be understood as partial and truncated citizenship." Citizenship regimes dictate the social contract between citizens and the state in that they outlines how familialized social rights are within this contract. One cannot participate in civil society when one cannot reproduce oneself or others. When social rights are familialized, the potential for vulnerable households to have their

capability corroded exacerbates their social exclusion when their means to achieve their potential are compromised.

Sen (2000: 13) illustrates the relationship between material and relational deprivation as the instrumental causes of poverty and social exclusion. Material and relational deprivation instrumentally contribute to social exclusion insofar that these deprivations have "causal linkages" to further exclusions. Instrumental deprivation refers to how material or relational deprivations alone may not bring about impoverishment; impoverishment is also a consequence of not having access to resources or supports (Sen 2000: 13). Causal linkages facilitate accelerated and intensified social exclusions when gendered and racialized relations – along with stigmatized identities – are intermeshed into the social processes that produce material and relational deprivations. In other words, structural inequalities constitute the micro- and meso-level relations that bring about distinct yet interrelated deprivations, not unlike Marx's (1972: 57) notion that a "society" more or less represents the aggregate of total social relations resulting from productive forces within a defined nation. Cyclical deprivation is endemic to capitalist economies (Keynes 1936/2008), and certain vulnerable social groups are more susceptible to social exclusion than others, further illustrating that material deprivation is a deeply racialized and gendered phenomenon.

The incapacity to support a household has profound political implications in that material and relational deprivation impede a person's capacity to fully realize their human potential. Household provisioning in contemporary, post-industrial capitalist societies absolutely requires unfettered access to the public realm. Some households may be able to provide some commodities such as clothing and food, but total household costs, particularly in urban centres, require one or more adults to earn a wage or salary outside the home. Marx (1990) identifies this

phenomenon as alienation from *gattungswesen* (species-essence), or the innate need of humans to fulfil their potential through purposeful activities that include providing material goods to ensure their well-being. When capitalism appropriated the commons – the base from which households produce commodities – and compelled people to exchange their labour-power for wages in privatized firms, this transformed autonomous producers to proletarians, or what is referred to as proletarianization. In other words, citizens are effectively "trapped" in dominant capitalist relations of production in order to meet their needs, therefore potentially alienating them from reaching their capability potential if the state cannot fully assist them when their market income is insufficient. Participation in the public sphere means more than employment, however, since one achieves personal power through representation in political institutions, improvement in educational institutions, and care (i.e., "good health") in medical institutions. Representation, education, and health are fundamental principles of the social rights of citizenship that buffer against poverty, and social exclusion erodes social rights, since exclusion from the public sphere perpetuates the cycle of poverty. Under a neoliberal welfare state, capacity is ideally achieved through continuous, permanent attachment to the labour market. Hence, citizenship is a life-long practice (Turner 1993) in which the modern self is realized, socially mediated in the interpellation between state and the market.

Neoliberal logic dictates that self-determination is best achieved when citizens are granted full responsibility for their behaviours and choices throughout their life course, so as to maximize the full range of options provided by the market, encompassing services like childcare and commodities like housing (Brown and Baker 2012). Furthermore, social policies aimed to promote social inclusion, such as workfare in Canada, were founded on the notion that complete citizenship required a shift from dependence to independence, meaning that citizens are expected

to have full employment without state support (Burden and Hamm 2000). Responsibilization and independence are hallmarks of a moral agenda underwritten by contemporary, neoliberalized social policy and governance. The political objective of hollowing out the welfare state is to revitalize social cohesion by subsuming citizens resistant to or incapable of assimilating into normative market, community, and familial relations (Burden and Hamm 2000; Dean 1999; Rose 1999b).

Returning to the basic notion of homelessness, or a person without a home (i.e., lacking a sense of "placehood" that solidifies selfhood), the vacuum left behind after the gradual withdrawal of federal and provincial housing supports reproduces a partial and sometimes arbitrary citizenship. The social means by which the degree of exclusion-inclusion expands or contracts is associated with the political conditions for state-supported housing:

> Housing processes can be understood as types of processes which either promote social inclusion or contribute to social exclusion. Social exclusion through housing happens if the effect of housing processes is to deny certain social groups control over their daily lives, or to impair enjoyment of wider citizenship rights. (Somerville 1998: 772)

Housing, much like education, healthcare, and employment, is a fundamental factor in social reproduction for households, which in turn comprises the elementary principles of social rights, or societal inclusion and the right to "live a good life." According to the capability approach, if housing were considered a fundamental human need, then the absence of affordable housing would limit the opportunities to pursue a decent quality of life. Access to affordable housing is therefore essential in entrenching self-determination and political autonomy in an era in which those rights are constantly challenged by the growing dominance of market logics and culture in everyday life.

Liminality

My theoretical framework integrates Victor Turner's (1974; 1995) work on liminality. Turner (1974) defines liminal spaces as periods or spaces of transition in which people exist within the interstices of their social structure and are waiting to be reintegrated back into a normative community. In other words, "liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (Turner 1995: 95). People existing within a liminal space are stripped of any status externally and collectively recognized as culturally significant. Applied to my research, an emergency or transitional shelter represents a liminal space for homeless people. According to the City of Toronto (2019: n.p.), homeless shelters are defined as "supervised residential facilities that provide temporary accommodation and related support services to assist people experiencing homelessness to move into housing." Homeless shelters are spaces that facilitate the transition from one status (homeless) to another (housed). Furthermore, those in the shelter are conferred a transitional status (i.e., known as "clients") by the shelter staff, who act as authorities and intermediaries to validate a successful transition to the housed status.

Turner (1974) makes a distinction between liminal people and marginal people, in that "marginals" retain their membership in social groups that possess socio-cultural forms diametrically opposed to other social groups, like those belonging to counter-culture groups such as Antifa. Liminal people, on the other hand, exist in a

> state of outsiderhood, referring to the condition of being either permanently and by ascription set outside the structural arrangements of a given social system, or being temporarily set apart, or voluntarily setting oneself apart from the behaviour of status occupying, role-playing members of that system. (Turner 1974: 233)

My analysis concerns itself with liminal spaces and also a distinct definition of liminal people, whom I refer to as liminal citizens in Chapter 7. Parallels can be drawn between liminal people

or citizens and the homeless in an emergency shelter. In reference to Turner's definition of liminal people, homeless people in the emergency shelter voluntarily (and theoretically) temporarily sequester themselves from normative relations in the rental housing market, therefore removing themselves as "renters" with the subsequent responsibilities associated with that status. Since they are subject to state surveillance during their time in the liminal space, they effectively become liminal citizens during their transition from homeless to housed.

The liminal space also has social and political implications, as seen when applied to contemporary issues concerning homelessness and marginalization. Turner (1995:97) states that "social life is a type of dialectical process that involves successive experiences of high and low, communities and structure, homogeneity and differentiation, equality and inequality. The passage from lower to higher status is through the limbo of statelessness." In the case of the emergency shelter system, people who access the service are considered "clients" (City of Toronto 2015) and are subject to the social processes within the shelter expressed through regulations. The relationship between the shelter client and the shelter staff suggests an implicit understanding that the shelter client is experiencing a crisis and requires assistance from the shelter staff. In doing so, shelter clients enter a relationship with the staff with designated roles. The liminal space that is the emergency shelter system places clients in a form of "statelessness" as someone who is neither housed nor homeless: they have shelter that is not their own, with the expectation that they will transition into permanent housing.

Turner contends that people in the liminal space lack status (i.e., a social position) in the community, and the concept of the liminal space applies to homeless people residing the emergency shelter system. Indeed, discursive constructions of homelessness suggest thatpeople who are un-housed acquire an outsider status, one that infers risk, criminality, "insanity,"

laziness, and immorality as the main causes for their marginality (Salvation Army 2011). People in the liminal space do not share the same role-sets and tangible relationships as those who conform to the neoliberal ethos to engage in paid work to secure a livelihood for themselves and others, referred to as "the probable congruence of various positions occupied by the individual" (Turner 1995).

Turner (1995:173–174) further argues that liminality has a specific function in designating a period in the life course when people transition into either a higher status – if we consider the role of societal stratification as a principle in the social organization of classed people – or reverse statuses as a means to reconcile their fear of potential threats to their power. Although my central focus is not on status elevation, I draw from the notion that both functions point to a relational process that reintegrates the self into a normative community in which statuses are reaffirmed.[31] A person's life course encompasses periods of status-sequences, or transitions into numerous social positions (237). As homeless people elect to enter the emergency shelter system to transition from one status (homeless) to another (housed), they engage in practices, such as seeking out affordable housing, to exit the liminal space. In this way, practices within the liminal space elevate homeless people from non-status (i.e., homeless or "Other"[32]) to statused (i.e., housed and employed), or from pauper to productive.

[31] I recognize that other concepts essential to Turner's work on liminal spaces are largely ignored in my theoretical framework. Namely, the notion of communitas and the ritualized structure of status elevation and reversal cannot be adapted to my research, as they do not reflect the lived experience of homelessness. Although those two concepts constitute a more anthropological approach, social theory must be recontextualized to suit historically unique social locations under scrutiny.

[32] Arnold (2004) argues that the homeless signify the Other, which is contrasted with legitimate political identities "defined in capitalist terms of individual responsibility and socially meaningful labour" (37). The social construction of the Other emerges "from the desire to subsume the Other into the same or to radically expel the Other to maintain the purity of the (political) self" (52).

A Final Framing of the Research Questions

My research question is grounded in an understanding of feminist political economy, specifically the notions of social reproduction and familialization. Secondly, citizenship studies provide insight into how welfare state transformations contextualize homeless parents' lived experience as caregivers in an emergency family shelter. Lastly, the family shelter itself is conceptualized as a liminal space to further understand the social processes that facilitate the transition from homeless to housed.

Understood through the politicization of social reproduction by feminist political economic, familialization is not merely a generalized household issue but rather a deeply gendered one. Social reproduction illustrates the relationship between political transformations, economic restructuring, and the social linkages between the state and the labour market: familialization re-entrenches the ethos that a concentrated attachment to the labour market must be the primary means to support the family. As outlined in Chapter 2, neoliberal transformations in the Canadian welfare state have been characterized by austerity, or reduced social spending. Austerity must be buttressed by familialization in lieu of universal social programs that could support women balancing unpaid domestic work and paid work. Since women are more likely to work fewer hours per week than men in order to fulfil domestic work, women are particularly vulnerable when they decommodify their labour and claim entitlements from the state, for the reason that their productive responsibility as citizens is underrepresented. Social reproduction in the home, although tangentially supported by state entitlements like the CTB, does not have the same weight as productive contributions (i.e., employment) to citizenship rights. Social policy establishes not only the contemporary political milieu regarding reproduction, the gendered

division of household work, and the life chances for women and men, but also the actual opportunities and barriers to full participation in civil society

Familialization, as in the re-entrenching of social reproduction as women's responsibility, is a major thematic element for my analysis. However, familialization did not emerge from a political vacuum. The sea change in Canadian social policy, in response to shifts in Canadian political economy and demography, heralded regressive political mechanisms to alleviate poverty and intensified social suffering for vulnerable families. Canada's role as trade partner in a globalized economy compelled state actors to ensure the nation was agreeable to foreign investment and trade. Furthermore, gendered demographic shifts that saw more women entering the workforce, albeit precariously, along with increased educational attainments, improved reproductive health care, and contested domestic gender roles, motivated federal and provincial governments to respond to Canada's social fabric. The longstanding debate on the best practices to manage unemployment and poverty without impeding economic development was woven into these structural factors, particularly at times of poor economic performance in the 1930s or at times of escalating economic growth in the 1980s and early 1990s.[33] These overlapping contexts informed discourses that define contemporary social citizenship for men, women, and families.

The fact that reproductive contributions to the political community are not equal in value to productive contributions has significant social consequences for poor and working-class women, and particularly pronounced for women of colour. Women occupying these social positions lack the political capacity to claim "living entitlements" (e.g., transfer payments that

[33] The welfare state transformations in the 1990s laid the groundwork for the post-2000 policy rollout, particularly for child benefits such as tax credits and child care spaces. In summary, the federal government preferred to give families direct cash transfers rather than create affordable care centres (Albanese and Rauhala 2015). OW remained relatively untouched (with minor increases and decreases between 2000 and 2012) and therefore stagnant rather than increasing to meet inflation (Tweddle, Battle, and Torjman 2012). Moreover, the 2008 recession placed considerable pressure on vulnerable households.

allow households to afford the basic necessities to support life). Indeed, political capacities result from social relations and social interactions such as gender relations, parental status, relations in the labour and housing markets, and the overall social significance attributed to class, race, and gender. Therefore, my analysis closely examines how participants experience familialization from a gendered and racialized perspective, particularly in the role conflict between worker and parent, and its consequences.

Citizenship was reconfigured over time to rewrite the social contract between citizens and the state in Canada. As discussed earlier in this chapter, a tension between the responsibility to be a contributing citizen and the capacity to practice citizenship lurks below the modern welfare state's political landscape, as Canada, like other wealthy, post-industrial nations in the global economy, attempts to balance economic development and social welfare. My research is driven by the assumption that determinants such as housing loss are largely epiphenomenal, and result from an emerging market citizenship that reconfigures relationships between citizens, the state, and the market. As citizenship scholars have observed, this citizenship connotes a historically unique mode of governance, one facilitated by familialization, which retrenches a gendered division of labour, and reconstitutes rights and obligations for citizens in modern welfare states such as Canada (Fudge 2005; Laslett and Brenner 1989; Root 2007). Under this new citizenship, social rights that are fundamental to human welfare and social cohesion are contingent upon participation in the labour market. My research examines the qualitative implications of social reproduction constrained not just by homelessness but by the interlocking of social rights with participation in the labour market. Familialization then points to the drift towards the family being the sole source for social rights as opposed to the state (at least) marginally protecting those rights. If social reproduction is necessary for the continuation of life and participation in

the political community, and social rights protect those central tenets, my analysis explores how social rights, which are largely disenfranchised from formal state protection, shape homeless parents' social reproduction practices.

As an example of deploying a citizenship framework to understand poverty, a 2013 Superior Court decision ruled that the lack of affordable housing is a violation of citizens' Charter rights to equality (Morrow 2013). Indeed, an inconsistent affordable housing strategy at the federal level has at least partially contributed to increased homelessness since 1996, the year in which the federal government downloaded affordable housing strategies to the provincial governments (Laird 2007; Shapcott 2008a). So, whether the material requirements to reproduce ourselves are present or not will influence individuals' capacity to experience inclusion and pursue well-being as social citizens. Social citizenship is predicated on social rights, which pertain to meeting basic needs such as a decent standard of living and secure and stable housing and thereby facilitates social inclusion (Marshall 1950). However, the relationship between the state and the market reconfigured social rights during a period of neoliberal fiscal austerity; spending on social programs has attenuated and so citizens have fewer needs met (Finkel 2006). In the case of homelessness, when vulnerable populations are unable to fulfil their social rights, the risk to becoming homeless increases when they cannot meet basic needs like housing security. Meanwhile, the very existence of homelessness challenges government discourses on social inclusion and by extension the value of social rights of citizenship in contemporary Canadian society.

Conceptualizing the space between homeless and housed as liminal provides a useful way to understand how homelessness is, in most cases, a social process. In other words, to be homeless is to be in a liminal space, in that individuals lose their status as citizens and make the

transition from homelessness, emergency shelter client, and then housed. In the case of homelessness, the liminal space exists between being homeless and insecure and being housed and secure. By revealing the social reproduction experiences of parents experiencing homelessness – yet who still seek upward economic mobility and stable housing – my theoretical framework permits me to question the limits of contemporary discourses on citizenship and, subsequently, prompts me to encourage stakeholders to re-evaluate social policies designed to promote social inclusion for vulnerable families.

The transition from homelessness to being housed is socially mediated by personal networks and social services (Webb and Gazso 2017; Homeless Hub 2019); those who experience chronic, long-term homelessness remain embedded in a liminal space – whether on the street or in family shelters – unable to facilitate the transition into housing due to limited social capital. Furthermore, the Canadian response to homelessness engenders the social organization of intervention services, which in turn influences homeless families' experiences of "betwixt and between," of between being homeless and being housed.[34] A feminist political economic analysis further begs the question as to how these liminal spaces come to exist as relatively stable structures within communities and within a person's life course, and how they are socially organized.

Summary

In this chapter, I explored familialization and social reproduction as understood in feminist political economy; the capability approach to citizenship studies as it relates to poverty;

[34] Lefebvre (1976) argues that the built environment facilitates social spaces that reproduce economic relations of production. I inquire as to how the social organization of homeless intervention services reproduces the relations of production in the contemporary labour market.

and the concept of the liminal space as a heuristic for emergency homeless shelters. I then demonstrated that familialization characterizes social policy trends in the modern Canadian welfare state, and that social reproduction lies at the heart of the political tension between families, markets, and the state. Social reproduction is a deeply gendered phenomenon that allows the possibility for people to continue existing and the human species to exist in the future. The capability approach to citizenship illustrates how the degree to which social rights are enshrined and protected by states is linked to a person's capacity to live above the poverty line. Emergency homeless shelters are liminal spaces in that they act as intermediaries for homeless families to transition from one status to another; in this case, from being homeless to housed. I arrived at the conclusion that these concepts are instrumental to theorizing and understanding how homeless parents practice social reproduction in a liminal space.

I ask how social rights are enacted in the liminal spaces associated with homelessness. The federal government clearly does not protect social rights beyond personal health; they remain under the purview of the individualized liberal subject in the midst of complex market relations. Indeed, from the structuralist standpoint, broader trends in Canadian political economy and social policy responses – or the lack thereof – have been contributing factors in the topology of modern homelessness. Shifts in the labour market, from a standard employment agreement to a precarious market, prompted changes in family structure and state priorities to reproduce the working population. The erosion of affordable housing, coupled with a diminished and punitive social welfare system, exacerbated the strain many low-income households experienced and continue to experience as they struggle to provide for their families. Structural determinants point to a deepening social exclusion for women and their families already on the margins, particularly for racialized families navigating the labour market or negotiating with the state to

provide basic provisions. Hence, poverty and social exclusion co-constitute one another: homelessness affords people a lack of autonomy typically associated with the basic social rights of citizenship. Hence, the task is to conceptualize poverty by framing it in the social rights of citizenship since it exemplifies extreme social exclusion. Poverty erodes social rights, and the lack thereof becomes visible when we consider how capability becomes compromised.

Chapter Four
METHODOLOGY

My research was designed to explore the linkages between public policy and the lived experiences of homeless families carrying out social reproduction. I carried out my research by conducting interviews with some ethnographic elements. Having established my theoretical framework in the preceding chapter, I turn here to describe the means by which I collected data, recruited participants, and selected the research site, and then to my analytical process. Last, I discuss the limitations of my research design.

A Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research enables sociologists to explore everyday social processes by interviewing participants in a social site to allow researchers to develop key insights. By Researchers collecting data through interviews come to understand participants' social practices and the meanings they attribute to them (O'Reilly 2005; Lofland and Lofland 1995).

My goal was to understand the context that comprises the participants' experiences with homelessness, particularly in the ways in which they navigate the multiple obstacles and spaces they face as parents during this temporary crisis. A qualitative approach coincides with my research questions in that in-depth interviews explicate the complexities of not only the participants' daily domestic practices but also the emotional and cognitive responses to their experiences that lend meaning to their daily lives. Interviews depend upon an exchange between researchers and participants; therefore, the interaction permits researchers to learn alongside participants as they collaboratively reconstruct participants' narratives. In semi-structured interviews researchers follow an interview guide, yet can probe further if a participant's narrative

branches into unexpected directions; this ensures that the interview thoroughly explores the participants' experiences (Mishler 1991).

The ontological foundation of social research is informed by the researcher's epistemological assumptions. Social ontology is imperative to social research in that ontological assertions dictate the *a priori* assumptions of social reality. Epistemology examines the processes of knowledge production and the validity of knowledge. Researchers who analyze data are obliged to state how their social ontological position is situated within a broader theoretical context. The epistemological approach corresponds to how social reality has been established.

A tension exists in the social sciences as to whether reality is understood as socially constructed and therefore not completely accessible (or completely inaccessible), or a social reality external to the researcher exists despite our standpoints and resulting interpretations. This tension could be understood as a conflict between an interpretivist analysis (broadly speaking) and a critical realist analysis. Typically, interpretivism is closely associated with qualitative research. This analytical approach assumes that reality is only accessible when experienced by human consciousness and interpreted by language; therefore, the interpretivist researcher seeks to uncover the differences between individuals in how they understand social reality (Miller 2004). Researchers then employ a hermeneutic approach to construct a model of how participants create meaning for themselves and, if possible, show how social groups share particular meanings. Critical realism, on the other hand, aims to reconcile social constructionism with traditional positivist approaches used in the natural sciences and embraced, although unevenly, in the social sciences. In a critical realist methodology for the social sciences, an external social reality exists, yet the social structures under observation are a product of human interaction and subject to change more is than physical nature (Bhaskar 1975/1997). Moreover,

social structures enable human beings to have degrees of agency in that they provide life chances and contribute to individual attitudes and behaviours.

A discussion of the role and nature of social structures could further enriched by acknowledging the preconditions of human actions that generate and reproduce the structures under study, which suggests that human action can in fact change social structures (Bhaskar 1975/1997). Hume's (2008) idea of constant conjunctions of knowledge production pertains to critical realism in that human knowledge of an external reality, which relies on causality and inference, emerges from the constant conjunction of our sensory and cognitive notions of events over time. Critical realism encourages researchers to continuously revise their concepts to describe reality, since their purpose is to identify the generative mechanisms of events rather than their causal relationships – given that causality cannot be simplified in accordance to our constant conjunctions of reality (Bhaskar 1975/1997; 1998). The related epistemological standpoint then holds that we can produce knowledge of an intransitive reality, yet human subjectivity, and the limit of human senses and comprehension, captures only an incomplete "picture" and requires constant revision. Critical realism has significant implications for this research, since my goal is to reveal how material and social relations influenced the participants' transitions in their life courses, while recognizing the limitations of human subjectivity. Indeed, how the participants construct their narratives is indicative of their social position; but my purpose is to uncover similarities across cases rather than conduct an extensive analysis of how the participants' produce meanings.

My methodology for analyzing participants' narratives of their transitions into homelessness and their social reproduction practices is situated in a critical realist paradigm. Critical realism is compatible with the feminist-Marxist position posited in the previous chapters

to establish my theoretical and analytical models. Poverty exists *a priori* to our perception of the phenomenon in question: the participants' material conditions (i.e., income and housing situation) and social conditions (i.e., marginalization) were generated by the historical preconditions of human action that contributed to the capitalist class system. The issue is how to develop concepts to describe the phenomena we call "poverty" and "homelessness," along with the theoretical models employed to explain its social, political, and economic determinants. The Marxist axiom that social classes resulted from human beings producing goods to satisfy their material needs and the social relations that arose as a consequence describes the intransitive reality in which human beings exist. Gender, along with race, contributed to the development of social classes, as they point to how privilege was distributed and entrenched among social groups.

Nonetheless, as discussed by Marx (1972), our ideological position alters our interpretation of social reality, and thus the models we present could be significantly different than the "actual" social reality (Bhaskar and Callinicos 2003). The forces and relations of production found in the base, which lead to the historical development of social classes under capitalism, generate not only social institutions as seen in the superstructure but also our experience of the superstructure. The superstructure constitutes the material reality for women and men, in which lived experience is filtered by class subjectivity, including my own social position. To account for this, I present the participants' narratives polyphonously, so that "multiple and contradictory voices" (Bischoping and Gazso 2016:49) are represented to decentre my analysis and ensure it "draws attention to different views of truth, and undermines certainties." Class and gender subjectivity will indeed produce different accounts of the participants' material reality in the Family Residence, yet that material reality, such as their

immediate surroundings and inscribed social position, remains consistent, since the Family Residence persists as an institution linked to the broader political economy of the welfare state. I will show how the participants' subjectivity shapes their narratives in upcoming chapters.

A critical realist approach is appropriate in answering my two research questions. For the first question, how homeless parents manage social reproduction, semi-structured interviews allow for understanding the details of everyday life that go into social reproduction. Critical realist theory recognizes that the participants' diverse narratives reflect how their social positions influence their subjective interpretations of reality. Furthermore, my interpretation of the interview transcripts is subject to the same considerations based on social position, and therefore my analysis requires ongoing refinement. In relation to the second research question, on how these experiences illustrate a deepening familialization in social policy, the participants' lived experiences raising children in an emergency homeless shelter point to broader trends in the political economy of the welfare state. The Family Residence regulations, the participants' interactions with the staff, and even the Residence's built environment, are relational (and physical) manifestations of welfare state transformations. To clarify, I situate the Family Residence in the political economy of welfare in Ontario. In general, all three orders of government are involved in the funding and management of the Family Residence and other emergency shelters in municipalities. Like most welfare services, the Family Residence is a non-profit shelter. The provincial Ministry of Municipal Affiars and Housing, funded by the federal Canadian Social Transfer, partners with municipal governments, known as Service Managers, to deliver services like local emergency shelters to families and individuals experiencing or at risk of experiencing homelessness. It should be noted that Service Managers may include Consolidated Municipal Servcie Managers. This could be a regional government, county, or

District Social Services Adminstration Boards, which are located in Northern Ontario. Furthermore, Service Managers are expected to develop and implement policies that advance housing affordable in their respective regions. Municipal governments contribute about $1 billion to services that are buttressed by federal and provincial spending (Financial Accountability Office of Ontario 2021; Turner 2018). These contextual factors will be taken up in the analysis. The consequences related to neoliberalized social welfare, from austerity to surveillance, remain a persistent external reality for the participants. Nonetheless, this institution would not exist without the Residence clients' active participation in Family Residence. In this way, a critical realist approach to qualitative research is well suited to answer my research questions.

A qualitative approach also complements my theoretical framework. Since I argue that citizenship does not exclusively entail a legal status conferred upon birth within a particular nation or when migrants are recognized as qualified citizens by the state, a qualitative approach enables me to explore individuals' notions of membership, such as belonging, acceptance, and reciprocation. These elements of citizenship point to how consciousness is partially but significantly shaped by social position (Hartsock 2003; Hill Collins 2009; Lukács 1990; Schütz 1967). I conceptualize citizenship as not only deeply classed but also racialized and gendered. Hence, the subjectivities that arise as a result of social position are unique modes of consciousness that may be uncovered during the dialogic nature of an interview. Qualitative research, therefore, is suitable for my research on the practices homeless families enact to reproduce their households.

Recruitment and Data Collection

I used convenience and purposive sampling to identify potential participants: family members (i.e., men and women with dependents) who had been homeless in the past 12 months and were living in a Family Residence, defined as an temporary emergency shelter for parents and their dependents experiencing homelessness. Most emergency shelters are temporary accommodations in response to a housing crisis but the family residence allows clients to live there for extended periods, as long as they comply with the regulations. The interviews were conducted from August 18, 2015 to October 21, 2015. I defined homeless people as those not paying rent or mortgage for a home and staying in an emergency shelter, temporarily staying with friends or relatives, or sleeping outdoors or in vehicles. I defined a family as one or more adults caring for dependents, who could be kin and non-kin members (e.g., children, elders, and ill or disabled members). Throughout the dissertation I refer to families as households, defined as an individual or a group residing in the same dwelling (Statistics Canada 2016). I used snowball sampling to contact additional participants beyond my first contact. Participants received a $20 honorarium.

Vulnerable populations, as defined by the Tri-Council Policy Statement "may include individuals who are institutionalized, those in dependent situations, or those whose circumstances (e.g., poverty or poor health status) may render even modest participation incentives so attractive as to constitute an inducement to take risks they would otherwise not take" (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council 2018). The participants in this research certainly fall under the definition of vulnerable, given that they are experiencing extreme poverty and are clients in the Family Residence. The ethics of conducting research with them are thus complex. On the one hand, social research on the causes and

consequences of chronic poverty is vital in developing policy approaches to help households in need. On the other hand, populations considered to be marginalized and impoverished are at risk of abuse, exploitation, or discrimination from researchers not sensitive to the participants' social position (*ibid*.). In this research, asking the participants to take one hour of their time to be interviewed, instead of minding their children and looking for new housing, was potentially exploitative, as I would benefit by collecting data. The honorarium, though modest, was my attempt to ameliorate this. This research was reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board, and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. A further elaboration on the ethics of researching vulnerable populations can be found in the Limitations section later in this chapter.

Recruitment entailed email solicitation to select directors employed with family shelters in the Greater Toronto Area. The email I sent explained my research and asked if I could conduct interviews with the residents. Six family shelters were contacted on February 19, 2015. The Director of Social Assistance and Programming for a Greater Toronto Area suburb replied to my email and arranged an informal telephone conversation concerning her role in the shelter and how the shelter operated. I followed up with the Director over email to ask for a tour of the shelter and to meet in order to discuss any further questions she might have. We met on April 13, 2015, and after the tour, discussed the possibility of my interviewing the residents. The Director agreed to allow me to meet with the residents and offered to assist in recruiting participants with posters and through word-of-mouth. However, she informed me that since the shelter is managed and funded by the City of Toronto, the Residence administration would need to review the research proposal and ethics documents to ensure that the shelter's vulnerable population would not be harmed by my presence.

After approximately three months, the Residence administration approved my project. I began recruiting immediately, and from August 18, 2015 to October 21, 2015, interviewed 22 participants. I used a semi-structured interview guide to direct our conversations on how participants came into the Residence, how they carried out domestic work and child care, the problems they experienced as parents, and their views on whether the government cared about their situation and how to improve the Residence's services. The interview questions are provided in Appendix A. Participants who read the recruitment poster and were interested in the research arranged interview times with the director and the schedule was sent to me within 24 hours of the interviews. Some participants heard about the project from others who were interviewed. The interviews were either held in one of the common rooms or in the recreation room. Only the participants and myself were present during the interviews, though some participants brought their children with them. I wrote fieldnotes on the layout of the Family Residence and my general impression of the space; I provide a description of the Family Residence in Chapter 6.

Participants

The sample had 23 participants, all of whom were homeless and living in the Family Residence. According to the Canadian definition of homelessness (Canadian Homelessness Research Network 2012), the participants would be classified as temporarily homeless. Key to my research, however, is the recognition that the participants are in a liminal space, hence my classification of them as homeless.

Table 1.1 (see Appendix A) shows the demographic profiles of the participants. The participants were overwhelmingly female, totalling 19 compared to four males. The mean age for

females was 33 years old and the mean age for males was 38 years old. Ethnically, 16 participants identified as Black, four identified as white; two identified as Sri Lankan; one identified as Indigenous. Seven participants identified themselves as single. Fifteen of the participants defined themselves as in an intimate relationship with someone else. Only one female participant had a former same-sex partner who continued to co-parent one child. All the other participants who reported a relationship identified this relationship as heterosexual. Considering citizenship, 16 participants were Canadian citizens, four were Permanent Residents, and three were refugees. At the time of the interview, 20 participants were unemployed and three were employed. However, one participant reported taking on "cash jobs" (i.e., casual, under-the-table employment) as her income source and was counted as unemployed. Of the 23 participants, 18 were receiving income assistance: 12 were receiving Ontario Works (OW), two were receiving the Ontario Disability Support Program (ODSP), one was receiving Employment Insurance (EI) benefits, and three were receiving the Family Residence allowance.[35] One participant reported that her family financially supported her.

Table 1.2 (see Appendix B) compares the number of children accompanying the participant in the Family Residence to the total number of children in the family. The mean number of children that participants reported was 2.1. Only four participants had some or all children living with other caregivers outside the Family Residence. Two participants, Elizabeth and Maree, were pregnant at the time of the interview; Elizabeth had two children and one was living with her at the Residence, while Maree's children were residing with her mother. Figure

[35] The Family Residence allowance is set amount of funds given to clients experiencing absolute poverty, typically given to refugees. The amount was not disclosed to me. The allowance is further discussed in subsequent chapters.

1.2 also shows that 10 participants were collecting the Ontario Child Care Benefit (CCB)[36] to supplement their income. The demographic data for the sample population points to social trends that permeate the literature on social inequality: the majority are women of colour receiving social assistance. It will become clear throughout the remainder of this dissertation that other factors such as citizenship status and mental health are interrelated to the gendered and racialized experience of living in a Family Residence.

Analysis Strategy

The interviews focused participants' experiences of being homeless parents, specifically asking them to recount how they practice social reproduction. I understood my participants to be telling stories about their experiences. For a narrative analysis, the interview is a process in which the interviewer and interviewee collaborate to construct a narrative, and therefore the interview is "seen as negotiated accomplishments of both interviewers and participants that are shaped by the contexts and situations in which they take place" (Fontana and Frey 2000: 663). Researchers provide interview questions on specific events in the life course and participants are prompted to reflect and construct their narrative. Researchers offer confirmations to signal to participants that they have been heard and encouraged to continue, or ask probing questions to elucidate vague or perhaps interesting stories. In some cases, especially during my interviews, the participants would have questions about their circumstances, such as navigating the immigration system. A few participants' narratives elicited reassurances or sympathies on my part when they expressed uncertainties or shared traumatic narratives. All these active responses

[36] The provincial government calculates the CCB amount is by the number and age of the claimant's children and adjusted net income, or "$6,400 per year ($533.33 per month) for each eligible child under the age of six and $5,400 per year ($450.00 per month) for each eligible child aged 6 to 17" (Government of Canada 2016).

from the researcher – confirming, answering, reassuring, or comforting – are valuable techniques in qualitative research.

I analyzed the data with NVivo, a qualitative analysis program that enabled me to develop codes to isolate pertinent pieces of data. A code is a simple word or a short sentence applied to a piece of data that answers questions such as: What does this piece represent? Does it provide an example? What events are occurring? What are people's activities? What are the important issues? These questions guided my close reading of the interview transcripts.

The life course perspective informed my analysis of the participants' narratives, in that I concentrated on transitions in the participants' lives and how they adapted to their circumstances. A life course approach meant that I explored how historical changes in the political and economic landscape shaped people's experiences and relationships and how individuals' experience of homelessness could be understood through their linked lives, or the "interaction between the individual's social worlds over the life span – family, friends, and co-workers" (Elder 1994:5). For example, one transition would be how the participants went from housed to homeless (although sheltered), and re-orientated their social reproduction practices accordingly. The life course perspective also locates participants' role transitions throughout their lives within their relationships to numerous institutions and the social, political, economic shifts over time (Bischoping and Gazso 2016; Dewilde 2003). Role transitions refer to moments when participants change their social position during periods encompassing change in their life course (Bischoping and Gazso 2016). An emphasis on role transitions particularly suited my exploration of homeless people undergoing a family crisis that is managed by a service agency. My analysis focused on how the wider political economy altered their life course and leant meaning to the participants' social lives, particularly in the ways in which their social reproduction

practices manifested as a result of their time in the Family Residence. My overarching approach to interview transcripts entailed searching for recurring role transitions across the participants' narratives that suggested a conventional plot; that is, where multiple participants recollected similar role transitions within the same institution of the Family Residence.

A fundamental problem with the life course theory is that an analysis may assume normative transitions as family members age. Indeed, humans do age, and subsequently their roles and expectations in their communities will change over time, from giving birth to securing new employment. The theory takes into account that a crisis is part of the life course, and these crises compel family members to make pragmatic choices for other members to continue thriving or simply meet their basic needs. Theoretical interventions into examining inequality over the life course point to how cumulative advantage and disadvantage contribute to inequalities in adulthood (O'Rand 2015). Since the life course consists of sequential transitions dependent upon interrelated social roles and shifting social contexts, the "path" of an individual life course is laid out by cumulating disadvantages, such as trauma, illness, and poverty. Life course theory could run the risk of privileging middle- and working-class households – and households higher on the socio-economic ladder – and their transitions, since the assumption is that these households can absorb social risks from non-insurable crisis by means of their income, savings, assets, and social networks. Low-income households (i.e., the "welfare classes"), which constitute distinctly gendered and racialized subjectivities, can be potentially erased from the life course theory in terms of their precarious and oftentimes hostile relationship with the welfare state, the labour market, and the housing market.

Since my research questions the political economy of the emergency shelter system and how it contextualizes social reproduction, I also focused on how participants' narratives

reproduce their sense of "place" from their environment. At the same time, social life is patterned by the political and economic ethos encoded into the built environment. I was interested in how the participants subjectively understood their circumstances as mediated by the built environment and the institutional processes within it. My analysis looked to how participants construct personal narratives from their own interpretation of their institutional experiences while simultaneously being influenced by "social structures," from the Residence's layout to its institutional processes, such as the intake process and their meetings with their housing worker. I considered how how certain households, relative to their position on the socio-economic ladder, practice social reproduction is influenced by the political milieu of contemporary social welfare, labour market conditions, housing markets, and, underscoring these contexts, the racialized and gendered social stratification that organizes economic life in Canada.

The participants experiences as being members in a homeless household are contrasted with that of a *normative household*. To clarify, the normative household does not pertain to family composition, such as family structure, union formation, or marital quality (Weden 2008). Instead, the normative household in the case of my analsis pertains to the expected degree of autonomy people have as residential owners or renters. I argue that the participants are not considered to be in a normative household during their time in the Residence. This concept pertaining to normativity was useful in understanding how the participants viewed themselves as clients in the shelter system. I compared how they saw themselves before they transitioned into the Residence and when they were Residence clients, providing context for my analysis.

For my coding process, I incorporated Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of thematic analysis, both inductively and deductively (Lofland and Lofland 1995: 186). After reading the

transcripts by being mindful of thematic patterns (Phase 1), I generated codes to describe those patterns (Phase 2). I established and applied codes derived from my theoretical framework to the interview transcripts. These included "relative deprivation," "daily routine," and "social reproduction." While doing so, I recognized that my data might not conform to these codes alone, and so I coded for ideas and behaviours grounded in individuals' stories of their experiences. I performed a focused coding in which I determined which codes were salient to my research questions and further refined them. From these codes, I then pinpointed themes that reflected the role transitions and other general patterns in the participants' narratives. During (and after) this coding, I developed analytical memos that described the representative categories (Lofland and Lofland 1995: 193–194). An analytical memo is a short summary that encapsulates the themes' contents to expand and clarify the emerging patterns in the analysis. After reflection on the code's meaning, I then combined them to construct an accurate representation of the data (Phase 3). I accomplished this by conducting a cross-case analysis of the transcripts to group the codes into categories. After reflecting on whether the themes reflect my theoretical framework and (Phase 4), I considered how the themes contribute to my understanding of the narratives (Phase 5.). Last, I wrote up my findings (Phase 6). Chapters 5, 6, and 7 of this dissertation unfold according to the major themes in the participants' narratives as developed through these analytical techniques. The interview schedule was not designed to explore the real and possible deprivations related to homelessness. The participants constructed their narratives with homelessness being the outcome rather than an episode that led to other chapters in their life courses. The interview schedule was designed for this purpose to capture a particular moment in the participants' lives.

Reflections on Methods

My research shares reproducibility and generalizability limitations with most qualitative research. Reproducibility, which is a criterion for experimental research, means that the research should be replicated in a different study, using the same methodology, and producing the same results (Kirk and Miller 1986). If the results were replicated, the methodology would be considered precise and therefore reliable. However, qualitative research is conducted *in situ* in a specific social space rather than in a controlled environment like a laboratory. Replicating the social context in which the interviews were held is not practical. Nonetheless, the interview schedule includes questions that do not conform to a specific social context and are broad enough to be applicable to other research sites.

Generalizability is another criterion for non-qualitative research, in which the results could be generalized to the entire population (Kirk and Miller 1986). This is especially important for research that uses random samples to collect data. Since the participants are located in a single region and were recruited through posters and snowball sampling, the method is more akin to convenience sampling. Thus, my analysis cannot the generalized to all homeless families in the Greater Toronto Area. However, in qualitative research, transferability substitutes for this positivist criterion (O'Reilly 2005). Rather than aiming to be able to apply the entire analytical findings to the target population, I aim to discern themes that are relevant and applicable to another site. My dissertation concludes with policy recommendations based on the assumption that the themes that derive from the data are applicable to policy discussions of affordable housing in other major metropolitan areas in Canada.

Another limitation of my research involved the clear power differences between the participants and me. The majority of the participants were racialized women and a few racialized

men, whereas I am clearly a white male. All the participants were experiencing deep poverty and lived in an emergency shelter, while I had a degree of power in the setting as a "professional" offering an honorarium to collect talk data from racialized minorities, their narratives waiting be collected for research on their oppression. Our relative social positions reflected gendered and racialized social inequality in Canada and specifically in Toronto. Bischoping and Gazso (2016) discuss how the researcher's positionality contributes to how narratives, though co-constructed by the researcher and participant, ultimately being interpreted and reported. First of all, would the racialized participants feel comfortable revealing intimate or traumatic events in their life story to a white stranger? The majority of the participants struck me as rather candid during the interviews, which may reflect how people are likely to share information to an empathetic stranger, especially if they can also lodge complaints, when they know they will not suffer social repercussions as anonymous informants (Rosenthal 2003). Yet even though the interviews were fruitful, it is my positionality as a researcher that determines which narratives or segments of narratives are considered "good stories" and therefore valuable data (Bischoping and Gazso 2016). A white, male, and housed researcher with some degree of authority, such as myself, may be prone to overlook aspects of the narratives that would be important to the participants but not salient to me owing to cultural or racial and gender differences. Second, I may have anticipated the participants' narratives on their homelessness to fit into a master narrative of how social scientists theoretically understand poverty in modern welfare states. A third challenge in analyzing the data lies in how some if not all the narratives have elements that would be unliveable for me, or places where they lack the conventional plot structure and rhetorical devices that would make them more coherent or reportable from my standpoint (Bischoping and Gazso 2016: 56).

Throughout all the interviews, I sought to address such power dynamics largely by centring the participants' narratives and effectively "giving them the floor" during our conversations. My responses were either to affirm their narratives or ask follow-up questions. In other words, I co-constituted the interviews with the participants by leading them to tell their stories, but my strategies conveyed to the participants that their stories were valid and valuable. Moreover, I recognize that the "path to homelessness" is not uniform, as each narrative is unique. Therefore I consider how the participants chose to frame their narratives in ways that are meaningful to them. Although no perfect solution exists to address the methodological and ethical problems researching vulnerable populations, giving participants the space to tell their own stories while trying not to seem judgemental, though it is not possible to be completely non-judgemental, appeared to be effective.

Chapter Five
ENTERING THE FAMILY RESIDENCE: CRISIS IN THE LIFE COURSE

In this chapter, I discuss the conditions that contributed to the participants' homelessness and the moment they decided to access the Family Residence to understand their transition from being housed to homeless. The chapter is divided into four sections. First, I describe the participants' preconditions to homelessness, including their material deprivation, as reported in the interviews. In this section, my analysis examines their transitional narratives to grasp the significance of how the participants manage social reproduction in liminal spaces, and how those practices are indicative of a deepening familialization in Canadian social policy.

Second, I provide examples of relational deprivation for participants who do not identify as Canadian citizens, and examples of pre-existing circumstances, such as mental health and substance use, that also contribute to homelessness. Third, I provide an analysis of the aggregated instrumental deprivations that eventually constituted a crisis in the participants' life courses, in which material and relational deprivations – in some cases co-constitutively and in others not – converged to cause housing loss. The analysis shows the participants with high degrees of deprivation, with little or no supports, experience homelessness differently during a crisis in their life course than those with lower degrees of deprivation with some supports. Fourth, I discuss the effect instrumental deprivations have on the participants' capacity to weather the crisis and ultimately the extent to which they experience capability deprivation. I conclude the chapter by framing the participants' experiences in terms of feminist political economic theory, particularly in relation to how labour market attachment and social welfare entitlements, and their antecedent restructuring, have intensified familialization.

The Preconditions to Homelessness: Material Deprivation

Research in Canada and the United States shares the same fundamental conclusion: poverty is not a random occurrence but rather is patterned into our social fabric, as a logical outcome in a capitalist society. Research also shows that particular social groups are more likely to experience episodic or chronic poverty in their life course than others, with differences related to gender, race, citizenship status, and ability, whether physical ability, cognitive ability, or psychological disability (See Chapter 2 on the racialization and feminization of poverty). Poverty can be understood as material deprivation, or a household or individual's inability to afford the basic goods and services available in a given society (Sen 2000). In this section, I refer to the participants' demographic data to illustrate how their material deprivation contributed to their homelessness. I then discuss the notion of the model citizen as a heuristic for the structuration of social stratification in Canada, followed by examples of the gendered, racialized, and ableist dimensions of material deprivation.

Prior to coming into the Residence, the majority of the participants were already experiencing varying degrees of material deprivation. Chronic poverty, caused either by long periods of under- or unemployment, played a substantial role. Yet income alone does not necessarily define poverty (Grusky 1994; Wallace and Myles 1994); the subjective experience of poverty must be taken into account in capturing the difference in social position in relation to the general population (Popp and Schels 2008; Sánchez et al. 2011; Schweiger and Graf 2014). For my purposes, the demographic data collected and analyzed using NVivo's case classification is a useful starting point in understanding participants' preconditions to homelessness. The demographic data regarding participants income sources provides a clue as to their socio-

economic status. Whereas most households depend exclusively on wages, salaries, and benefits, participants' narratives speak to their experience of relative deprivation.

Lillian's (age 43, single with 2 children) narrative reflects how material deprivation contributes to homelessness. As a racialized single mother, she struggled to reproduce herself and her family, since she was precariously employed in the service industry as a cleaner. As Lillian explained in her narrative, the cumulative effects of her low-waged employment constrained her capacity to afford a decent standard of living: "It was either if I paid some of my rent, like a good portion of it, by the time my next paycheck rolls around, then I still have to pay the balance and then pay the rest of my bills." Her low income placed her in a situation where she was always "catching up" with her rent, since she made reactive choices to sustain food security for her children. Lillian's limited income from sporadic shift work placed her in a position of having to "make choices" between feeding her children and paying her rent, a typical circumstance for many single mothers in low-paid employment or receiving income assistance (Edin and Lein 1997). Her being compelled to make *reactive choices*, i.e. to have to make a life choice with limited options, exemplifies the pattern found in other narratives. Being stranded as a consequence of being socially excluded from normative market relations, or at least not fully benefitting from them, places low-income parents, and especially women of colour, into an acutely vulnerable position when their pre-existing deprivations amount to a cost of living deficit. Hence, the events that emerge during the life course, such as starting a new family or raising young children, become decidedly perilous. A parent that is pressed into applying for emergency shelter is just one example: it signifies a crisis in the life course.

Lillian's narrative is distinct in that she was one of the few participants who were employed at the time of the interview. The majority of the participants were experiencing

extreme poverty that led to homelessness. Of the total sample of participants, the majority were racialized women experiencing unemployment and receiving a type of income assistance. The demographic makeup of the participants corresponds to the literature on who are most vulnerable to experiencing homelessness and who are also subject to devaluation for failing to conform to the model citizen. I argue that the intersecting axis of gender and race contributed to participants' deepening exclusion from social welfare entitlements and legal representation and led to material hardship and eventual homelessness.

The Preconditions to Homelessness: Relational Deprivation

Newcomer participants typically ascribed their relational deprivation to shortfalls in various public and private institutions, such as poor housing and labour market opportunities, and limited access to social security and legal aid. However, Canadian-born participants implicitly suggested various relational deprivations in their narratives, particularly moments of acute stigmatization of their mental health, substance use, and employment status. In this section I discuss relational deprivation as a precondition to homelessness, beginning with newcomers' relational deprivation from institutions, followed by those who experienced stigmatization.

Rihana, Audrey, and Carol, the three participants who identified as refugees, discussed profound relational deprivation in that they, as Carol described, were "stranded" from their home countries and could not but navigate Canadian society with little or no resources. These three participants were mothers escaping political persecution or violence in their home countries. Rihana, a single mother of three children, fled Somalia to escape ongoing violence and protect her children from being recruited as soldiers by rebel factions. She knew only one person in Ontario:

> Rihana: Yeah. We arrive from the airport and I went to a friend's house. And the friends who – I don't know how they found out. They made some call and they said "okay." They also live in a small house which I cannot be with them. And they said "we will look for you somewhere you can stay temporarily and then they would assist you and would get a house maybe." That's how I ended up – they called Central Intake?
>
> (Rihana, age 37, single with four children)

Rihana's friend was not able to host her and her children since the friend resided in a "small house," but offered to help find her temporary housing. Without an extensive social network made up of friends and family, Rhiana herself did not have the opportunity to meet someone else to find housing that would provide adequate space for her and her children. While her one friend did connect her to the Family Residence, this exacerbated her relational deprivation in that she could not necessarily develop community linkages while in the Residence. Rhiana did retain an immigration lawyer, but as a relative newcomer to Canada she had to wait until she earned Permanent Residence before she could fully make claims on the state.

Audrey's experience was different from Rhiana's in that while she was given support from a local refugee center, she was compelled to leave a homeless shelter:

> Audrey: So after I moved out of the shelter, whiles I was pregnant with my daughter, I had her. So when I moved in with my boyfriend. And he was unable to have a stable job, like throughout the year he was only doing cash job that was unstable.
>
> So I just had support from Refugee Center throughout the year, because they were hoping to help me with the – fix my English and studies. And then they mentioned that I go to the shelter [because] I told them I don't have money for rent.
>
> (Audrey, age 22, partnered with three children)

A mother with one child in the Residence, Audrey's goal at the refugee centre was to improve her language and educational credentials – clearly prerequisites for a successful life in Canada. She occasionally worked "cash jobs," which she described as "unstable," to earn an income, but her refugee status, along with her language and educational deficits, relationally deprived her from secure employment. Her partner also relied on "cash jobs" as the primary earner and was

the family's main income source. Audrey's obstacles to relationally accomplish securing employment – and being denied the right to demand a modicum of social protection due to her refugee status – placed her family and her in a vulnerable position.

Carol's experience was similar to Rhiana and Audrey's, as she was a recent refugee escaping political persecution:

> Carol: We were kind of distressed with my husband's activities. And somebody just helped us and brought us straight down to this place. We never knew any place like this existed. So he just brought us there and dropped us. He said, "Go in, don't worry, everything will be okay." And when we came in it was really, really okay. We didn't know anybody, we didn't know any place, we're stranded, no money, but they gave us good. From that, they onwards I think – and the way they're planning with us trying to make our lives stabilize.
>
> (Carol, age 37, married with five children)

Without a working knowledge of the housing services available to her family, or a relatively extensive social network and community involvement, Carol's family was "streamlined" into the Family Residence by the intake worker. Although Carol did not find herself shelter of any kind, she did have to navigate a complex social welfare system with few resources, which was daunting in her position. She described her social position as *stranded*, or left behind without the possibility to move elsewhere. In Canada, recent newcomers are more likely to face obstacles to integrate into civil society and specifically into the housing and labour markets. As Miraftab (2000: 42) explains, newcomers must overcome primary and secondary barriers to find secure housing:

> Immigrants' gender, skin colour, and cultural and religious practices are identified as primary barriers. Other barriers, however, such as level and source of income, immigrants' knowledge of the housing system, language abilities, household type and size, institutional knowledge, and experience with the dominant institutions, are also examined as secondary, or more surmountable, barriers.

The participants who identified as refugees cited "level and source of income," "knowledge of the housing system," "language abilities," "institutional knowledge," and

"experience with the dominant institutions" as barriers that ultimately constitute their relational deprivation. These barriers prevent them from participating in civil society by actively preventing them from benefiting from resources commonly accessible to other societal members. Rihana came to Canada unaware of the temporary housing resources available in the GTA and relied on her one friend to find shelter for her and her family. Audrey identified her low income as the primary barrier to housing. The fact that Audrey endeavoured to improve her language skills and educational credentials suggested that she was implicitly aware that she should develop her human capital to fully integrate into the labour force and subsequently find affordable housing. Carol identified her family's low income and a lack of institutional knowledge (i.e., available emergency family shelters), along with weak social ties, as reasons that she was living in a Family Residence, and implied that these reasons were important preconditions to her homelessness.

Last, refugees must reconcile the psychological duress associated with uprooting themselves from their home country to flee persecution or death with the need to integrate into a host country, with few or no resources (Carlson and Rosser-Hogan 1991; Porter and Haslam 2005; Schweitzer et al. 2006). The psychological factors interspersed with the social context, or duress in a time of social and political pressure to integrate into a new society, certainly contributed to these participants' relational deprivation.

Immigrant and refugee participants identified isolation that stemmed from being stranded in a new, unfamiliar country. Canadian-born participants, however, experienced relational deprivation in regard to their diminished status in civil society and their relationships with its auxiliary institutions (i.e., income assistance, housing assistance), legal institutions (i.e., criminal justice system), and adjacent institutions (i.e., the labour market) (Sen 2000). In the case of

Canadian-born citizens or permanent residents, their relational deprivation was often created by others' stigmatization of their past behaviours, sometimes involving criminal sentencing and often connected to substance use, with the exclusion of participant Hailee, who had a criminal conviction but did not specify what type of conviction.

For my purposes, I operationalize substance use as sustained consumption of any narcotic listed under Schedule I to Schedule IX in the *Controlled Drugs and Substance Act* (1996). However, considering the low conviction rate of cannabis possession (44% of cannabis-related offences were completed in court with a guilty verdict; Cotter, Greenland, and Karam 2013) and the legalization of cannabis that was upcoming at the time of my interviews (Cain 2017), I excluded those narcotics listed in Schedule II, Section 1(1–9), Schedule II, Section 2(1)(i–v), Schedule VII, and Schedule VIII, which pertain to cannabis and its derivatives. Alcohol consumption is also considered substance use, especially when such consumption interferes with a person's employment and relations with others (f and Scratchley 1996:8–9).

All four of the participants with a history of substance use discussed their usage at the beginning of the interview, when I asked them to walk me through the narrative of how they came to be housed in the Residence. For example, Maree pinpointed the moment that led to her family's homelessness: "His [her partner's] brother ended up getting arrested and going to jail so we kind of started recreationally using cocaine." This was the only time she mentioned substance use, in response to an external stressor (an extended family member charged and held in custody) and without further elucidation on her part. Nonetheless, Maree's substance use contributed to stigmatization that then compounded her relational deprivation: "Now, I'm not saying it's okay but it didn't affect my kids. My kids were, we look after this stuff, but people were calling and

making allegations that weren't true and stuff like that to CAS [Children's Aid Society]" (Maree, age 33, partnered with three children).

Whoever was aware of Maree's substance use reasoned that her cocaine consumption defined her as a "bad mother." Her recreational substance use was perceived to diminish her capacity to care for her children, which corresponds to institutional discourses reproduced by social service agencies to justify intense surveillance of poor mothers' behaviours (Edin and Lein 1997; Gilliom 2001; Maki 2011; Mccormack 2004; Power 2005; also see Mosher 2000). Being a mother and substance user prompted others to notify the CAS of Maree's living circumstances and therefore initiate visitations from caseworkers. Thus, in the case of substance use or criminalization, surveillance by law enforcement, court officers, or social workers cause relational deprivation for the purpose of correcting stigmatized behaviour that led to the deprivation, or to ensure continued legal or moral behaviour (Bashevkin 2002; Beckett and Western 2001; Little and Hillyard 1998; Piven and Cloward 1971; Strange and Loo 1997).

Vera (age 37, partnered with one child), who was interviewed with her ex-partner Evelyn present, discussed at length at the succession of events when she was "introduced to crack cocaine" that eventually brought her to the Residence. She was the only participant with a prior history of street-involved homelessness. In her reconstructed narrative, she identified her substance use as the start of a "vicious circle of homelessness," Stigmatization kept Vera from staying in the emergency shelter system for long periods due to the shelters' policy of not admitting people under the influence (City of Toronto 2015: 38–39), resulting in her moving to one shelter to another. Neale (2001) and Thompson et al. (2004) state that cyclical pattern of chronic homelessness, or cycling between sleeping rough and sleeping in emergency shelters, is related to substance use and mental illness. She was compelled to remain street involved and

denied the capacity to find stable housing through shelter programs or access to social workers. Although Vera was not "high" at the time of admittance into the shelter, a person "coming down" from cocaine use would exhibit signs, such as lethargy and irritability (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health 2010), that would indicate substance use to shelter staff. Thus, being denied access to emergency homeless services on the basis of her substance use meant that Vera experienced acute relational deprivation, which bound her to a cycle of poverty that contributed to her chronic homelessness.

Sylvester's narrative demonstrated an overlap between substance use and criminalization, even though his conviction was alcohol-related:

> Sylvester: And unfortunately because of my drinking I got into a DUI [driving under the influence]. I lost my job. It was a company. A company truck and I lost the job. And employment insurance was not going to pay because it was my fault and then I couldn't come up with the rent. So that's basically why I ended up here.
>
> (Sylvester, age 49, partnered with one child)

Within this small passage in Sylvester's narrative, the interrelationship between substance dependency, criminalization, and poverty is apparent. While, Sylvester certainly internalized responsibility for the accident (and of course he was liable for its consequences), the cascading domino effect of substance use on his relational networks is evident. During the interview, Sylvester considered himself a "recovering alcoholic," meaning that he had been dependent on alcohol at the time of the accident. Sylvester experienced relational deprivation on two counts, based on his substance use: his employer stigmatized him and denied him employment, and he was denied EI for the same reason.

All the participants reported they were experiencing some type of poverty, either as being working poor, collecting income assistance, or being unemployed with no reportable income. Homelessness is a social position precipitated by individual and structural factors –

chronic or episodic poverty is material deprivation that results from *and* perpetuates relational deprivation in some form. Certainly the racialization and feminization of poverty is contingent upon relational deprivation. For example, the moral hierarchy endemic to the labour market – and of course woven into civil society – actively creates racialized and gendered bodies as unequal to other bodies by denoting them as having a diminished social status, or as being less "capable" as potential employees. Although relational deprivation may exhibit itself in observable institutional relations, such as the criminal justice system, income poverty itself is partially caused by eroded social status.

Instrumental Deprivation

The participants' narratives speak to how their pre-existing material and relational deprivations led to their absolute housing loss, a stark example of instrumental deprivation. Poverty, or material deprivation, was the prevailing precondition for homelessness and therefore for women and men turning to the Family Residence. But many participants further identified a key moment, or a crisis, when they lost their housing. That crisis moment in their life course reflected a specific event in which the capacity to maintain the means for social reproduction (i.e., housing) was no longer tenable. In this section, I look to an interview to discuss how material and relational deprivation compound to produce instrumental deprivation and therefore homelessness and social exclusion. I operationalize social exclusion in these cases as exclusion from the means of social reproduction, or affordable housing in which to care for children and other dependents.

All the participants qualified as low-income due to: (1) unemployment (and therefore received income assistance benefits, such as OW, ODSP, or EI, and relied on savings, family

support, or a combination of these sources); (2) underemployment (i.e. among participants who were employed part-time or took on casual, "under-the-table" employment); or (3) experiencing relational deprivation in that their citizenship status as landed immigrants or refugees excluded them from making claims on the state and/or participating in local labour and housing markets. A few participants reported that existing mental and physical health challenges exacerbated their incapacity to afford housing. With the exception of some landed immigrants and refugees, the common denominator in 83 percent of the participants' narratives was that their material and relative deprivations accumulated until they experienced a *cost of living deficit*, and hence became homeless. The cost of living deficit simply meant the participant's funds, regardless of source, were insufficient to cover the expenses necessary to maintain a household. In the following excerpts, the participants' material and relational deprivations appear as contextual factors that were *instrumentally* significant in causing impoverishment.

The following narrative offers an example of instrumental deprivation. Michelle's (age 28, partnered with one child) material deprivation was co-constituted by her poor health, which in turn contributed to the experience of some relational deprivation. At the time of the interview, Michelle was unemployed and collecting OW. Her employment history consisted of low-wage service sector jobs. However, sleep-related health issues prevented her from being functional on the job, to the point where her employer reduced her hours and therefore her take-home pay. In Michelle's case, the co-constitutive relationship between material deprivation (i.e., already caring for a small family on minimal income) and relational deprivation (i.e., her health issues implied that she was an unproductive employee and her work hours were reduced as a result) were instrumental to her reaching a cost of living deficit. Michelle eventually reached what she called a "breaking point": the fact that she "didn't have anywhere else to go" and "wasn't able to

come up with first and last month's rent" demonstrates the compounding effects of material-relational deprivation that culminated in an instrumental cause of homelessness. Thus, poverty alone does not account as the sole cause of homelessness; as in Michelle's case, other factors that distance low-income households from the means of social reproduction must also be present.

A Political Economy of Constitutive Deprivation

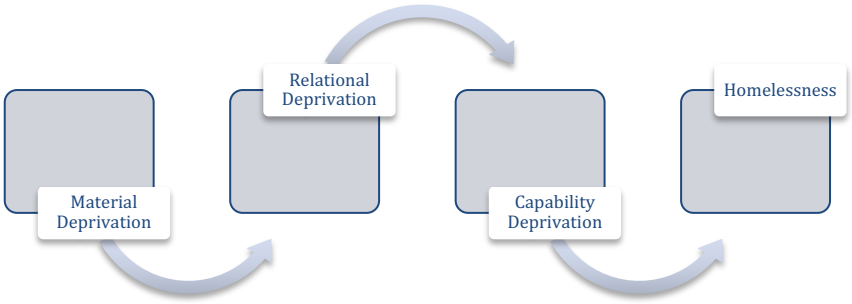
The participants in my project struggled for financial stability and, by extension, the capacity to reproduce themselves and their kin, during a period in their life course when they were parents of young or adolescent children. The participants' struggles were contextualized by a political economy productive of limited income assistance, inadequate paid employment, and poor access to affordable housing. These needs, income and housing, meanwhile constitute the foundation for social reproduction. As mentioned in Chapter 2 and evident in the participants' stories, income assistance programs such as OW and EI are at historically low rates and, at times, monthly receipt of benefits is difficult to maintain. Furthermore, as is typical in the GTA, employed or formerly employed participants typically worked in the service sector and were people of colour, and mostly women. Last, in 2015, as today, affordable housing remains largely inaccessible. There are long waiting lists across the province while the number of available housing units, particularly in the GTA, did and do not meet the public demand. Even if a family finally gains access to affordable housing, the physical and social conditions in many units pose health risks due to disrepair. Using Toronto Community Housing data, Pagliaro (2017) reported that 222 of the 364 housing developments were in "poor" condition and if not repaired within five years at the time of the report would be considered "critical." Toronto is experiencing an affordable housing crisis that instrumentally contributes to deepening family poverty.

The social organization of the family is shaped by its relation to the state and market. My research reproduces the finding that household relations are established along the gendered (and moral) hierarchy of reproductive versus productive labour. Women continue to be more likely to be the primary caregiver, whereas men are more likely to be the primary breadwinner (Luxton and Corman 2001), and the majority of the female participants in my research identified themselves as the primary caregiver and breadwinner for their children, either directly – as they were single mothers – or indirectly, in that they did not specify if their partner contributed to childcare. The mothers were responsible for finding alternate childcare, typically with immediate or extended family members.

When taking the broader political economy into account, the structural contexts that constrain a decent and meaningful life increase the probability that particular individuals – specifically women, people of colour, single mothers, immigrants or refugees, low-waged workers (especially in the tertiary sectors), and those living with mental, cognitive, physical, and substance use issues – will experience homelessness in their life course.[37] My interviews with parents reveals a pattern of capability deprivation resulting from a combined pre-existing condition of material and relational deprivation, which instrumentally deepens their incapability to achieve a "minimally decent life" (Sen 2000: 3). A decent life can only be achieved if the means of social reproduction are available, since they beget human life. Therefore, material and relational resources are necessary to be fully socially included into civil society; this reflects my interpretation of Sen's theory from my findings based on the data represented in Figure 1.1:

[37] Bramley and Fitzpatrick's (2018) research on risk factors to being homeless challenges the heterogeneous theory that homelessness results from complex determinants and that the majority of the population is at risk. The authors show that poverty, as well as childhood poverty, are central in determining the risk to homelessness, with housing and social supports playing an important but ancillary role. Also see Peressini (2009).

Figure 1.1



The participants' stories clearly illustrate that material and relational deprivations are instrumental to homelessness. A feminist political economy standpoint further unravels the linkages between the family, the market, and the state to establish interacting challenges within these three institutions as constitutive of homelessness. The loss of employment, an unexpected eviction, a migration to a host country, or a crisis that forced someone to decommodify their labour for a period of time all resulted in a loss that devastated the welfare and well-being of participants and their households.

I argue that homelessness is instrumental to the continuing breadth (i.e., the extent to which individuals and households experience multiple deprivations) and depth of poverty (i.e., the living conditions of affected individuals and households). Homelessness generates other deprivations, yet is in itself an absolute loss that pulls people deeper into social exclusion. Gender and race, as modes of relations instead of static categories, mediate the progressive sequence of instrumentally relevant deprivations and ultimately lead to constitutive deprivation. Besides other forms of exclusion, as discussed in the participants' narratives, the loss of a home is a social exclusion in itself.

The state, market, and family are three distinct units, yet they are interconnected analytically, since they interact to determine how homelessness is produced. Over the last 30 years, the Canadian state underwent significant economic restructuring of social welfare funding

and service delivery. The neoliberal model of social welfare reached its apex in the mid-1990s with a significant rollback of income assistance to eliminate citizens' "state dependency" and encourage continuous labour market attachment. These transformations were often promoted as empowering citizens and communities to be ruggedly self-reliant, thus producing the "entrepreneurial citizen" who fully exercises their autonomy and liberty. As argued in Chapter 3, the "entrepreneurial" or market citizen reflects the political and social transformations interwoven with economic restructuring: as the state, through restructuring and devolution, withdrew support for social insurance (e.g., income assistance, EI) even during economic downturns accompanied by rising unemployment rates, the political expectation was that citizens would invest in their human capital through life-long education, long-term employment, and a high degree of personal flexibility and adaptability to social and economic change (Clarke 2007; Coulter 2009; Ilcan 2009; MacLeavy and Peoples 2009). Thus, the means to generate an income and provide social insurance was responsibilized under the neoliberal mode of governance. These logics and tactics are especially acute in income assistance programs and emergency social intervention programs.

These political expectations of state actors overlooked the gendered and racialized contours of the human life course, which is rendered more complex by differential household wealth and income. In other words, education, job-seeking, cohabitation with a partner, and childbirth are pivotal moments in the life course that affect women and men in distinct ways and are differently shaped by race, ethnicity, ability, and citizenship. Childbirth and childcare, for example, demands most women to decommodify their labour for certain periods of time, which in turn affects their employability in the future, referred to as the "motherhood penalty" (Anderson, Blinder, and Krause 2003). The ideal market citizen, therefore, is a masculinized

entity with no relations to kin or community. Market citizens who become unemployed, impoverished, and possibly homeless, are reasoned not to have invested in their futures and to have failed as individuals rather than as intrinsically social beings embedded within complex interpersonal and institutional relations. By individualizing the determinants to poverty, the successful market citizen is posited to be responsible for their welfare.

Responsibilization is a component of familialization, in that the state expects citizens to be responsible in seeking out the means to maintain their households through employment. Moreover, the family unit is held responsible in caring for its members in lieu of formal social insurance; this includes not only material resources, but affective labour as well. The gendered division of household or reproductive labour remains intact or regresses into previous, traditional family arrangements, since women in general are more likely to take on the double burden of reproductive *and* productive labour.

Among the participants, all the women were either unemployed and relied on income assistance, or employed (or had employment history) in the "pink ghetto" job market. This refers to holding feminized occupations such as domestic work, custodial services, and retail; essentially, occupations that directly reflect the work women do, such as social reproduction, when there is a gendered division of labour in the family (Krahn, Hughes, and Lowe 2015). The interrelationship between state, market, and family produces a cost of living deficit (and hence a *poverty trap*) for low-income women and men: social policy leaves vulnerable families stranded, the segregated labour market keeps families poor, and the social organization of the family therefore maintains an unequal structure that constitutes traditional gender roles in the family. In other words, among heterosexual couples, poverty reinforces a traditional division of labour in

which men are more likely to be breadwinners and women to be caregivers, and the state aids in reproducing this arrangement.

Labour market segmentation both accommodates and perpetuates the feminization of poverty. The pink ghetto, despite modest increases in women's labour market participation in secondary and primary sectors (Krahn, Hughes, and Lowe 2015), continues to define labour market demographics. Working in the pink ghetto allows women more time to care for their families, since these jobs tend to be part-time and flexible, but at the same time it entrenches normative gender roles in the private and public sphere. Seeing as the state has withdrawn from providing substantive social insurance, and the labour market may fail women broadly and women of colour specifically, the traditional social organization of the family also contributes to the feminization and racialization of poverty. The prevailing traditional gendered division of labour, which extends to gender segregation in the labour market, means that women's employment income alone may be insufficient to provide the means of social reproduction.

As stated earlier, women of colour typically constitute the majority of pink ghetto workers, as their moral value as workers is considered negligible in a labour market largely dominated by white employers. Recent migrant or refugee women, or women with histories of mental illness, disability, and substance use, were clearly barred from entering the labour market or struggled to remain employed, even in the pink ghetto. Meanwhile, the men in the sample population, if they were employed or had a history of employment, typically relied on low-waged, low-skilled employment in the service industry or seasonal construction; temporary labour agencies and "under the table" jobs were common sources of income. The male participants' experience with the precarious labour market corresponds with past research that shows a correlation between men's low wages in casual labour and susceptibility to

homelessness (Shier, Jones, and Graham 2012). Gender played out in distinct ways for participants: women were expected to be the primary caregivers while the men were expected to be the primary breadwinners, yet these expectations produced considerable strain on both groups, even if the couple worked, as the women interviewed were typically employed in low-wage jobs. For all participants, regardless of gender, employment was not a means to lift them out of poverty. Despite the discourse that encourages labour market attachment as the optimal course to ensure autonomy and self-reliance, low-waged, low-skilled, and precarious employment left participants vulnerable to a cost of living deficit that threatened their housing security.

Summary

The participants' interviews reveal how and why they entered the Family Residence at this juncture in their life course. Prior, compounding experiences of material and relational deprivation led to a cost of living deficit – they could no longer afford their basic living costs, and specifically housing costs. Material deprivation typically resulted from chronic or episodic market poverty, since the participants were unable to earn a sufficient income or relied on income assistance, which culminated in a "breaking point" in their narrative. Relational deprivation was acute for participants who experienced stigmatization, such as substance users, or for the racialized participants navigating a prejudiced labour market and a punitive social welfare system. Working in tandem with one another, material and relational deprivation are instrumental to homelessness. An overview of welfare state transformations in Canada and its current iteration exposes how the political economy of social welfare produce these experiences, particularly for racialized women.

Participants had their own narratives on how they arrived at the Family Residence. For analytical purposes, my goal was to connect the participants' narratives with theoretical models on homelessness and social reproduction amidst the broader political economy. However, as each interview progressed, I increasingly became aware that this question was more of an exercise in conceptualizing micro-sociological occurrences influenced by macro-sociological currents, like eddies forming along a riverbank. The question on how participants came into the Family Residence isolated a crisis moment during each life course. Change coincided with many life course events, from immigration to Canada, childbirth, under- or unemployment, accidents, illness, or eviction. For all participants, transformations in their life course precipitated their homelessness and eventually their intake into the Family Residence.

An underlying theme permeates the participants' narratives. At the time of their transformative crisis, they lacked the necessary resources to avoid homelessness: they did not possess necessary financial resources, social networks such as family or friends to provide temporary housing, or human capital, often due to illness, disability, or mental health. Some did not have a citizenship status that would enable them to find employment or housing or make claims on the state. Others did not have the capacity to navigate the legal system. The tension that arose when the participants were incapable to manage a crisis demonstrates how poverty and social exclusion are deeply interrelated for homeless people who are struggling to achieve housing, financial, and social stability – and perhaps mobility – in Canadian society.

The capacity to weather a social crisis during a transformative period in the life course does not develop from an inherent quality in select individuals. Instead, capacity and resilience can be thought of as socially mediated resources allocated along an intersectional axis. In other words, although individual personality and biography may be determinants of personal

resilience, they are not cultivated in a vacuum; they are socially learned and developed upon when individuals have adequate material resources or a social security net. For my purposes, the learned characteristics that determine resilience cannot be understood without establishing the participants' social position and the resources available to them. Social positions – and the subsequent subjectivities that arise – do not result from "natural" forces exerting themselves on human behaviour. The individual capacity to endure a crisis in the life course is *partly* determined by available material and affective resources that are themselves largely accumulated in degrees relational to the participants' social position. The events that occurred prior to their homelessness are not separate from their narratives that describe their experiences being homeless. Instead, the moments that led up to their intake into the Family Residence were woven into their wider narratives that discussed the overall effects of poverty, in that social exclusion exacerbated their social conditions.

The participants' subjective experiences as homeless parents point to broader transformations in the political economy of the Canadian welfare state. In Chapter 6, I discuss how the participants manage social reproduction during a "non-normative" transition in their life course, in this case an episode in a family emergency shelter. Moreover, I examine their social reproduction practices while positioned in a state of liminality in order to understand how (and if) social rights are protected for low-income families.

Chapter Six
SOCIAL REPRODUCTION IN THE FAMILY SHELTER SYSTEM

In this chapter, I deconstruct participants' narratives to uncover their strategies and practices of social reproduction while staying at the Family Residence. I argue that the participants' narratives illustrate how their life chances over their life course have been interlocked with the broader political and economic milieu in which they are situated. Moreover, the inequalities, struggles, and injuries faced by participants, which are deeply racialized and gendered, link to this context.

This chapter is divided into three parts. First, I discuss how the participants framed their daily routine within the context of the Family Residence. The narratives in the first section also reveal participants' capacities to subjectively experience *continuity*, or a sense of stability in their household, as opposed to *disorder*, or a state of confusion that disrupts household functioning. Second, I examine participants' means of social reproduction at the time of the interviews, both outside and within the Residence. The inflows of social reproduction pertain to the material and affective resources required by the women and men I interviewed to carry out care work. Third, I analyze the practices that participants adopted to socially reproduce their family. The state (vis-à-vis the Family Residence) and the non-profit sector (or third sector) provide the bare minimum in terms of income, material resources, and tools for social reproduction. Thus, the responsibility to reproduce the family remains primarily with the parents, alongside their immediate or extended family. Furthermore, by ascribing an onus of responsibility to socially reproduce to parents, emergency homeless services inadvertently engender parents' "triple burden" – not only must parents continue caring for their family, they must also navigate the emergency homeless services (i.e., finding a home) *and* secure an income or consolidate a plan for their future income.

To contextualize participants' experiences of social reproduction practices, defined as budgeting, cooking, cleaning, caring, socializing, and resting in their narratives, I first briefly describe the Residence and the amenities available to the clients.

The Family Residence

The following description is drawn from my fieldnotes written after my first meeting with the program coordinator, when I was given a tour of the Family Residence building. The Family Residence, an unassuming brick building next to a highway, was divided into three connected sections. On the bottom floor were the intake desk, waiting area, and offices for the staff. My first impression was of the smell; a strong antiseptic aroma permeated the complex. The walls were painted in neutral, pastel colours. Hard, plastic chairs hugged the walls in the waiting area, and the shelter rules were posted at the doorway, along with notifications for workshops and services in or near the Residence. At the time of my visit, the Residence was silent. I only heard the quiet din from the offices behind the intake desk.

A door in the waiting area led into a hallway to the second section: a common area, a kitchen, a laundry room, and two multipurpose rooms for meetings. Each room was rather utilitarian and sparsely decorated. The common area was the largest room in the facility and divided into two sections. One contained computers for the residents to use, and the other was a play area for children. The play area floor was lined with mats and tables were placed in its centre. Shelves along the walls were crammed with toys. A small playground lay just outside the common area. On the floor above this second section of the Residence were the suites for residents. A typical suite had two or more bunk beds, a dresser, and a bathroom. I was informed that the residents often set up a small kitchen area with a hot plate to prepare food in private.

Many residents had a television in their suite as well. The Residence's interior was rather plain with walls painted in soft, rather institutionalized blues, browns, and greys. No carpeting was installed in the suites; the tiled floors along with the spartan accommodations gave the suite a cold, provisional impression. The suites in no way felt like homes. From an outsider's perspective, the Family Residence resembled a combination of a motel, dormitory, and community centre. The built environment embodied the liminal nature of the Residence: the pragmatic construction, neutral colours, and subdued atmosphere had a de-personalizing effect. In other words, through the absence of the "warmth" typically associated with the subjective experience of home, the Residence conveyed the implicit message that the clients were strictly visitors "passing through" who were not intended to be comfortable.

Another observation was how the spatial location of the Family Residence reflects the feminization of poverty experienced by the women in the interviews. The Residence stands alongside a six-lane, arterial road surrounded by aging motels. In my fieldnotes, I wrote how the surrounding area was lifeless: there were few visible, accessible amenities like grocery stores and community services, save for fastfood restaurants found east of the Residence. Since the majority of the participants were mothers, many of whom are single, the spatial location meant that the women must be separated from their family and friends in their community if they needed emergency shelter. Moreover, they must travel long distances on public transit to purchase household goods or access family services, including health care. Two consequences arise from these circumtances. First, the spacial location places a disproportionate burden on lone mothers to secure the inflows for social reproduction, therefore inducing distress in their everyday lives. Second, the spatial location further deepens lone mothers' poverty while they reside in the liminal space. Without accessible inflows for social reproduction, lone mothers face barriers in

their outflows of social reproduction and achieving upward social mobility. Their time in the liminal space was spent transitioning back into housing rather than cultivating the human capital needed to gain employment or otherwise acquire financial security.

The Daily Routine in a Liminal Space

The majority of families in Canada reside in a *normative household*, which means that they reside in an owned or rented space in which the family has full autonomy within the walls: they are not subject to continuous surveillance by state actors, they can choose with whom they share the space, they are protected by laws pertaining to home ownership or tenancy, and they can enter and exit the space without sanctions. Although homeless families are displaced from a normative household, I will show that they continue to normatively function in their everyday household routines. For my purposes, I was especially interested in how they do so in the particular, liminal socio-economic conditions within the emergency shelter system for homeless families.

As argued by Lefebvre (1976), the routines that constitute everyday life ensure that capitalism can reproduce itself, which suggests that our daily practices are subsumed within normative and exploitative class relations that ultimately determine our citizenship. Feminist political economists agree, although their analysis examines particularly how women's routines in their unpaid domestic work contributes to the reproduction of capitalism (Luxton and Corman 2001; O'Connor, Roof, and Shaver 1999). Routines illustrate how we carry out our everyday lives and, combined with life course theory, how structural conditions materially and ideologically interpellate agency, subjectivities, and social locations.

Emergency homeless shelters are liminal since they are an in-between space for normative households; individuals enter the shelter system when they experience housing loss

and, ideally, access shelter services to transition back into a normative household. That period of being "betwixt and between" normative households, and consequently the social status associated with being housed, translates into clients being subject to a shelter's regulations rather than engaging in the planning, implementation, and enforcement of their own household norms and values. Family members must nonetheless reproduce other members and themselves, regardless of their physical circumstances and social location.

Participants' daily routines in the liminal space of the family shelter were characterized by two qualities: continuity and disorder. This distinction is made based on how participants answered the interview question "What does a typical day look like for you?" Daily routines enable individuals to skilfully accomplish everyday life (Karp, Yoels, and Vann 2003) and in most cases routines are relationally accomplished in cooperation with others (Adler, Adler, and Fontana 1987; Sztompka 2008). The binary I selected to analyze how the participants' made sense of this transition in their life course has a precedent, found in Frank's (1995) study on ill people's search for meaning of their experiences. Ill people speak of three types of narratives: restitution, chaos, and quests. The restitution narrative is technology's promise to heal. The chaos narrative does not give hope of recovery nor offer insights from the illness experience. The quest narrative is an attempt to learn insights from their experience with the hope of personal transformation. My analytical term continuity does contain elements from both the restitution and quest narratives, as the participants see the Family Residence as an opportunity to "start over." The disorder the participants discuss does share characteristics from the chaos narrative. For some, the experience of entering the Family Residence left them discombobulated, with little to no mention of a hopeful future. As also seen in Frank's work, the binary I use here is aligned to a social ethic, one in which the participants' view their position in relation to the "housed"

society and seek out a route to normalcy. Here, I turn to these disordered narratives and the factors that gave rise to them.

Disorder in the daily routine

The narratives that spoke of disorder made up 5% of the total number of interviews. Disorder simply means the opposite of continuity: participants did not report a daily routine upon entering the Family Residence and so did not achieve continuity in the household. Instead, these participants were effectively scrambling to find housing, access services, or orient themselves to their new circumstances. These participants described their daily life in the Residence as chaotic, stressful, or demoralizing. The hardships they experienced likely contributed to their homelessness, and their attention was often focused on these as a cause of their current circumstances. These participants' hardships were present in the "foreground" of their narratives. and establishing a daily routine was not necessarily a priority for them at the time of the interview. The notion of disorder does not suggest that the participants are individually irresponsible or unmotivated; instead, their disorder in their daily routine points to their reaction to housing loss and entering into a status as a "Residence client" in a liminal space. In these cases, participants' recollections of the transitions they experienced from being housed to being Residence clients did not include their domestic practices to reproduce life. They instead implied that their attempts to maintain their household had been interrupted by a crisis in their life course. While their daily life did contain some elements of a routine, they did not concern themselves with the minutiae that constitute their practices. They seemed not to experience continuity, since their normative household was disrupted and therefore their lives were turned "upside-down," particularly in the first few days of their residency. These participants answered

the question, “Could you give me an example of what a typical day looks like for you?” by addressing their mental health, illness, or plans to exit the Residence and returning to a normative household through re-housing and employment.

Participants with a history of repeat experiences of homelessness struggled to adjust to the home-like environment of the Family Residence. Vera (age 37, partnered with one child) had extensive experience with the emergency shelter system and was taking time to adjust to her new surroundings. Throughout the interview, she rarely discussed her daily life and rather directed the conversation towards her experience of depression and the resources she accessed; in this way, her depression constituted her experience in the Residence. She was unaccustomed to having what she viewed as “permanent” housing. Vera was deeply sad about her situation, stating that she was depressed because she had been in Residence for over a year: “And, you just want to want your own home, it’s not the same because you just live a room. Mind you, you’re grateful, you’re so grateful because a lot of places, you don’t get your own room.” Referring to being in the “system,” Vera confirms the Residence is not a home but simply “living in a room,” although she appreciates having shelter. For Vera, however, the room was only a facsimile of a home. Vera mentioned her daughter sparingly during the interview and only in reference to her special needs and sharing responsibility with her ex-partner Evelyn. The Residence did not provide the comfort and security associated with the familiar surroundings of the normative home and, although temporary, the Residence had the power to disrupt the continuous nature of social reproduction. Coupled with her depression, Vera found establishing and maintaining continuity difficult.

Other participants with histories of substance use or who identified as disabled also experienced decreased emotional well-being. Michelle (age 28, partnered with one child) was

greatly troubled by her child's health and how she could manage in the Family Residence: "Well, my baby is in the hospital. So it's been a little difficult managing going to the hospital and being able to ... she's still there." After returning to Canada after working in the US and being treated by an orthopaedic doctor there, Michelle needed to wait three months to receive Ontario Health Insurance (OHIP) to get treatment, which delayed her ability to find work. Michelle was eventually prescribed methadone, which meant that her newborn also required treatment: "Just enough to keep her so she's not in pain, extreme discomfort and irritability and so she can eat and sleep. … It's like the hardest thing I've ever had to see."

Michelle recounts a narrative of trying to remain healthy and above the poverty line to support her expectant child, despite the barriers she encountered. After a car accident, she began to use opioids to treat her pain and be mobile. However, due to (from her perspective) complications when navigating Canadian medical coverage, she turned to methadone purchased on the street as a substitute for opioids and to detox herself in order to remain employable. Michelle struggled to maintain her status as a model citizen and expectant mother. Her increasing intake of methadone, despite her reservations about continued use, meant her daughter was born dependent on opioids or their substitutes. Several important factors were at play here in disrupting her sense of continuity. First and foremost, Michelle was clearly distraught at witnessing her newborn daughter "tighten herself" and have "tremors" due to withdrawal before the hospital administered morphine to ease her pain and help her eat and sleep. This alone would preoccupy any mother and overshadow her thoughts about daily routines. Second, her social rights and social inclusion became fragmented when her daughter was born with an opioid dependency. Since reproduction and care of infants are qualifying criteria for women's entitlement to social assistance, Michelle risks failure as a mother (or mother-citizen), a potential

that compounds her earlier failure as a breadwinner able to maintain a home. Her loss of status, as provider and mother, causes her overriding concern for mothering her daughter, and these factors work in tandem.

Vera and Michelle entered the Residence under different circumstances, yet their narratives share themes. Both women had histories of substance use and chronic poverty. Michelle's income was inconsistent since she typically worked in the service industry while Vera experienced chronic homelessness. In their narratives about their time in the Residence, both spoke at length about the harmful emotional state brought on by living in the Residence.

Several pre-existing factors were shared among participants whose response to a question about their daily life suggested some degree of disorder. After I compared the participants experiencing disorder and those experiencing continuity,[38] it was clear that the participants experiencing disorder had been in the Residence from one week to one month, with one participant, Hailee (age 37, partnered with two children), having been at the Residence for six months. Clearly, the traumatizing effects of homelessness prompted an experience of disorder in their life course. I make a case that the participants' experienced a "sudden shock" from losing their homes and transitioning into an institutionalized setting, yet felt relieved they were not without shelter. However, over time depression, anxiety, and shame would set in as the participants assess their situation. These participants were also overwhelmingly disabled and unemployed. Their income was derived from social assistance and casual labour. However, there was no strong distinction in the general characteristics of the narratives shared between men and women or number of children in and outside the Residence. From the matrix coding results I concluded that the participants who already struggled with a diminished and precarious means of

[38] In NVivo, nodes refer to codes created by the user.

social reproduction (such as low income) and faced systemic barriers to upward mobility (such as disability or substance use) were more susceptible to disorder at a crisis point in the life course than Residence clients who did not share those same circumstances. The three women discussed in this section, Vera, Michelle, and Hailee, were unemployed and receiving OW. Vera and Michelle had a history of housing insecurity and substance use. Hailee was out on bail at the time of the interview. The three women were struggling to make ends meet even before they entered the Residence. Participants who experienced disorder lacked the security afforded by savings, social networks, human capital, and reliable employment income. Prior to entering the Family Residence and during their time as clients, these participants experienced profound, multifaceted struggles.

Disorder speaks to how liminality poses a risk to homeless families. Vera and Michelle, along with other participants, described their transition into the Residence as a distressing time. Their personal circumstances, like caring for a special needs child and a history of substance use, compounded their mental health issues. As well, the continuity of their households weas disrupted as a result of entering the Residence's de-personalized and regulated environment. Managing their family needs, their own needs, and the stress that comes with being homeless became emotionally taxing in a space that lacked human warmth and was designed to provide temporary accommodations rather than to be a supportive home.

Continuity in the daily routine

Participants whose narratives were characterized by what I call continuity framed their answers to the interview questions in reference to their entrance to the Residence, with exceptions for low English comprehension or misunderstanding the question Especially those

who had been long-term clients reported settling into their new circumstances by entering into a daily routine in the shelter. This continuity then represented a new "chapter" in their homeless household. For example, participants who talked about everyday life in the Residence as a series of sequential tasks, whose hardships seemed to appear as "background," were experiencing continuity. Humans accomplish everyday life in sequential tasks; we attempt to wrest control of what appears to be a chaotic world by extrapolating resources and transforming them into necessities for the reproduction of life. According to Lefebvre (1976), this process alters the body into a polyrhythmic collection of social and natural rhythms, and daily life results from the patterns of paid and unpaid work to accomplish a sense of coherence. Those rhythms were expressed in participants' narration of how their daily lives involved connecting sequences into a cohesive whole, ultimately giving rise to what I call continuity.

The majority of participants (95%) appeared to maintain continuity in their daily lives. Three examples will be provided to illustrate the central theme that permeated their narratives. In the relevant cases, the participants outlined the necessary planning and execution of the affective and material practices necessary to preserve and reproduce life.[39] The narratives about the participants' typical day were sequential and therefore reflected a degree of continuity in their household. I found that the participants who could continue reproducing their household without much disruption were those who engaged in specific behaviours associated with the routinization of social reproduction.

Maree (age 33, partnered with three children), like many of the participants, answered the interview question by running down her daily routine in terms of time, or when events occurred and how her schedule for errands and leisure time were arranged around her children's needs.

She reconstructed her typical day with her schedule in mind. Her routine was dictated by which days and times her three-year-old son went to childcare, and she scheduled her errands around the childcare program's availability. Her daily routine limited her options to acquire the basic necessities to reproduce her household – for example, providing suitable diapers for her children until they were ready to transition to using the toilet independently. Reaching Costco, which sold her preferred diaper brand at an affordable price, cost her time due to its distance from the childcare facility and the Family Residence. She factored in the diminished income she received from the Red Cross allowance and the allowance provided by the Family Residence into this planning, since she and her children entered the Residence "with nothing; just clothes on our back." Yet Maree's everyday life meanwhile was structured much like that of a normative household. She needed to be present in certain places at certain times so that her son could receive early childhood education and she could have time to run errands (and have personal time away from her children). When income and time limited her shopping options, Maree used the time she saved by shopping at stores closer to the Residence to "sit back and just relax." Her leisure time, a vital component to social reproduction, was also structured by her schedule.

Sylvester (age 49, partnered with one child), a newcomer to Canada, recounted a day resembling Maree's with an emphasis on sequential events. Sylvester was separated from his partner, who had remained in Nigeria, and he took sole responsibility for their child. Sylvester's day now began with eating breakfast and preparing his son for school. After school they spent leisure time together. Time remained important for Sylvester, since he divided each day into morning, "during the day," and then evening at home. His daily routine was structured around his son's schedule; he attended physiotherapy and bought groceries while his son attended school. Had I not known that Sylvester was staying in the Family Residence, his typical day

would have resembled those from single parents in normative households, along with the struggles newcomers face while they adjust to their host country.[40] Peppered throughout his narrative, however, were indications that continuity in Sylvester's household was being reproduced under duress. He reported experiencing bouts of depression in which he felt "like doing nothing," yet he continued to attempt to resist the temptation of falling into disorder. Another challenge stemmed from helping his son adjust to Canadian schools, and by extension, Canadian culture and the English language. For example, Sylvester regularly visited the library with his son to facilitate his reading, and he assisted his son in improving his math skills in order to keep up with Canadian children his age. Sylvester was well aware of the challenges his son will experience and overcome as a newcomer to Canada and that he must integrate enculturation along with his son's socialization, material care, and formal education. His interlocking set of priorities established a *household schema* coinciding with his goal to eventually leave the Residence; this firmly ensconced continuity into his narrative about his typical day. A schema refers to a cognitive framework that allows individuals to organize knowledge and relationships between concepts, objects, or people (Dimaggio 1997). A household schema, then, refers to the participants' cognitive framework for understanding how their family functions, which rests on organizing their knowledge of its members and the relationships between them. An important descriptive verb Sylvester used was "juggle," to refer to how he saw his balancing of his son's needs during their leisure time with school responsibilities. This "juggling act" can be difficult for a single father, and is similarly reported by single mothers in meeting the multiple and sometimes conflicting needs of children in their leisure and extracurricular time (Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Duxbury, Higgins, and Coghill 2003).

[40] Newcomers' struggles can manifest as a sense of alienation from the host country's institutions, ranging from employment and housing (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine 2015).

These parents did have a sense of continuity in their daily lives. Parents' narratives indicate how they realigned their daily routines and their household schema to conform to the social and material conditions of the Residence. Maree and Sylvester established a rhythm for their children with their household schema in mind; they were aware of their children's individual needs along with their general needs, such as meals and bedtime. Despite the fact that most social reproduction is invisiblized, these practices constituted continuity in the household; women and men in the Family Residence embodied the social roles of parenting in their daily enactment of routines to reproduce their kin. The polyrhythmic assemblage of cooking, cleaning, and caring for children on a daily basis produced their subjective sense of normalcy, which ensured predictability and structure in their lives. As everyday life is a bodily affair and henceforth habitual, since we cognitively interact with our social environment with little to no mediation (Bargh 1997), the Family Residence, as a social space as much as a material space, rewrote the participants' polyrhythmic feeling and therefore sculpted their subjective experience of the Residence's liminality. Achieving their rhythm of everyday life was further dependent on the household schema of services external to the family, such as food banks and daycare. Time is an important indicator in these cases, as Maree and Sylvester had a schedule dictating which tasks needed to be accomplished and when they needed to be accomplished. In total, these participants' relationships with their children and their knowledge of the various services they could access converged to create the polyrhythmic assemblage of everyday life that represents continuity. However, this was a continuity under duress, suggesting that the social environment manifested from the liminal nature of the emergency shelter system bore down on the participants' consciousness.

Much of this daily work was invisible due to the fact that it occurred within the private domain of the family. However, a significant portion of the participants' work also occurred in plain sight of the various staff members in the Residence and the service agencies with whom the participants engaged on a daily basis. Arguably, this work was of importance to the staff insofar as it permitted them to assess whether the participants appeared compliant with the Residence's expectations. Simply put, by appearing as competent parents actively looking for new housing, they could continue using the residential services. Participants talked about the housing plan, or list of potential rental properties they needed to contact each day to demonstrate they were proactive about transitioning out of the Residence. Furthermore, the Residence, like any other emergency homeless shelter, had strict rules that clients must follow in order to remain there. One participant (Theodora) explained that the staff would transfer clients who did not follow the housing plan or who transgressed the Residence's rules to motels near the Residence.

And since the participants were expected to be "good" parents and "good" Residence clients, by obeying the Residence's rules and actively searching for new housing, their social environment intruded into their daily experiences, and hence their consciousness, as parents. In Sylvester's case, for example, depression permeated his everyday life because he blamed himself for his accident that had contributed to his family's homelessness. Yet, he continued to implement a routine in his son's daily life to instil a sense of continuity and be recognized as worthy of continued housing assistance. The participants' position in the liminal space therefore burdens them with additional responsibility beyond maintaining a household.

This deepened responsibilization characterized the liminal space, and had the potential to emotionally harm the clients. The liminality of the Family Residence was not a home, but rather a space in which people transition from one status to another. Maree and Sylvester were capable

of reproducing the sequential nature of everyday life in the Residence, yet they also told stories about the difficulty of maintaining, at the very least, the appearance of continuity. Maree's constant work at recreating a normative household and Sylvester's shame at being unemployed and homeless suggest that the Family Residence shaped not only their daily lives but also their self-conception as competent, responsible parents.

The Inflows of Social Reproduction

Like most human endeavours, social reproduction requires material resources, such as money, food, indoor plumbing, household appliances, and adequate space both indoors and outdoors. Social reproduction also requires human resources, which encompass social relationships, interpersonal support networks, and the physical and mental energy to perform daily tasks. When a family cannot access those resources, social reproduction becomes compromised. Two types of social sources of support were present in their narratives: formal and informal supports. Formal supports are provided by the state and the community, whereas informal supports are provided by friends or family (Gazso, McDaniel, and Waldron 2016). Both types of supports can be either instrumental or expressive. Whereas instrumental supports refer to material and financial supports (e.g., a direct loan, a gift of money), expressive supports refer to emotional (or affective) supports, often taking the form of informal counselling. In this section I explore the relationships participants cultivated within the liminal space of the family shelter system to access resources needed to reproduce their family members and relations. These relationships are broadly categorized as those with staff working in services outside the Residence, staff in services inside the Residence, and the participant's own interpersonal networks. In the three sections, I will focus on excerpts from participants' narratives related to

each topic. Last, I contextualize the participants' access to the means of social reproduction from a life course theory perspective.

Services outside the Family Residence: Food banks and clothing banks

Many participants (35%) relied on food and clothing banks. The participants who accessed food banks had typically come into the Residence at a time of unprecedented emergency, such as entering Canada as a refugee or suddenly being evicted. Rihana (age 37, single with four children), who had come to Canada as refugee three months before the interview, explained her use of food banks: "You have teenagers, they want this and that. Buy ice cream, buy this. They go to the expensive stuff. … So I started the food bank last week. I've seen it helps. At least with the bread you get – you help – you cut about 20, 30 dollars, that's a lot. Some of the stuff is expired too." Carrie (age 55, single with one child), also used the local food bank, having been introduced to it by other residents. Louise (age 40, married with six children) was new to Canada and suffered a lack of extensive social networks and sufficient finances. She learned through friends to access services outside the Residence: "Yeah. No, actually it's for me to go use it by my friends who have been here. So they told me all those things, like where to go. They use food bank; they took us there last week."

In some cases, clothing banks were necessary resources for parents to acquire clothes for their children, particularly winter clothes. Much like the food bank users, participants who used the clothing banks largely had entered the Residence because of an emergency situation. Audrey (age 22, partnered with two children), a refugee who had been in Canada only three weeks at the time of our interview, did not have enough clothing for her children at the time and called the clothing bank "the only way we were able to manage." Theodora (age 35, single with two

children) said she and her friend did not always "rely" on this service, but due to her financial and social circumstances, she recognized that it did in fact assist her.

Participants with children who were still not toilet trained procured diapers, a costly expense, from numerous sources, such as clothing banks and the Children's Aid Society (CAS) when they could. Daniel discussed how being the father of a young child and struggling to regain some semblance of normalcy for his family meant that he turned to a service outside of the Residence to acquire diapers:

> Daniel: We have a CAS worker. She has given us little things like cribs and stuff. But here, Family Residence, personally, they never said anything, didn't care if we need food or money. It's ridiculous here. Honestly, this whole place is ridiculous.
>
> They [CAS] actually gave us some food vouchers, they gave us diapers. [The CAS worker] has given us her car when we move. So, they're helping us more than this place; even though we don't want them in our life, but at least they're helping.
>
> (Daniel, age 21, common-law partnered with three children)

A few participants visited local churches to supplement their daily stock of food, but their experiences were rather mixed: some participants viewed churches as reliable and others as unreliable. Those who viewed churches as reliable discussed how the services were effective at providing many types of support. Churches provided clothes and food as well as emotional comfort during a housing crisis. Louise (age 40, married with six children), for example, pointed out that the local church was a crucial source of support because it supplied her with new clothes for her child. Those who viewed churches as unreliable pointed out that the churches often did not have enough food or clothes at hand, leaving them "empty-handed."

The Family Residence provided shelter and facilities, such as a kitchen. However, it was external community supports that were most helpful to families in need. Since the food banks and clothing banks were managed by external agencies, most of the participants discussed how they had to venture outside the Residence to meet their basic needs, at the same time that they

were seeking to meet the Residence caseworkers' demands to re-house themselves. Participants who experienced food insecurity especially reported how this "juggling" exacerbated their stress and anxiety. Participants like Carrie, Louise, and Daniel further spoke to how, in this vulnerable situation, they had to rely on social networks, whether friends, acquaintances, or case workers, to direct them to community resource. While Carrie and Louise had little knowledge of the services available and had to be referred to them, Daniel has been clear that he needed to look outside the Family Residence for support of his family. These participants were expected to carry out this work themselves. Thus, their working to access food from charities *outside* the Residence was emblematic of familialization, or the assumption that family members would seek support from other family or community given the shortfall of state support. That the Residence did not provide food for participants suggested that the state's implicit expectation was that they had those resources at hand when they entered the facility.

Services inside the Family Residence: Children and youth programs and shelter allowance

Childcare was a resource that enabled participants to have time to either complete errands, attend meetings, or search for or hold a job. A small number of participants (16%) relied on the childcare services available in the Family Residence, which were managed by Residence staff. Since many of the participants were unemployed or looking for employment, most took on childcare responsibilities on their own. Many participants, however, reported that spending time away from their children, if only briefly, gave them much-needed respite in an already stressful environment. In fact, time away from their children enabled them to procure the means of social reproduction, including material means such as buying food and the less tangible emotional means, such as refreshing oneself alone with a coffee. For example, Vera (age 37, partnered with

one child) discussed how the daycare program in the Residence provided an emotional reprieve that was not available in emergency homeless shelters that catered to single people.

Frannie (age 22, married with four children) went into detail about how she required time to refresh herself:

> Frannie: The only thing I make about the day caring times that are here. Because it's summer. Times have changed. Sometimes kids go to daycare. Sometimes they don't. It gives me a little break every now again. But throughout the day I think that if I don't go outside to the park, at that park right there or I'll just take a walk here.
> Interviewer: So what do you in your off times, say when the kids are at daycare?
> Frannie: I go to Starbucks [laughter]. That is like – I'll tell you a little story. Starbucks became my home away from home. Yeah. It did when I just went back to – I was doing an online school for a little bit. And I needed a place to go and do homework and all that stuff. They had free WIFI.

Like any parent who is housed, Frannie needed a reprieve from her children. Frannie gave voice to how women's selfhood can be subsumed by the *motherhood identity*, in which their needs for leisure and personal growth are subordinate to their children's needs for care (McMahon 1995). Starbucks was a "home away from home," or a place outside her family where Frannie could live out an alternate identity and provided an opportunity for her to pursue an education for herself. Her "little story" spoke to a moment when she focused on herself, made possible by her children accessing daycare.

Nine participants discussed how the child and youth programs provided in the shelter were a welcome addition to their lives. These programs were distinct from childcare programs in that they focused on enrichment, such as field trips. The participants reported that their children benefited from the programs since many of the parents in the shelter were not able to afford such activities. Lavonne (age 31, partnered with five children) praised the programs for allowed her to establish a routine for her children that resembled continuity in the household:

> Lavonne: Yeah. At least they keep them busy for us, the older ones. … My kids love the program. That's one thing; my kids love the program here. That's the number-one thing,

> yeah. But I keep my kids on a routine. Like, 6:00, come in and have your shower, get a bath, bed, see you.

Rihana (age 37, single with four children) also mentioned how in the summer her children required structure in their day. They enjoyed the programs, since they contributed to their well-being by providing "experiences." From her perspective, her children "love being in the shelter actually, with the program. A lot of the activities going on with the children. They are giving kids very busy. Actually they will go out twice a day. You know, summer time." The programs, which provided support and enrichment for her children that she had previous been unable to afford, prompted Rihana to claim that "actually, we are blessed to be [in the Residence]."

Three participants reported receiving a shelter allowance. The allowance was granted to participants who simply had no income when they entered the Residence. These participants did not receive OW or other types of income assistance. The circumstances that led them to homelessness, specifically chronic poverty due to under- or unemployment, could be characterized as an emergency. In other words, these participants' stories illustrated how homelessness results from a gradual deepening of poverty that prevents households from recovering from a crisis in the life course, such as sudden housing loss caused by structural conditions, or even natural catastrophe. Rihana (age 37, single with 4 children) had no income and little savings, having arrived in Canada as a refugee. Her intersecting circumstances of poverty and lack of status evoked a deep anguish in her for effectively being "trapped". Although the allowance did support her family, it did not counteract the pain and pressure Rihana perceived due to her being a refugee and homeless, both deeply marginalized social positions. Since she lost financial support since her arrival, her narratives suggests her having experienced a crisis that led to their near or absolute destitution.

Interpersonal support networks

Participants often relied on a variety of social networks to meet their needs. In this study, participants discussed how they shared childcare responsibilities with their family and friends. Emotional support received, particularly during this difficult time, contributed to the their well-being. As well, professionals such as lawyers and social workers not only comforted participants, but also played a role integrating them back into their communities.

Family members, particularly older parents, were often described as providing essential instrumental and expressive support to participants, ranging from loaning money to taking on childcare during the day. Maree (age 33, partnered with three children) relied on OW and did not have her children with her in the Residence for undisclosed reasons. Her mother minded the children in her home, although this placed considerable emotional strain on Maree because she was close to her children. She also recognized that her mother "actually sacrifices a lot. She gave up her job. … She just recently started going back to work nights to keep her job because she took a leave of absence." In some cases, either the participant's partner, whether they resided with the family or not, or an ex-partner provided instrumental and expressive support. Even though some mothers were no longer living with their partner, for some of them, like Elizabeth (age 21, partnered with two children; one child in Residence), the social bonds remained intact, since the absent parent continued being responsible for one of her children: "[My] kid's father helps me. The first two are from the same guy, the third one is from the guy I'm staying with right now." Moreover, Elizabeth made an active choice to raise her children in the family of her choosing, since two of her children are from one man and one child is from another. In both these cases, the family provided support in a time a crisis for the participants.

The friends in some participants' social networks provided the same types of instrumental and expressive support during their time in the Residence. Lavonne (age 31, partnered with five children), did not have a close bond with their family. Lavonne did not want to appear dependent and vulnerable to her immediate family and instead be self-sufficient. Furthermore, since she viewed her mother as not being a "good" parent, she did not tolerate her opinions on parenting. Lavonne's narrative speaks to how family support is not possible if one has a strained relationship with kin members: "And I can't listen to my mom about her parent advice because she wasn't a good mother herself. So I said, don't talk to me about my kids." Maree (age 33, partnered with three children) also had non-kin support from her friend Terry, who she met two months before our interview in the Residence, which demonstrated how social bonds coalesce under duress. Although she attended Narcotics Anonymous (NA) meeting and her father hired a counsellor, meaning she had support from kin and external agencies, she described the expressive supports from Terry to be "really helping." Maree's experience was also an example of the subjective experience of social class and relating that experience to a shared common interest with others. The solidarity that arises from a shared subjective experience lent itself to emotionally supporting Maree during her time in the Residence.

Participants' support networks could be quite complex and require the deep emotional work (Hochschild 1983) of participants in managing their feelings and the feelings of significant others in order to maintain perceptions of care received. For example, Elizabeth's children had a complicated paternity, which meant she had to maintain a working relationship with both fathers. For example, when the first father pressured her to live with him instead of staying in the Residence, she had to rationalize living with her family of choice with the second father while ensuring the first father continued providing support. The women's experiences of co-parenting

demonstrate a triple burden that occurred in the Residence, in that they had to work to preserve support networks, seek out new housing, and socially reproduce their own kin.

Many specialists employed within social services provided different types of assistance to participants. For example, participants were in contact with Children's Aid Society (CAS), health workers, drug rehabilitation workers, housing workers (in the Residence), immigration services, and the staff running services inside and outside the Residence. With the exception of housing and rehabilitation workers, participants' narratives indicated that their relationships were with "social workers" who were primarily focused on children's welfare. Social reproduction does not entirely occur in isolation. Within this period in their life courses, participants' narratives often described complex social support networks that provided instrumental and expressive support, accessed through caseworkers, family, friends, or word-of-mouth. The resources required to reproduce life were contingent upon these networks. Their knowledge of available programs to assist families in need also was important. However, a noteworthy number of participants had been unaware of the services available to them, particularly services outside the Residence. Typically these participants were either newcomers or new to the social welfare system. For example, the participants who identified as landed immigrants or refugees were either assisted by friends or caseworkers or accessed services familiar to them, such as Daniel and Louise going to a church. The participants who created or leveraged existing social networks for instrumental or expressive support were in fact responding to their household deficit, created by stratification over their life course. When households could not be self-sustained due to under- or unemployment and social services could not fully meet the needs of poor families, the parents developed social networks with others in a similar circumstance. Another strategy was to leverage existing networks, typically among immediate family members, partners, or ex-partners,

for loans or childcare assistance. That the participants had to depend on interpersonal support networks demonstrates that social welfare in general remains residual and familialized.

Since the Family Residence is an extension of the Canadian welfare state, the income assistance provided to clients must only meet the minimum standard of living. The modern liminal space cannot offer a comfortable environment to clients, such as full access to resources within the Residence, because that would encourage dependency on social welfare. This is the logic of neoliberal social policy, in which "generous" benefits are clawed back to the bare minimum to encourage clients to quickly transition into housing. The Family Residence does not necessarily guarantee families security and stability. Participants who sought out services and support outside the shelter exemplified the neoliberal ethos in that parents are expected to secure resources like food and diapers on their own. Although some services were available to the participants inside the shelter, participants largely relied upon their social networks to meet their needs. The participants' narratives of how they secured the inflows to social reproduction outside and inside the Family Residence illustrate the potential harm to people who experience its liminal space. Transitions in the life course require time and capital and the interstitial period between homeless and housed without support places considerable emotional strain on homeless parents.

Life course theory and the inflows to social reproduction

The types of supports the participants accessed, like programs inside and outside the Residence and interpersonal supports, were largely contingent on multiple factors. First, participants' current socio-economic position, at the time of checking into the Residence, meant they had to "fill the gaps" in what they required to reproduce their family. Second, participants

could only rely on supports that were geographically available to them, or on members of their social network with whom they could retain their connection. Additionally, the services within and outside the Residence were subject to changes in funding and staffing. Third, and most importantly, the constellation of services available and the participants' strong reliance on their social networks typified the character of Ontario's current social welfare system: despite that the participants were in a liminal space, and the participants were socially and financially vulnerable in this specific context, the supports in place were chiefly residual in nature. As discussed in Chapter 2, I use "residual" to refer to the Canadian welfare state as being in the "background" of people's lives and to capture how social programs are only activated when households experience a crisis. In this discussion, I outline the relationship between participants' socio-economic position and the services they accessed inside and outside the Residence. Second, I show how interpersonal social networks either supplemented or complemented social services, with an emphasis on how the participants relationally accomplished their lives (and other lives) in a liminal space. Third, I discuss the residual nature of social services in Ontario and their apparent effects on poor families transitioning out of the liminal space. I also discuss how the participants' relationships with these services have been instrumental in reproducing the family.

Since the 1990s, social welfare for poor households has increasingly been clawed back and cash transfers have become means-tested and disciplinary, for the most part encouraging claimants to return to the labour market as quickly as possible. The welfare state cannot, in terms of available resources, revenue, and political acceptance, provide households absolute, universal insurance against capitalism's vagaries. While the services available to the participants did protect their families from utter destitution and offer a sense of normalcy, they only sustained the families in the Residence rather than facilitating their upward mobility. Indeed, food banks,

clothing banks, and the shelter allowance are not proactive, preventative mechanisms against poverty but rather reactive and responsive mechanisms to buffer against absolute poverty. Participants therefore relied extensively on their informal social networks to provide support. Said differently, the residual nature of social services for the families in the Residence is illustrative of how the welfare state encourages familialization.

The participants' social positioning also played a role in the services and resources that were accessible to them. The demographic characteristics of the participants paralleled those of people identified as susceptible to episodic poverty and homelessness. People living with disabilities are likely to have an income lower than the average Canadian. People of colour, who have historically and currently been denied upward social mobility due to systemic racism across multiple institutions, will likely struggle to maintain a normative household, even within the Residence. Last, since poverty is deeply feminized, women are more likely to experience episodic or chronic poverty throughout their lives. When these social positions intersect in any way, social exclusion from the means of social reproduction is compounded to various degrees.

Now in the Family Residence, the participants' close proximity to these services meant that if they needed them, they could access them. However, the participants who accessed services outside the shelter were quite varied; the exact services they used also depended upon their social position. Overall, the participants in this latter category shared some characteristics: their median age was 35, they had resided in the Residence for one month or less, and they were partnered. Few participants used childcare services and child programs inside the Residence, since these were already available nearby and/or their use of them was already established. Churches were important to participants if they had previously been congregation members or participants, or understood them as institutions that provided support in a crisis.

Food and clothing banks played an essential role in the participants' lives. By and large, participants who used these services were individuals vulnerable to deprivation: poor women of colour, with uncertain citizenship status, and at the Residence for a short time. Participants in regular contact with CAS often received clothing donations for children. Others entering the Residence with very few resources were obliged to locate and access alternatives until they established a sense of continuity and security. Even employed participants visited food banks, since purchasing food for a family was costly. Since the Family Residence did not provide food and clothing and offered only a small allowance for means-tested clients, poor households were left to acquire these resources on their own. Only families in a particular kind of crisis, such as refugees and women escaping violence, received full shelter assistance. These circusmtances lead me to conclude that the parents in these cases were experiencing a period of familialization when the inflows to social reproduction were not fully available to parents in need.

At this juncture in the participants' life courses, in which they experienced crisis periods, they accessed services that provided the inflows to social reproduction. On the surface, the relationship between their life courses and structural conditions appears rather evident: periods of temporary and intensive poverty meant that participants enacted their perceived social rights and so appealed for assistance. However, the availability, accessibility, and robustness of the services sculpted the participants' narratives and gave rise to distinct experiences within their life course. I briefly discussed the tenets of life course theory in Chapter 4. In this section, I will provide a more thorough examination of how to situate the participants' circumstances in life course theory.

Dewilde (2003) argues that life course theory must take into account how families are interrelated to states and markets and how these relationships give rise to particular types of

transitions. People find opportunity structures (e.g., for social mobility) for themselves and their family in their interactions with state and markets. Indeed, transitions in the life course are deeply influenced by how the relationship between families, markets, and states distributes resources, which Dewilde terms stratification of the life course (122–123). That this stratification persists over the life course further suggests that that the cumulative effect of initial inequalities gives shape to the particular transitions people experience. Dewilde refers to this as the political economy of the life course. Moreover, families are considered to be a household economy that creates strategies to balance the deficit between "needs and disposable resources" (125). As argued in Chapter 4, and shared by a political economy orientation to the life course, modern welfare states have not adequately adapted to the historical, rapid changes that occurred in the labour market, such as the transition from standard employment to precarious employment. Households therefore become poor when available resources are insufficient to meet their needs, which have been created by external, cultural factors.

Dewilde's notion of stratification over the life course is evident in participants' narratives, since their current situation, in which they were obliged to seek emergency shelter, had been precipitated by their relationships to the state, the market, and their family. As outlined previously, at the time of the interviews most, if not all, of the participants were in vulnerable positions to some degree. Moreover, the majority of the participants represented people who are more likely to be excluded from normative institutions such as employment and housing. At the point in their life course when the participants entered the Family Residence, they accessed local services, such as food banks, to lower their household deficit. Those with the least resources required more local services.

Practicing Social Reproduction in the Family Residence

Once the participants had acquired or maintained the means of social reproduction, the question remained as to how the parents carried out social reproduction in the Family Residence. The interviews revealed the fact that impoverished households are still families with all the challenges and work that family life entails. Children need to be fed, clothed, and socialized. Parents have not only material needs but emotional needs as well, achieved by rest, leisure, and socializing. Budgeting is another aspect of parents' social reproduction as it makes up the social organization of the household; it is to participants' stories of this work that I now turn.

Budgeting

Since the majority of the participants were unemployed and relied on some type of income assistance, such as the Child Tax Credit, the shelter allowance, or OW, to maintain their household, they budgeted their monthly income in order to cover their expenses between their receipt of payments. Besides the three income sources just mentioned, the only conceivable sources of income are employment income (including unreported incomes), tax returns, or loans or gifts from family members or friends.

The participants had to plan how to acquire the essential resources, ranging from food to transportation, to effectively carry out their household activities. Frannie (age 32, single with one child), Carol (age 37, married with five children) and Theodora (age 35, single with two children) illustrate aspects of this problem. The prevailing dilemma for the three women is that they must managing their expenses, like groceries and diapers, from their limited savings, and somehow find the means to afford luxuries for their family, as they would offer some comfort in their circumstances. Since they relied on income assistance, the Residence allowance, and the

Child Tax Credit, they had to carefully plan for necessities and luxuries in order to carry over to the next month. Necessities such as food and diapers took priority over luxuries affordable with a disposable income, suggesting that the participants made a concentrated effort to maintain continuity by leaning on a normative schema to organize everyday life in the family. The majority of the participants were women in heterosexual relationships with at least one child; the men in the research were in similar circumstances. With the exception of lone parents, the participants' household schemas resembled the traditional nuclear family, with women expected to carry out most of the social reproduction on a daily basis. Budgeting encapsulates social reproduction in that the organization of the household is contingent upon having the finances to carry out tasks. The women in the excerpts above consistently reported doing this important work, which suggests that traditional gender roles remained deeply entrenched among the participants.

The participants' narratives about how they budgeted in the liminal space of the Family Residence, at this specific juncture in their life courses, points to their intensified cost-benefit analysis in meeting their basic needs. For example, Frannie explained that her budgeting strategies was like "controlling wants and needs. It's one thing I have done at the end of day. It's pure ones." By "pure ones" she means necessities, and the meaning of "pure" is significant here: resources that are wholesome, pertaining to her children's survival, and without extraneous elements, since luxuries for herself or her children would signify irresponsibility on her part and ultimately draw funds away from necessities. Carol also remarked on her cost-benefit approach to budgeting at that point in her life, and stated that "[it's] not enough we have to prioritize, we have to plan, we have to budget." Prioritizing alone was insufficient – she had to meticulously organize her spending. As a low-income landed immigrant and homeless, the intersecting

relational and material deprivations that constituted her social position required Carol to responsibilize while living with the stressors associated with the Family Residence.

Last, Theodora was experiencing the same deprivations as Carol, although raising infants ratcheted up her stress around providing for her children. Theodora experienced a common dilemma faced by low-income households. She had to choose which resources to purchase to ensure her child remained clean and therefore healthy, such as diapers, shampoo, and "baby stuff" (i.e., baby powder and baby wipes), and make sacrifices elsewhere. Since food was available through food banks, her cost-benefit analysis led her to conclude that hygiene products were a priority. However, in her view food banks only provided "the opposite of food," such as packaged, processed products instead of fresh products. Her narrative points to how these particular transitions in the life course were influenced by the resources available to the participants due to the relationship between states, markets, and families. In Theodora's case, since she was poor, she was denied regular access to the fresh fruits and vegetables housed families take for granted.

Prioritizing necessities over luxuries is also indicative of parents maintaining the appearance of a "good parent" in order to remain clients in the Residence, especially since their behaviour was under scrutiny. The participants' status as "acceptable clients" was a precondition of not only being sheltered but transitioning into housing. Participants had access to resources in the Residence, such as social programs, shelter allowance, and a list of vacancies to show their efforts at being re-housed. Just as importantly, being sheltered provided a semblance to continuity that offered a "peace of mind," which allowed them to focus on finding new housing rather than scrambling to survive.

Cooking

The participants needed to prepare meals for their families. There was no cafeteria service in the Family Residence. In some cases, the participants prepared simple meals in their suites, and in other cases made use of the kitchen facility. Those who prepared meals in their suite had access to small appliances, such as microwaves and toasters. Some participants openly refused to use the kitchen, citing poor cleanliness or overcrowding as reasons. Maree (age 33, single with three children outside the Residence) listed her complaints with the Residence kitchen facilities, and how they limited the types of meals she could provide. Since the Residence kitchen only had three ovens (some with malfunctioning burners) for all the families to share, she opted to use a toaster oven in her room. This meant that she mostly prepared cereal and sandwiches for her children when they visited. Frannie (age 22, married with four children) also had concerns about the kitchen's condition, which she considered "poor," and how it affected her daily cooking routine for her children: "I have had to change my eating style and habit because – I used to cook. Now, I can't. I used to make porridge in the morning. You can't make porridge with those stoves." She was accustomed to preparing particular food at particular times, and now that was not possible. Frannie elected to leave her children in her suite rather than mind them while she cooked. Daniel's (age 21, common-law partnered with three children) narrative speaks to how parents co-ordinate their cooking – like other household tasks – by their preference, skills, and capabilities. Since Daniel had attended culinary school and his pregnant partner experienced cramps and fatigue and often worked, he took up cooking responsibilities.

The kitchen's state and the participants' reaction and adaptation to its conditions illustrate the tension that comes with managing social reproduction in the Residence. The kitchen was a constant, stressful reminder that the participants were homeless, as a dirty, crowded kitchen

would not be found in the normative household. Cooking, a human need that plays a role in the continuity of the household, was disrupted by the persistent reminder that the participants lived under the expectations relayed by institutional regulations, since an unsavoury kitchen was emblematic of their institutional conditions.

Laundry

Much like in any other household, the participants had to clean their own and their children's clothes on a regular basis. The majority of the participants used the laundry facilities in the Residence, which resembled a laundromat or the shared laundry in an apartment building. Although the participants typically responded with a simple "yes" or "no" when asked if they did their laundry at the Residence, some participants' responses underscored how laundry was a consistent socially reproductive practice regardless of the space in which it was performed. Lavonne (age 31, partnered with five children) described her laundry routine adapted to the Residence's conditions:

> Yes. I love doing my laundry. But I do it early – early in the morning so nobody is touching my laundry. Because anybody touches my laundry – the first time I ever did laundry here, someone took my laundry out, put it on top and back, put it on top and put it back. But by the dryer, there's nothing in it. I looked and I'm like, wasn't my laundry just in here? I was cussing up and down. All the time, I started yelling. I'm like, I don't have money to go buy new clothes for my kids and this and that. So they went, and by the time we came back up, my clothes was back on the dryer. Oh, I was pissed. I was like, no.

Nimasha (age 23, common-law partnered with one child), much like Lavonne, also adapted to her environment. She preferred to hand-wash her daughter's clothes because she did not want to "to mix up with the other people's clothes and they wash it with the dirty clothes and stuff."

These responses illustrate the challenges the participants faced when attempting to do their laundry in the Family Residence, in contrast to doing it in their own home or even a

laundromat. Lavonne erected boundaries between her family and other families when she used the laundry room. Her clothes, her personal property, signified the boundary between her family and the out-groups in the Family Residence. Her anger at seeing her clothes on top of the dryer, meaning that someone else removed them, was expressed for others to hear so they could understand her boundaries and not repeat the same mistake. Nimasha established firm boundaries around her household to distinguish them from the "outsiders" (i.e., those not family members) with whom they shared the space and did her laundry in her suite. Family membership was defined by cleanliness and reflected active boundary-making in response to sharing the facilities with other families in close proximity. Thus, the liminal space within the Family Residence implied the need to create and sustain social boundaries between family members and outsiders in order for the participants (and their kin) to have a sense of continuity. These acted as a strategy to manage difficult emotions that arose navigating the Residence's regulations.

Emotional labour, affective support, and socialization

When asked about their daily routine, the participants discussed the everyday activities that made up their household schema. For the most part, their daily routines granted insight into how they carried out emotional labour, affective labour, and socialization. While the interview questions did not delve into the everyday practices that constituted the interactive nature of affective labour and socialization between parent and child, participants did provide insight into the challenges that come with raising children in the Family Residence, and subsequently how these activities were performed, the emotional burden on the parents, and their perception of the effect their circumstances would have on the children.

I examine four cases that represent the range of experiences parents face in these circumstances and the emotional toll of being a homeless parent. Bekki (age 43, single with five children) discussed how her parents' emotional support helped alleviate the guilt homeless parents often experience; although she was aware that her parents were unhappy with her situation: "They never complain. And each time I see that like I wanted to cry because they won't. They never say nothing; they just keep it like that." Bekki's parents continued to provide support for her during her time in the Residence. Carol's (age 37, married with five children) narrative is reminiscent of the common experiences of immigrant mothers who come into contact with child welfare authorities like CAS, who met with Carol to explain that "we should take care of the kids and we don't get to beat them. But sometimes you have to spank." Theodora's (age 35, single with two children) narrative explained how managing her children's emotional well-being was challenging in an environment that was not always stimulating for children and required careful scheduling, since programs were also not available. The conflict in timing led to stress not only for her children but Theodora as well. Diane (age 31, married with three children) explained how managing multiple responsibilities, from child-rearing to searching for a home to attending appointments, placed considerable strain on her capability to focus on the present.

Due to the Residence's institutional expectation that parents re-house themselves as soon as possible, the participants reported continuous emotional management as they socialized and cared for their children while arranging opportunities for them. The four cases discussed illustrate a prevailing theme throughout the interviews: discontinuity in the household largely led to children's emotional discomfort, which took intensive emotional labour (Hochschild 1983) for the parents to manage. Becki, for example, discussed how her family had a "good foundation" from which they could endure their circumstances. Her emotional closeness with her children

allowed her to support them, since she was well aware they were not comfortable in the Residence. Although Becki did not always feel emotionally stable, even so, she had to provide affective care to her children to help them adjust to the Residence.

Being a newcomer to Canada, Carol faced scrutiny from the state when during a brief meeting with CAS the caseworker informed her that she could not physically abuse her children. The caseworker's paternalist and ethnocentric approach raises an important question of how parents discipline their children during a period of concentrated surveillance. In Carol's experience, a two-year-old immersed in a new environment shared with multiple families required supervision and correctives to ensure his safety. Spanking as a disciplinary measure for children is culturally normative for some immigrant mothers (Burchinal, Skinner, and Reznick 2010). Carol's narrative speaks to how race and ethnicity intersect with social reproduction for newcomers. Spanking was not considered a "normal" practice by the Canadian state, as expressed by CAS monitoring her parenting. Carol's experiences with the CAS is one example of mothers facing greater surveillance while in the Residence. Indeed, mothers were more likely to discuss moments of intense scurinty from caseworkers and referred to interactions with caseworkers concerned with child welfare than the fathers. By extending Chaze's (2009) work on the surveillance of immigrant mothers, I find lone mothers are targeted more often by caseworkers as a means of moral and social regulation.

A significant element in social reproduction is the emotional work immigrant mothers assume to assimilate into the dominant parenting culture under the watchful eyes of state agencies like CAS (Chaze 2009). As discussed previously, Theodora's greatest challenge raising her children did not lie in acquiring material resources so much as finding emotional resources. She had not only to manage scheduling problems, but also to find some degree of continuity in

her household – vis-à-vis the daily routine of providing affective support and socialization – during this disruptive time in her life course. Her children were accustomed to greater autonomy in their home country in the Caribbean, and therefore acclimating to the rigid scheduling expected at the Residence placed tremendous strain on her emotional well-being. Lastly, Diane explicitly declared her struggle in the Family Residence: to find a place to live. The double duty of raising a baby and searching for a new home placed considerable strain on her, and her isolation was rather clear when she stated that she could not trust anyone in the Residence to mind her child so she could hunt for an apartment. These compounding factors – poverty, social transitions, isolation – generated a social position that possibly delayed Diane's capacity to transition back into normative housing. Each of these four cases demonstrates that as parents, the participants were acutely aware of their responsibility to perform emotional labour to repair the possible discomfort or perhaps anguish their children were experiencning. Moreover, the daily routine that entailed supervision, discipline, and scheduling deepened a sense of familialization, since the participants were subjected to institutional norms within the Residence that built the pressure inside the environment.

In the majority of the interviews, a prevailing sentiment was that the parents faced childcare responsibilities on their own, with support provisions downloaded onto families. Many participants reported receiving money from their family in order to afford food, diapers, and clothes from their children. Income assistance, the shelter allowance, or employment income did not provide enough funds to properly reproduce the family while in the Residence; the participants were then left to seek out financial support from their existing social networks on their own. The participants' narratives included instances of having to share childcare with their extended families, friends, and in some cases, other parents in the Residence. The limited

programs for children and youth (from the participants' perspective) and the lack of affordable childcare outside the Residence meant that the participants relied on existing social networks. The pressure to arrange for childcare without supports beyond their own resources, while they navigated the Residence's bureaucracy to transition into housing, illustrates how care work was deeply familialized in the Residence.

Leisure

Participants reported stress, anxiety, and uncertainty as common emotional responses to their circumstances. Their emotional lives during this episode of homelessness in the life course will be further explored in Chapter 7 as a condition endemic to the individual experience of liminality (of being betwixt and between housing security and homelessness) in a liminal space (the Family Residence is betwixt and between the home before and the home after). Nonetheless, leisure (and rest) are essential to social reproduction, since these activities allow individuals to recuperate from their daily working lives and return to work. For the participants, caring for children, acquiring resources, meeting with caseworkers, and searching for housing constituted their daily lives, all with the stress that came with the expectation to return to the normative household. Their emotional responses therefore require them to depressurize while maintaining a sense of continuity for themselves and their children. Television, playgrounds, libraries, and of course the child and youth programs offered by the Residence were the main sources of leisure for the parents and their children. In Lavonne's (age 31, partnered with five children) narrative, the television played a pivotal role in how her children, and indeed she herself, relied on it for their well-being: "I used to have [cable television] at my old place, so she usually sits there, watch and I clean and did what I have to do. But here, she doesn't watch no cartoons because

there's nothing here she likes. So it's like you go crazy, you honestly go crazy." Luckily, the channels available in her suite entertained her children. Carrie (age 55, single with one child) discussed how her children and she remained physically active by using the Residence's playground and going for walks despite the strain associated with being homeless.

The participants discussed how the Residence conditions made it challenging for them to reproduce a normative household without the amenities they would usually be able to access if housed. I argue that leisure activities are interrelated with the care integral to social reproduction: children are educated by television programs or practice socializing with others while playing in a playground or in team sports. Lavonne, for example, compared her access to children's television stations in the Residence and in her previous home. Not having enough channels for her daughter placed considerable constraints on how Lavonne could manage her time effectively. For Lavonne, the time of day also played an important role. During the day she could either spend time alone or do chores while distracting her daughter with television. In the evenings it was much easier to regulate her daughter's television and video game time, since she stated that her daughter could not access them unless she went to bed. For Carrie, being able to give her child opportunities to play outdoors and attend sports events was vital. Two contrasting forces are at play in these examples, disorder and continuity, both reflecting social reproduction in an environment suffused with stressors. Disorder was apparent when Lavonne required access to multiple television channels to carve out moments to maintain the household, and Carrie sought to emulate a typical day of leisure and play for her child. Both mothers continued to find the means to instil continuity in the household, by Lavonne continuing to use bedtime to discipline her daughter's media consumption and Carrie continuing to take her son to sports games.

Diane's (age 31, married with three children) circumstances illustrate how affective care and leisure overlap in everyday life, and specifically how stressors like the Family Residence environment bring that relationship into sharp focus. Diane took baths to unwind during her time in the Residence. Her leisure time was spent to recuperate her emotional resources when she "[hit] rock bottom," so she could be the "best mom" for her children. Since the Residence largely represents a episode in the life course when Diane internalized feelings of personal failure about "allowing" herself to become homeless, her family had moments like a "crying party" to express their distress at living in the Family Residence. Diane's moments of leisure emotionally prepared her to provide affective care for her family.

However, participants did find continuity despite their circumstances. Like Diane, Carrie also took her son to the park, as well as taking walks and giving him opportunities to watch hockey matches. Even though her funds were limited at the time of the interview, he scheduled leisure time with her son. Leisure not only prepares parents for the physical and emotional challenges that arise caring for a family while homeless, but also is a means of re-establishing continuity in intimate relationships. The activities she mentioned, such as going to the park, riding on public transit (i.e., much like going for a ride in the family car), and watching hockey games, all resemble activities one associates with the normative household.

Narratives regarding leisure also illustrated how support provisions have been downloaded onto the participants. Although the Residence offered programs for children and youth, the times programs were offered were either limited or did not align with the participants' schedules. The participants recounted how they spent a significant part of their days arranging for alternative childcare within their social network of family of friends so they could carry out their responsibility to the Residence in finding new housing. Moreover, the participants' need for

leisure and the tension that arose when they could not find the time or space to "unwind" indicated two problems. First, living with stressors in the Family Residence, leisure was an especially important way for low-income parents to cope with their circumstances. Second, lacking either space or activities to keep their children occupied, the parents lacked the provisions to provide adequate leisure time for themselves and their children; this suggests that outside the limited time for children and youth programs in the Residence, the state downloaded the responsibility to the parents to make those arrangements.

All of these activities occurred in the liminal space of the Family Residence. Without security and stability, the parents were compelled to "carve out" a routine from the limited amenities and resources available in and outside the Family Residence. Participants who discussed budgeting spoke about making difficult choices on how allocate their spending. The participants' narratives about cooking emphasized the need to establish times to use the shared kitchen, and preparing food their children enjoyed, beyond basic dishes like sandwiches. The same narrative applied when the participants talked about doing their laundry in a shared space; they sought to create a social boundary to separate themselves from other parents. Socialization was especially challenging, as the Family Residence largely expected parents to carry out childcare on their own while maintaining their appearance as "good parents." Leisure was critical, because of the emotional strain of "making do" in the Family Residence. The activities that constituted social reproduction in the Family Residence contributed to the triple burden the parents experienced in the liminal space. Participants had to exert the additional effort to cognitively and emotionally establish social boundaries between their households and other clients. The de-personalized liminal space was inimical to the family members' sense of group membership because the Family Residence lacked qualities of a home. Conditions within this

particular liminal space induced stressors into homeless parents' lives as they struggled to contend with the triple burden they experienced as clients within the emergency homeless shelter system.

The Political Economy of Social Reproduction in a Liminal Space

Social reproduction is a necessary array of practices that renew the current generation or produce a new generation capable of participating in civil society and contributing to broader social relations, such as by selling their labour-power in the market. Or, in other words, in reference to the classical model espoused by feminist political economists that establishes the iterative relationship between the productive and reproductive spheres: acquiring resources and acting upon those resources are mutually constitutive and largely characterize adults' everyday experiences throughout the life course in contemporary liberal welfare state societies. The participants' relationships with staff, access to other non-Residence-based resources like food banks, programs provided by the Residence, and facilities within the Residence functioned as substitutes for the means of social reproduction. They had access to a kitchen to prepare food, a laundry room to clean clothes, a common area and a playground for children to play and socialize, programs for youth and children, and private rooms with home-like amenities to perform parental responsibilities and for leisure time. However, with the exception of their private rooms, the facilities required the residents to carry out much of their social reproduction in the presence of other families and share those facilities with other families, or both. The amenities required to carry out social reproduction can be viewed as a privilege associated with higher income, for example, not installing laundry and kitchen facilities in all the Residence suites was clearly cost-saving on the part of the state.

The forms that the participants' social reproduction took illustrated the iterative relationship between productive and reproductive spheres, which in turn gave rise to continuity and disorder at particular moments or episodes in participants' life courses. In the above sections, detailing the numerous elements that make up social reproduction, the participants discussed how characteristics of the Residence functioned as a stressor: not only were the participants expected to find new housing while living in the Residence, they also had to manage the shame and stigma associated with homelessness, especially those associated with being homeless with children. The disorder experienced by the participants is a symptom of depletion resulting from acutes periods of familialization when the parents relied more on their own resources. The sites where depletion occurred was at the individual site, where participants felt as though they lack capacity, and the household site, where strain was felt among its members. From the interviews, I acertain that emotional harm was present, as the participants expressed feelings of distress about their time in Residence. The racialization and feminization of poverty are social processes that structure social stratification in liberal welfare states like Canada. Compounding deprivations, interlocked with the social and economic conditions produced by a neoliberalized welfare system and markets, that lead to homelessness are products of a stratified society. With this context in mind, the stratification of the life course as described by DeWilde is pronounced when homeless parents seek assistance from the Family Residence.

Moreover, checking into the Family Residence and searching for a new home marked a transition in the participants' life course. Their social reproduction practices during this transition provided further insight into the stratification of participants' life courses compared to families not experiencing low income. The actual material and relational practices of everyday life for homeless families in the shelter system suggest a Sisyphean task that underscored participants'

efforts at social mobility: the poor conditions in the Residence led to depreciated or improvised social reproduction practices that were a pale reflection of the participants' past life in the normative household (see Huey 2012). Meanwhile, social reproduction was the rationale for seeking and capitalizing on opportunity structures. The parents sought out opportunity structures by interacting with the state (e.g., the Residence and social programs) and the market (i.e., employment and housing). However, the combination of a residual welfare state and a precarious and competitive labour market, along with the increase of unaffordable housing, the very materials participants had at hand and how those materials could be used textured the participants' shrinking opportunity structures.

Conclusion

Several conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of interviews presented thus far. First, the multiple burdens parents carry with them during their time in the Family Residence could slow or even halt their sense of continuity in their social reproduction in the household. What distinguished participants who experienced continuity and disorder in their family lives were two important factors: their length of time in the shelter and pre-existing conditions, such as ability, income, and citizenship status. Families required time to become orientated to their new and difficult circumstances and re-establish a daily routine. The multiple jeopardies that low-income parents (especially racialized mothers) must navigate and resist (Gazso and Webb 2019) influence the length of time required to return to continuity. The nature of the liminal space, informed by the neoliberalization of social welfare, compounded the stressors endemic to the emergency homeless shelter system.

Second, how and what resources the participants accessed, such as money, food, clothing, and affective care, was largely determined by their pre-existing conditions and their self-reported

reasons for admitting themselves and their children into the Family Residence. Their material deprivation of resources had contributed to their social exclusion and had eventually led to homelessness. The Residence's goal for parents to re-house as quickly as possible demonstrated that although these families did require assistance, the participants who fell into homelessness, due to largely an interplay between social origins, human capital, and structural conditions, were not seen as "legitimate victims" but "failed citizens." This is especially relevant to the lone mothers who experienced intensified surveillance of their behaviour while in the Residence. Third, the participants' social reproductive practices, which were determined by the resources available to them as dictated by the residual character of social welfare, illustrated the stressors endemic to the Family Residence. The participants' social position and relationship to the state and markets strained their social reproductive practices (either to reproduce their family or achieve continuity in them) as they struggled to fulfil the institutional expectations laid out by the Family Residence: in this case, finding a home as soon as possible. As discussed, the liminal space of the Family Residence in the 21st century was reshaped by political transformations that had occurred from the 1970s onwards. Due to the participants' social position prior to entering the Family Residence, social reproduction was only one of three activities carried out in this liminal space. The triple burden of social production, navigating the homeless shelter system, and finding a new home could cause emotional harm to homeless parents.

The participants suggested that social reproduction was a persistent activity despite their impoverished conditions, in light of the fact that it was necessary for the continuation of life. To illustrate this, I offer the first stanza from Dylan Thomas's 1933 poem "The Force That Through the Green Fuse Drives the Flower":

> The force that through the green fuse drives the flower
> Drives my green age; that blasts the roots of trees

Is my destroyer.
And I am dumb to tell the crooked rose
My youth is bent by the same wintry fever. (Thomas 1988: 13)

Thomas proclaims that the "green fuse" or the power that compels life to continue also "drives my green age," suggesting that life stems from the same "force," reminiscent of Aristotle's (2016:205–206) "unmoved mover;" an indivisible, primary cause of all motion in the universe. Granted, this project is not a treatise on metaphysics. Thomas's poem, however, metaphorically illustrates that the relational and material practices used to carry out social reproduction exemplify its utmost importance to preserve and continue humanity: social reproduction cultivates human life. Poets and philosophers have attempted to articulate the inexpressible "force" that allows life to persist and offer meaning to the human condition. In this case, the immutable and indeed indivisible necessity to create, sustain, and replicate one's own life and other's lives (including present and future family members) endure in spite of the physical or social environment, like a dandelion growing from the cracks along a sidewalk. If a person is denied food for too long, they eventually resort to desperate acts to satiate their hunger. The social behaviour that results from extreme hunger indicates its absolute significance to human survival; social reproduction is equally vital to human survival. All the participants continued to practice social reproduction in their own ways, yet their social positions (i.e., where they were positioned in the social hierarchy) and social locations (i.e., which socially significant spaces in the built environment they inhabited), in ways at times subtle and other times explicit, moulded to their subjective experience as parents, workers, welfare recipients, and citizens. Life cannot flourish or even reach its potential if the conditions are lacking; continuity is necessary for the reproduction of life and, as suggested by the participants, pre-existing conditions that erect barriers to it are disruptive to the life course.

Chapter Seven
THE FAMILY RESIDENCE AS A LIMINAL SPACE, THE PRODUCTION OF THE LIMINAL CITIZEN, AND FAMILIALIZATION

In the previous chapters, I discussed how some families can endure periods of deprivation because the cyclical economic crises endemic to capitalism damage vulnerable households more than others. Poverty, as a structural actuality in liberal welfare states, results when states, markets, and families interact in ways that lead to vulnerable households' social immobility. Once certain households reach a crisis point and experience housing loss, the Canadian welfare state is "activated" to intervene through numerous social programs. However, just as the current labour market shapes household poverty in particular manner, such as under-employment, market-based poverty also influences how states formulate responses to homelessness and other household issues. The emergency shelter system, in which households transition back into housing on their own with residual state support, is but one of these state responses.

My in-depth interviews with participants revealed that their experience of compounding deprivations produced their homelessness and thereby contributed to their seeking out substitutes for the means of social reproduction, foremost shelter, until they could re-enter the housing market. In my analysis of how participants experienced this liminality, being betwixt and between homeless and housed, I soon came to think that the participants' experiences suggested a political function of liminal spaces, such as the Family Residence, in contemporary capitalism. I contend that liberal welfare states require liminal spaces in lieu of a comprehensive affordable housing policy. The emergency shelter system facilitates poor populations' transition into approximate normative housing represents the management model of homelessness intervention. These, in turn, can function to re-produce familialization.

Not only were the participants in a space between statuses, they had to seek to regain their family's housed status on their own, with only residual support from the state. I was also struck by how in order for this liminal space to successfully nudge families back into housing, participants had to voluntarily suspend a degree of their liberty and subject themselves to conditions in order to transition into housing. Given that persons within Family Residence are effectively under surveillance, I argue that this further (re-)produces them as *liminal citizens* in this liminal space; in certain ways, they acquire the status of dependent while undergoing a transitive period in their life course. Although I had assumed that I was studying only a liminal space, I found that the participants' dependency suggested that this space produced a liminal citizen. Turner (1995) discusses liminal people as having a type of "outsider" status. Since I argue homeless people are considered "outsiders," I found that homeless parents in the Family Residence shared the same characteristics as liminal people The Family Residence clients were dependents of the welfare state and aspired to re-enter a normative household. In this way, the Family Residence clients were a type of outsider since their dependency does not meet the criteria for the model citizen.

Here I clarify the points made by participants receiving OW who spoke about landlords refusing to rent to them. To date, little substantive literature exists on landlords' discrimination against potential tenants collecting income assistance. Under the *Ontario Human Rights Code*, discrimination on the grounds of receipt of public assistance, such as OW, is a violation (Government of Ontario 2019). However, the practice continues to exist. I propose two rationales behind this type of discrimination. First, landlords are chiefly concerned with ensuring tenants can pay their rent on time. Since OW rates are so low, landlords are not confident that potential tenants collecting OW can afford the rent. Second, landlords may consider OW recipients to be

morally suspect, in that landlords view them as indolent. Moreover, in relation to the first point, landlords may be concerned that tenants collecting OW are inclined to spend their monthly transfers (colloquially known as "Welfare Wednesday" since OW transfers occur on the last Wednesday of the month) on drugs and alcohol rather than on rent, since, in some landlords' eyes, their moral failure as alcoholics or substance users contributed to their poverty.

This chapter is divided into three sections that take up these points of interpretation and argumentation. In the first section, I flesh out more clearly the participants' experience of being a liminal citizen, and establish how and why the state produces and regulates liminal spaces. In the second section I turn to participants' challenges in transitioning out of the Family Residence to illustrate how housing affordability is linked to the crisis in the life course. I carry out this analysis to show how emergency shelters are a managerial response to homelessness instead of a preventative response offered in affordable housing policy. In the third section I discuss *citizenship-as-practice* as a framework to conceptualize why particular populations are more likely to be put into the role of liminal citizen. I conclude that in order to protect housing's status as a commodity for dominant capitalist interests that housing is not a right of citizenship in liberal welfare states. The lack of housing rights therefore normalizes homelessness and makes liminal spaces necessary. Although all orders of government contribute to homelessness management, the state permits high rates of homelessness to occur because the liminal space rebounds households into the housing or rental market.

The Experience of Being a Liminal Citizen

A question that drives this project is that of how these homeless parents experienced the liminal space between being homeless and being housed. Their experiences acted like signposts

to direct analysis towards the broader social and political implications of homelessness. The challenge was to understand how individual participants experienced their social contexts in relation to their social origins, social position, and, if possible, their psychological make-up. For my purposes, I consider the participants liminal citizens, or those who temporarily inhabit liminal space. In this next section I outline my definition of the liminal citizen, followed by an analysis of how the participants experienced liminality as clients in the Family Residence.

The liminal citizen

When an individual voluntarily or involuntarily enters the liminal space, I define such an individual as a liminal citizen. The liminal citizen is one who (1) receives a type of social welfare; (2) is situated in a liminal space, such as being between homeless and housed or between dependent and independent; and (3) must demonstrate their responsibilization to continue receiving social welfare. The liminal citizen is considered responsible if they abide by the conditions of being in receipt of social welfare. In the case of the Family Residence, residents had to obey the Residence's rules and work to transition into housing. All the participants in this study qualified as liminal citizens. What makes liminal citizens distinct from other citizens is that the former group is defined by *dependency* and *obligation*. Liminal citizens are dependent on social welfare while in the liminal space to avoid destitution. Moreover, liminal citizens are obligated to vigorously demonstrate responsibilization to the state, whereas most citizens are under no such obligation beyond abiding by the law. In other words, the liminal citizen must be active in fulfilling the social contract, typically by reporting their activities related to transitioning out of the liminal space to a case worker. In this way, the liminal citizen embodies

responsibilization. By examining participants' emotional experiences, we can now see how the liminal citizen is linked to the neoliberalization of social welfare in Canada.

Liminal citizens' emotional responses to being in the Family Residence

Most of the participants reported feeling shame or guilt for failing their families, or that they were being punished for their decisions. Elizabeth (age 21, partnered with two children, one child in the Residence), for example, explicitly stated that she had "failed in life and like I failed my kids in life, to be honest. That's all I feel like and I told everybody, like everyone told me don't cry, because I cry all the time. I'm like I feel bad because I'm putting my kids in a position where they never asked to be in this position." Here, Elizabeth discussed how putting her family in the liminal space that is the Residence was painful. She had attempted to help her mother avoid homelessness by renting a house with her, but they could not live together due to personal differences, which ultimately left Elizabeth without a home. She viewed herself as a failure for two reasons: being unable to help her mother and putting her children through the emergency shelter system. In her view, her children suffered because she had made a mistake: in saying so, she is taking responsibility for her predicament. Elizabeth reconciled her guilt about her mother when she discovered that the landlord was selling the property anyway, meaning that her mother would have been evicted; yet the guilt she felt for making her children suffer remained. Her repeated use of the word "suffer" suggested that her children were ultimately being punished for her choices.

Cheryl's (age 27, single with one child) experiences mirrored Elizabeth's, in that she also felt "like I failed and some point like I don't think it's fair for him [the child] and which is frustrating […] Yeah. I get angry. Angry for that like I don't have somewhere to call a home […]

and I'm trying to make the best of it." She described herself as a failure for making choices – ones she could not identify – that put her and her son in the Family Residence. As a result, she was angry at herself and felt depressed when she reflected on her predicament. Cheryl's feeling of anger after moving into the Residence was an interpretation of her complex emotional experience of living in a liminal space. Nonetheless, she shielded her son from their circumstances by demonstrating her ability to "strive" and therefore created the impression for him that continuity in the household remained since from her perspective, "I don't think really the walls around you changes how you are as a family." Because space did matter to Cheryl, that her son did not have his own room reminded her that she had somehow failed him, and she worried that their time in the Family Residence would psychologically harm him. Her view of herself as a failure, a reflexive response to the emotional experience of being in a liminal space, stemmed from transitioning from an independent person to a dependent person, someone who required help from others.

Participants also discussed feeling embarrassed as a response to their transition into the Family Residence. Early in the interview, Bekki's (age 43, single with five children) discussed how her time in the Family Residence embarrassed her, since she could no longer secure her self-concept as an independent and competent citizen within her family and community. Embarrassment is an emotion considered to be a result of self-evaluation, since it requires us to evaluate our performance and social position in relation to others (Weir 2012). Hopelessness permeated her narrative as she came to terms with her situation: "Because I'm not working and I'm stuck here like it's just – and sometimes I sit down and I say Lord, why me? Like, why do I have to go through all of this?" Her feeling of hopelessness was related to her embarrassing emotions uniquely associated with having to transition into a liminal space. Bekki reconciled

herself by acknowledging that other people were experiencing the same problem. Yet, she claimed she was being punished for her knowledge deficit in prioritizing her budget. With a small monthly income, she had to learn how to spend her money wisely. Bekki discussed how despite her efforts in supporting her family, she could not afford the multiple expenses required for social reproduction, such as rent and groceries. Furthermore, she had to incur additional costs to store her property while staying in the Residence. She "had taken a "shot" at being a good citizen (i.e., being employed, paying bills and rent, and subsequently being a good parent) but from her perspective, she had failed in doing so, since she was prevented from performing as a citizen, including contributing to household expenses, by "bad" events of getting injured and not receiving adequate wage replacement by Workplace Safety and Insurance Board (WSIB).

Lillian (age 43, single with two children) also felt embarrassed, viewing her time in the Family Residence as injurious to her pride. However, her narrative is unique because she understood her situation as emblematic of the systemic problems concerning poverty and homelessness. As someone who considered herself independent and therefore not reliant on the state for income assistance, losing her home and acquiring the status of homeless parent marked an inimical transition in her life course. Lillian had prided herself on being a mother who could provide for her children; now she felt ashamed in the Family Residence for what her circumstances implied: that she was a failure. However, Lillian also compared her circumstances with those around her. In the spirit of Mills's (1959) "sociological imagination," she drew the connection between her own situation and the widespread issues that contribute to family homelessness when she stated, "there's tons of people in Toronto that have to struggle every day to pay their rent or feed their kids." Lillian had to "let go" of her pride so she could make the right decision for her family. Nonetheless, the fact that her compounding poverty placed in her in

a position where temporary homelessness was a viable option is indicative of how occupying a liminal space as a "choice" to avoid absolute destitution reveals the flaws in the welfare state's architecture. She had to enter "the space between" being housed and absolute homelessness or living rough so as to regroup and strategize a plan to be re-housed with the assistance of the Family Residence, an extension of the welfare state. Lillian's own analysis of her experience is a reminder to us that marginalized populations are more than capable of developing a critical analysis of poverty.

The Family Residence's liminal nature induced conflicting feelings of progress and regress in the participants' life course. Carrie's (age 55, single with one child) entered the Family Residence to protect her son from an assailant who resided in their neighbourhood. The fact that the assailant had strong social bonds in the neighbourhood meant that conflict would be inevitable. Her need to pursue justice for her son meant that she placed herself in a vulnerable position, moving from one home to another, first to British Columbia and then back to Ontario when her living circumstances out of province proved to be untenable. Carrie recognized that the Residence did not constitute a home in that her suite was not her "place." That sense of "placeness" or an occupied space inhabited by a person has meaning for an individual. In other words, although the suites may have had the participants' personal effects in them from their previous homes, they knew the suite is not theirs. Carrie referred to the Residence as a "segue," a place between places, as she "move[d] forward" towards improved living circumstances. Her narrative touched upon the theme of movement. She was embracing a forward trajectory as she sought representation for her son and a new home. The life course perspective includes the sensation of progress for people; as we age and experience events or make transitions in our lives, we assume the future is a location that we march towards. However, she also pointed out

that returning to Toronto had triggered the trauma she and her son faced before becoming homeless. Carrie's narrative speaks to how a life course does not progress in a predictable, linear fashion. People do no always march forward to a better life. Instead, we may find ourselves returning to circumstances we attempted to leave. This is especially true for poor households who have to make reactive choices, which means that they have no recourse in a crisis but to return to adverse circumstances.

The liminal space does provide support for seriously vulnerable households, making them necessary for refugees or those susceptible to absolute poverty. Carol (age 37, married with five children) discussed how the Residence acted as lifejacket of sorts, stating that's "it's a little bit stressful for me but I'm happy that we're okay, we're safe for now." The amenities provided by the Residence resembled those required for social reproduction, such as a kitchen and a laundry room. However, Carol was undergoing a significant event transition in the life course when she migrated from Nigeria to protect her children and claiming refugee status in Canada. The Family Residence then aided in her transition in her life course, which entailed settling in Toronto. The Residence was not entirely a home, and not all her needs could be met, but it seemed that one vital characteristic of any home for Carol was that it provided safety and security for her household. Life course transitions of her type can be stressful and perhaps perilous. Refugees are certainly an acute example of the liminal citizen (one who rejects their birth citizenship and yet is not a citizen of their host country) who requires greater support. Without this liminal space, Carol's circumstances may have been more challenging. Audrey (age 22, partnered with two children, one child in the Residence) expressed gratitude for being in the Residence, because her previous living situation was "oppressive," meaning she felt discomforted being subordinate to an unidentified authority. Instead of her family having to live with the possibility of being street-

involved, a status that although most likely temporary would be stigmatizing, she voluntarily entered the Residence and the experience of the liminal space. Compared to other participants discussed in this section, she did not feel "sad or disappointment" in her decision to seek assistance. From her perspective, checking into the Residence was her way of protecting her family from the stigma and possibly the dangers associated with absolute homelessness.

A common thread that connects these narratives is how the participants' appeal to fatalism to explain their circumstances. I argue that fatalism acts as a salve to ease the pain from feelings of uncertainty and anxiety that result from a traumatic loss like homelessness. Elizabeth also resorted to some degree of fatalism in that she said that she was "luckless," as though her homelessness resulted from her own chances rather than structural or individual conditions. These two contradicting explanations for homelessness, fate and choice, appear irreconcilable on the surface. Elizabeth made choices in which she did not know the consequences, as though she were "rolling the dice" in making housing decisions for her family. She therefore did not have the wherewithal to make the "right" choices, which led her to feel as though she had failed her children when she moved into the Residence. Bekki's reference to of fatalism suggested that she was being punished for an unknown transgression and she had to struggle to maintain continuity in the household. Cheryl was partially fatalistic in her explanation for her homelessness, implying that her homelessness was a sign that she was being punished for past transgressions, even from a "former life." Fatalism was an effective coping strategy for her, since she had to reconcile the adverse emotions that came with understanding that a sometimes inscrutable string of choices had led her into this situation that, in her view, could harm her son. In these cases, the participants coping mechanism to manage their difficult feelings was to appeal to forces outside their influence, either as a cause of their misfortune or a solution to their circumstances.

According to the interviews, the experience of liminality elicited an array of complex emotional reactions, ranging from despair to relief, and precipitated by the participants' degree of deprivation. Participants who reported a negative experience in the Family Residence largely viewed themselves as failures as parents and, as a corollary, as liminal citizens. The participants in this group expressed shame, regret, anger, frustration, and hopelessness as characteristic of their time in the Family Residence. For some, acquiring the status of homeless was injurious to their self-concept as competent and therefore model citizens. Others saw this transition as punishment for past transgressions or their inability to parent properly. For others, however, the Residence was a respite from their vulnerable situation, an opportunity to find a new home and avoid absolute destitution. Some were grateful for the assistance, and these participants largely took responsibility not only for their situation, viewing it as an active choice on their part, but also for finding a new home and exiting the system altogether.

Liminal citizens' emotional responses and familialization

The participants' emotional responses to inhabiting the liminal space suggest they experienced an intensified familialization. Here I attempt to extrapolate how the participants' emotional responses were structured by the neoliberal transformation of the welfare state from their interviews. Since the participants voluntarily[41] became income assistance recipients, they agreed to fulfill the obligations attached to the receipt of income assistance. Citizens who are employed for some time are eligible for supports like Employment Insurance (EI). In other words, citizens' rights to welfare are contingent upon meeting the obligations set out by the state

[41] "Voluntarily" in the sense that another person to enter the Family Residence did not coerce them, yet pressured by their social and financial circumstances to avoid absolute homelessness.

such as continuous employment. The Family Residence performs a specific function in which the normative household is reproduced by enforcing responsibilization. The emergency shelter system is a "last resort" institution and households can only access it if they prove to be destitute. The Family Residence produces an environment in which citizenship-in-practice is enacted and responsible behaviours are rewarded, such as attentive childcare and continuous house-seeking. The liminal citizen is in receipt of social welfare and therefore is expected to internalize responsibilization during their time in the Family Residence.

The participants' narratives fell on the two sides of responsibilization. On the one hand, some participants reported that their circumstances resulted from poor decisions or poor behaviours, and therefore they had been "punished" by being compelled to enter the Residence. On the other hand, some participants took it upon themselves to actively re-house themselves and hence took the responsibility on themselves to be active liminal citizens. From these participants' perspectives, the transition into the Family Residence had not resulted from structural conditions so much as their own moral failings, and they would have to keenly work to transition out of liminality and into a normative household. Responsibilization was tied to familialization in that the liminal space of the Family Residence functions to reproduce the normative household in contemporary welfare states. For the participants, the responsibility to protect their children from poverty lay solely with the parents. The participants who reported distress during their stay in the Residence suggested that it had resulted from their belief that they had failed as parents; the participants who expressed relief or gratitude viewed the shelter as an opportunity to regain a normative status.

I propose that the liminal citizens' emotional experiences while in the liminal space reflect the neoliberal restructuring of social welfare instituted in the 1990s and remaining today.

Neoliberalism is not solely defined by austerity to "motivate" citizens to pursue continuous attachment to the labour market. From a policy standpoint, neoliberal logic redirects the cause of poverty and homelessness towards the individual and away from structural determinants. Citizenship-as-practice is thus conceived as being entrepreneurial and self-sufficient in character; this was apparent in the participants' narratives, in which their liminal citizenship was characterized by feelings of shame for not being "good" neoliberal subjects. The participants' emotional responses to their environment mirrored how familialization has been entangled into contemporary social policy.

Protections provided by the state or community to ensure individuals can practice full participation in civil society via the basic necessities to reproduce life are only available to poor and vulnerable households when a crisis in the life course occurs. Parents remain the breakwater to protect younger family members against the ebb and flow of market forces that threaten to erode their personal and household integrity. The social rights of citizenship are predicated upon access to the inflows to social reproduction; simply put, inclusion into the community is not possible without food, education, and – of singular importance to this research and homelessness in general – housing. The basic functions of social reproduction are not possible, or even comfortably and competently carried out, without reliable and safe shelter. The integral role housing plays in social reproduction led me to consider how the participants considered their future transition out of the Family Residence.

Transitioning Out of Liminality and Housing Affordability

The experience of being a liminal citizen entails a potential transition to a new status; in the case of the Family Residence clients, this was a transition to housing. I was interested in how

the participants viewed the barriers to transitioning, as their experiences pointed to how liminal citizenship is necessary to the normalization of homelessness. The participants' narratives regarding the imagined possibility of transitioning out of the Family Residence often touched on the challenges of finding a new home. The barriers to this transition in their life course reflected how housing unaffordability structures the experiential elements of liminality. Housing unaffordability can be traced to the argument that housing is considered a commodity rather than an inalienable right.

Housing as a right

The roots of the participants' homelessness lay not only with chronic poverty, but also housing unaffordability. In this section I focus on how the participants understood this. Canada does not guarantee a right to housing under the Charter, and relies on the market to solve housing issues for its citizens. Although the federal government has allocated funds for the National Housing Strategy to address the housing crisis in metropolitan areas, whether such a plan will have efficacy remains to be seen. The current debate among North American and European (including the UK) scholars on poverty and policy is over how to situate housing as a fundamental social right protected by the state, in contrast to its being entirely privatized (Aalbers and Gibb 2014; Bengtsson 2001; Hartman 1998; Ontario Human Rights Commission n.d.; Pattillo 2013). Simply put, if housing is as necessary to human life as water and oxygen, then housing must be accessible and affordable across class divisions.[42]

[42] Instituting housing as a right also opens discussions about food as a right, since it is also necessary to sustain human life, and food insecurity is widely reported in Canada.

The Canadian federal government partnered with municipalities to encourage home ownership. The Housing Opportunities Toronto Action Plan was updated in the HousingTO 2020-2030 Action Plan, which promised to assist over 341,000 households with affordable rental home approval, affordable home ownership (with the Canada Housing Benefit), supportive housing, and eviction prevention. All three orders of government will contribute $23.4 billion over the ten-year period (City of Toronto 2021b). The Liberal provincial government launched the Ontario Fair Housing Plan in 2017. The policy was intended to supply affordable housing by providing protection for renters and homeowners and mitigating raising housing prices by regulating foreign investment and speculation (Province of Ontario 2017). Although housing prices dropped in 2019, supply-and-demand remained the prevailing regulator over state intervention (Bonnell 2018). The Conservative provincial government launched the First-Time Home Buyer program in 2019 to support new buyers in the housing market, yet refused to support the construction of affordable housing units. As of 2021, the Conservative maintained their policy position (Chamandy 2021).

A distinction must be made between short-term investments to improve the current affordability housing stock and long-term investments to develop a sustainable social infrastructure. The growing number of families requiring affordable housing informed the Ontario government's Long-Term Affordable Strategy in 2010, later updated in 2015–16, which was part of Ontario's Poverty Reduction Strategy introduced in 2008. However, affordable housing policy has not been integrated with a long-term anti-poverty strategy. Publicly accessible policy briefs on the 2016 budgets for the federal and provincial governments reveal sparing use of terms such as "poverty," "poverty reduction," or "anti-poverty;" instead, policy briefs use terms such as "accessible," "improved," "accountability," and "efficiency" to describe

the goals for policy reform (see City of Toronto 2009; Department of Finance Canada 2016; Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2009; Ontario Municipal Social Services Association 2008; Province of Ontario 2016 as examples). Although the discursive connotations found in modern public policy lie beyond the scope of my project, the failure to codify poverty at the level of housing policy suggests two conclusions. First, government takes the view that poverty is an inevitable external cost to capitalism rather than a result of deliberate policy decisions. Second, the government's approach implies that poverty and the inability to afford housing remain individual problems.

The notion that housing should be a right is acknowledged in law. Passed in 2019, the *National Housing Strategy Act* declares that "the right to adequate housing is a fundamental human right affirmed in international law [ICESCR]" (Government of Canada 2021a). The Act does signal a paradigm shift within the federal government that housing should be right and this position must be entrenched as affordable housing policy is implemented. However, housing remains in the marketplace and therefore largely considered a commodity. The commoditization of housing is an impediment to a widespread realization of housing as a right in federal housing policy. In order for housing as a right to be realized, I argue that an actionable first step would be to introduce stronger regulations in the housing market, such as taxing speculative activities and removing capital gains tax exemptions from primary Residences. In the following subsection, I offer a feminist political economy analysis of how participants viewed their rights to housing in the midst of the current housing crisis. I begin with the theoretical framework in which I situate these views.

Marx, feminist political economy, and housing

Marx is important in this discussion since his fundamental argument is that material conditions (i.e., the political economy of labour) produce the social conditions for particular classes. In the research literature, the large number of households considered working-class or working poor experience impediments to social mobility based on systemic discrimination in the form of racism and sexism, among others. Housing is not a right of citizenship in liberal welfare states, due in large part to how private property is valued as a commodity and a means to accumulate wealth, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Marx (1990) offers a fruitful explanation of how private property functions in modern capitalism by situating property in the historical transition from primitive accumulation to capitalist accumulation. Primitive accumulation, or the historical development of capitalist relations, pertains to the fundamental separation of classes: those who own the means of production and those who sell their labour-power. Class formation was contingent upon separating the producer from the means of production. The era of pre-capitalist class formations required the consolidation and legal protection of private property, which allowed for the unprecedented, at the time of Marx's writing, capitalist accumulation of wealth for the owners. The logic underscoring the transition from primitive accumulation to capitalist accumulation pertains to the affordable housing crisis in Canadian cities, with a propertied class (i.e., individual landlords and real estate holding companies) appropriating potential housing stock.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the current housing affordability crisis resulted (among other factors) from the rent-seeking behaviours of the propertied class. Speculative housing prices in central metropolitan areas contributed to inflated rents in so-called desirable regions, such as Toronto and Vancouver. Rent-seeking in the speculative housing market effectively appropriated potential housing stock from working families who could have afforded to rent or mortgage

property were it not for the dramatic rise in cost. The commodification of housing in North America is reflected in Marx's description of primitive accumulation turning to capitalist accumulation. Marx (1990) describes the shift from primitive accumulation to capitalist accumulation as a phenomenon "in actual history, it is a notorious fact that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, in short, force, play the greatest part" (874). In the case of the speculative housing market, primitive accumulation came in the form of the propertied class's gradual consolidation of housing property in urban centers, which generated class division between renters and landlords. Moreover, appropriating property was viewed as an investment for already middle-income or wealthy households (Jackson 2020). Marx's characterization of capitalism's historical metamorphosis from systematic appropriation to exploitation as one that entailed violence and conquest relates to the participants' lived experience. The trend in rent-seeking has led to widespread structural violence for vulnerable households, in that their capacity to achieve a decent standard of living is constrained by housing un-affordability. The participants largely represented a category of people left adrift throughout the long historical current of capitalist accumulation, through local and global rent-seeking in the housing market.

A Marxist analysis of the housing crisis has applications to a feminist political economic standpoint on the issue. A blind spot in *Capital* is how the family is situated in capitalist accumulation and its facilitation by state actors, as well as how crisis is deeply gendered for women in households. As stated in Chapters 2 and 3, feminist political economy expands upon the dichotomous relation between state and market as posited by orthodox political economy to include the family, along with the third sector such as charities. Capitalist accumulation that creates rent-seeking in the housing market places downward economic pressure on families, which ultimately erodes their capacity for social reproduction and prevents them from continuing

as generative societal institutions (generative in the sense that the family produces future workers and reproduces present workers). Without market controls, like municipal rent control, the state contributes to family instability, especially given the neoliberal assumption that familialization will solve household poverty. The gendered dimension in this equation lies in the fact that familialization depends on women's unpaid domestic work to care for children (or social reproduction) in the absence of state support, which exacerbates the feminization of poverty, as in the case of mothers who are forced to decommodify their labour-power to meet their children's care needs. As seen in my research, housing insecurity is more likely to affect mothers, particularly single mothers, who made up the majority of my sample. Single mothers are unable to "catch up" to rising housing costs. Capitalist accumulation in the housing market therefore restricts the generative capacity for families while paradoxically familializing responsibility for social reproduction and especially limiting women's contribution to the economy, all while intensifying the feminization of poverty. I now turn to the participants' narratives to demonstrate how housing unaffordability structured how they imagined their future transition in their life course.

The liminal citizens' barriers to transition

The participants did not immediately think along the same lines as I theorized. They came to their understanding of housing as a right after discussing their barriers to being re-housed. Participants' views on their right to housing were most often informed by the unaffordability of housing, because of their compromised financial situation and feeling that this unaffordability was socially unjust. For example, many participants cited "bad credit" as a reason why they were unable to easily transition out of the Family Residence. In the Greater Toronto

Area, landlords typically do not rent to people with "bad credit" (i.e., those who do not pay their bills, loans, or credit in a timely manner and accumulate debt) or poor credit scores. Elizabeth (age 21, partnered with two children, one child in the Residence), for example, briefly discussed her thoughts on her rights to housing in relation to her circumstances:

> I feel like I don't have no rights because of my credit. So it's harder for me to get a home than anything. … But I feel I have the right to get a house, a place. ...
>
> Cause I have income. … And I can pay my income, I can pay my rent. … [Landlords] look at your credit and are like, no, you can't pay your phone bill, you can't pay your rent. My rent will go direct [to the landlord]. But I don't argue. I just say, "Okay, I'm gonna stay" [in the Residence].

According to Elizabeth, by virtue of having an income, she had a right to housing. She took her income to self-evidently mean that her citizenship-as-practice was in fact morally correct. She contributed to the community, and hence her contribution should be considered sufficient to entitle her to a most basic means for social reproduction: a home. However, her credit had a stigmatizing effect in the private rental market. Landlords associated failure to pay bills or simply being late in paying bills as indicative of a morally poor character, someone whose citizen-as-practice is not fully normative in accordance to the nation.

Much like Elizabeth, Finlay (age 51, separated with four children, two children in the Residence) also saw his poor credit rating as a barrier to exiting the Family Residence. He spoke to how he was "not as good" as those who appear respectable—and, by extension, like good citizens—or those with access to housing. Finlay was demonstrating class subjectivity here, because he was aware of how his class position (i.e., homelessness, bad credit) effectively strained his appearance in relation to others who experienced social mobility simply due to having a home. His subjectivity was another example of what it means to be a liminal citizen. Like Elizabeth, he was "betwixt and between" having credit and therefore a right to housing; this

conjured feelings that he was worthless in comparison to housed people. When asked if people should have a right to housing, Finlay replied that people need housing so that "have a chance to, you know, grow – if you don't have that chance and you are going to stay stuck and you going to stay down." He implied that housing was critical to social reproduction and therefore vitally necessary for securing and exercising social rights. The lack of affordable housing contributed to the poverty trap; Finlay's narrative of this transition in his life course suggested that he felt "stuck" in the liminal space of the Family Residence, much like others in the same circumstances. A poor credit rating can limit a household's flexibility for housing arrangements. Elizabeth and Finlay's narratives are examples of how vulnerable populations require housing as a right in light of market conditions that actively disadvantage them.

Lillian (age 43, single with two children) and Rihana (age 37, single with 4 children) also argued for housing as a right, but attached this right to prerequisites. Lillian, for example, argued that housing was only a right for those with the morally correct attitudes and behaviours that denote good citizenship-as-practice. Lillian identified a specific group of people who did not qualify as model citizens, and therefore whose right to housing (if such a right existed) should be revoked or limited. These were people who "abuse[d] the system" or "burn[ed] [their] bridges" when the state intervened to provide income or housing assistance. Her perspective pointed to an internalized acceptance of the stereotypes others would direct towards her, which reflected popular discourses on the undeserving poor. Simply expressing gratitude for government assistance was enough for Lillian; those who exploited the system and refused to use those resources "to do good" were condemned to be rejected for further assistance. She made a distinction between herself and "bad" poor individuals. For example, her narrative about living in Toronto Community Housing demarcated her family from those whose behaviour resulted in

the housing complex being "ruined" and eventually "[going] to shit." The reason, from her perspective, was that low-income families were "clustered together" in one housing unit, and they appeared to lack the discipline and gratitude typically expected of those receiving assistance like geared-to-income housing. For someone who had experienced homelessness and hardship, Lillian invoked an implicit citizenship clause: entitlements, real or theoretical, such as housing rights are for citizens who enact morally appropriate behaviours.

Rihana, like Lillian, saw a need to balance rights with responsibilities, but viewed rights to housing as contingent upon her contribution to the community. Rihana did not necessarily support the right to housing. For her, gaining an education meant that she would be employable and perhaps achieve some degree of upward social mobility. That is, the means to get housing was through employment, rather than as a right of citizenship gained through birth or immigration, as in Bryan Turner's (1993, 2008) and Marshall's (1950) view of social rights. Lillian and Rihana were emblematic of the participants who agreed that housing should be accessible but not entirely a right, since people needed to either demonstrate moral behaviours or contribute to the community.

Liminal spaces and the justification for emergency homeless shelters

The four participants discussed above summarized the general thoughts among the sample population. Either housing should be a right with no obligations, so as to protect vulnerable families, or the right should come with obligations of some kind, notably continuous, full-time employment. Few participants thought that housing should not be a right. Many Canadians will not experience the housing insecurity the participants faced at the time of the interview. Since the participants were homeless at the time of the interview, they would certainly

argue that housing was a right, because they had lost their homes. The participants represented the most vulnerable populations in the city, such as newcomers, precarious workers, women of colour, and those with a criminal record or substance use issues, they also represented populations that required more housing support than the rest of the population.

The commodification of housing means that the private rental market, which the participants largely relied on for housing, places vulnerable populations at the mercy of the "landlords' market." In other words, when the private rental market favours landlords due to scarcity and speculation, they establish the criteria for acceptable tenants; this includes credit checks and refusing to rent to people collecting income assistance. The participants discussed the barriers to finding a new home, ranging from bad credit to low human capital. Landlords requesting credit information from potential tenants is the current trend in Toronto, in order to ensure that tenants are capable of paying rent in a timely manner (Weisleder 2014). The participants were either unemployed (or unemployable) or behind on their utility bills and credit card payments, like many low-income households. When housing is not considered a right of citizenship, vulnerable populations fall into the classic poverty trap (Carter and Barrett 2006): without the means for social mobility, such as education, "good jobs," and "good credit," low-income households remain impoverished.

As argued previously, citizenship is not just a "binary status" (either one has citizenship or does not), but in fact entails a set of life-long practices that solidify the status. Employment and care work are two current practices that may guarantee the ability to make claims on the state. However, people making these contributions as citizens does not guarantee a decent standard of living. Without a right to housing, vulnerable households headed by women are likely to fall into the poverty trap: they cannot escape poverty if they struggle with housing

insecurity and low income. Recall from Chapters 2 and 3 that the gender and racial bias in the Canadian labour market potentially limits women and people of colour from fully performing citizenship-as-practice. Until the federal government embraces the right to housing, families are compelled to accept entering the family shelter system as a respite against an antagonistic housing market. Liminality is the state's response to the housing crisis, rather than legislating protections for poor households through rights-making. With housing regarded as a commodity bought and sold in a market economy, increasing rental or mortgage costs reflect the widespread ideological position held by market actors that profitability trumps the notion of housing as a social good. Capitalism then establishes the conditions in which liminal spaces like the Family Residence are necessary, in that the liminal space functions as a warehouse for the poor who cannot participate in the urban housing market. At this point, I return to the notion of citizenship as a framework to contextualize the broader political economy of the welfare state that led to the current state of social security for the poor.

Citizenship-as-Practice and Familialization

Citizenship is not just a status granted at birth, through proof of Residence, or by owning a Canadian passport. In Chapter 5, I discussed citizenship-as-status. Under this definition, citizenship is binary: either a person is a citizen of a nation or they are not, though they can gain permission to temporarily work or study in a foreign nation. A significant drawback to this definition is its static nature and inability to capture how citizenship is maintained over the life course. That is, citizenship is "earned" by fulfilling obligations to the state (e.g. working for pay, obeying the law, or having a family) in exchange for social, civil, and political rights. In other words, citizenship is a set of practices, too, outlined by a nation's economic demands for growth

and sustainability (i.e., the national project, rooted in capitalist accumulation). Citizenship can be temporarily suspended by the state or muted when an individual's practices are deemed insufficient to satisfy the responsibilities required for full citizenship. I propose to outline the ethos of modern citizenship under the current political and economic milieu engendered by historically constituted liberal welfare state capitalism.

The central premise behind citizenship-as-practice is that particular populations and particular practices are valued by the state at various levels. Pertaining to my research, the state configured and administrated the Family Residence, shaped the work of case workers (OW, ODSP, CAS, and the Residence itself), and created the criminal justice system. Populations on the periphery of the Canadian charter groups (white and English or French), must contend with the inherent prejudices within state apparatuses; racialized and gendered stratification is built into Canadian culture. Since my study participants' inequality over the life course was embodied by their social position vis-à-vis the signifiers attached to their race and gender, their citizenship-as-practice was therefore devalued. As the current gender and racial hierarchies of Canada's "vertical mosaic" (Porter 1965; see also Chapter 2) suggest, women's work, paid and unpaid, is devalued, and people of colour's work is devalued. I extend this hierarchy to include disabled people's work along with people with substance use issues, who are criminalized and therefore devalued. Nonetheless, their work is depended upon both in the home, specifically women's unpaid domestic work, and in the labour market, particularly in the service industry.

Newcomers, such as refugees and permanent residents, do not accrue the rights of citizenship even though they integrate into the community and contribute to the economy. The participants in this research overwhelmingly represented minorities or vulnerable people of various types: women of colour, single mothers, newcomers, people with criminal records,

people living with a disability, and people with substance use issues. Furthermore, the fathers in the research also faced stigmatization either for not being family breadwinners or simply for occupying a diminished social position. These cases show that particular individuals are attributed with symbolic meaning pertaining to their real or potential value in the labour market. Poverty results from the compounding deprivations that greatly limit life chances. The participants' social mobility and social security were under constant threat or deeply impeded when their practices were viewed by state actors as inadequate (in the case of un- or underemployment), pathological (for those with substance use issues or criminalization) or in terms of outright pauperism (refugees or those living with a disability).

In Chapter 6, I had argued that the liminal space curtails social reproduction and, as evident in the case of the liminal citizen, curtails the enactment of the social rights of citizenship. Social rights of citizenship, although not enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, form the basis of modern citizenship, as they include the right to an adequate standard of living and therefore inclusion in civil society. Liminal citizens cannot independently gain the means of social reproduction, which allow for participation in civil society. In their time in the liminal space, liminal citizens are deemed dependent on social welfare, which transgresses the liberal welfare state ethos of independence or self-sufficiency. As citizenship-as-practice is fulfilled by demonstrating self-sufficiency, the liminal citizen subjects themselves to state surveillance and scrutiny while relying on (oftentimes) insufficient social welfare, such as food and clothing banks.

To summarize, when an individual cannot afford a home due to housing costs, they have the option of accessing emergency homeless services. In doing so, they "forfeit" their status as a model citizen and take on the status of the liminal citizen, or a citizen marginalized from an

adequate standard of living as they transition out of liminality. During this period of transition issues concerning familialization in the Family Residence are related to citizenship.

As covered in Chapter 6, the participants carried out social reproduction in isolation. They either cared for their children on their own or relied on kin to support them. The participants also sought out resources, like food and clothing, on their own, but with some support from the Residence's caseworkers. Social reproduction in the Family Residence was deeply familialized, a manifestation of neoliberalized social policy that assumes women and the extended family function as the primary social security net. I would further argue that familialization makes up citizenship-as-practice, since the family can ideally provide social security and insure households against a crisis without depending on the state. The participants' narratives of how they accomplished social reproduction suggested that normative citizenship-in-practice was enforced in the Family Residence by means of reproducing familialization in this institutional context. Furthermore, the narratives presented in this chapter illustrated how the participants' feelings of shame resulted from their perceived inability to internalize familialization and "choosing" to depend on the state for support. If citizenship-as-practice is a reflection of the 1990s neoliberal transformation of the Canadian welfare state, familialization has been an aspect woven into this ideological hegemony over the political economy of social welfare.

Summary

Several structural factors shaped how the participants experienced liminality and how they viewed the concept of rights to housing. Their experiences are indicative of how the political economy of social welfare is constructed and implemented in the 21st century. As

discussed previously, the participants represented some of the most vulnerable households in the Greater Toronto Area. Racialized women, lone mothers, precarious workers, and those stigmatized due to substance use or criminal records typically find themselves on the periphery of civil society. Moreover, racialized fathers, either single or partnered, may contend with racism and the prevailing gender ideology that men must perform as breadwinners for their family.

Women without citizenship, particularly refugees, had texturally distinct experiences in the Family Residence from Canadian-born women. Refugee women reported feeling "shipwrecked" once they arrived in Canada; a crisis in their home country had forced them to flee to a country where they had no money, no right to access social services, and no social network. Canadian-born women, on the other hand, typically struggled with internalizing the image of the "bad mother" for bringing their children into the Residence. Their different emotional experiences impacted their social reproduction practices at this juncture in their life courses. For refugee women, social reproduction included salvaging their resources, be they financial or otherwise, in order to start life anew in Canada. This included navigating the social support systems in place rather than strictly looking for new housing, since they could not re-house themselves with their current non-citizen status. Canadian-born women already had most of those resources in place, and had experience navigating social support systems, and therefore were preoccupied with re-housing themselves and their children. The Canadian-born women questioned their integrity as mothers for "choosing" to enter the Residence, but anticipated a stable future for their children. The refugee women felt they had made the correct choice in coming into the Canadian emergency shelter system, but mourned the loss of their old lives and expressed anxiety about the future. For both groups, the conditions in which their social

reproduction was enacted in the Residence and their different "paths" into homelessness influenced these women's self-concept.

Since the participants experienced housing loss, they "voluntarily" entered the liminal space – although with the choice of being homeless or living in a Family Residence, the voluntariness of transition into this liminal space must be questioned. Some participants viewed themselves as failures, while others viewed the liminal space of the Family Residence as a lifejacket that kept their family afloat. These two responses to being clients in the Family Residence constituted the experience of liminal citizenship among the participants. Their emotions and interpretations are salient in understanding the consequences of the neoliberalization of social welfare for homeless families living in a housing affordability crisis. The liminal citizen is one who is in transition from one status to another, and in the meantime either feels dependent on social welfare to survive a crisis in the life course or like a moral failure unable to fulfill the requirements for citizenship-as-practice. Given the structural determinants to homelessness, the liminal citizen still feels personally responsible for their situation despite the fact that structural conditions are effectively "stacked" against them.

Overwhelmingly, the interviews revealed that the Canadian welfare state is structured to support those who subscribe to the state's expectations of how claimants must behave, and the participants had internalized those political expectations. As well, since the commodification of housing is the prevailing norm in liberal welfare states like Canada, some participants did not necessarily see housing as a right of citizenship but rather a commodity that had to be earned. That is, while most participants seemed to generally view housing as a right, since they had experienced housing loss, some argued that a right to housing should be contingent on fulfilling citizens' obligations. The participants' experiences and views provided a unique insight into the

current state of Canadian social welfare. The participants' narratives spoke to the normalization of homelessness: the liminal space and the production of the liminal citizen buttress the ideological standpoint that homelessness is a "natural" outcome to housing unaffordability. As long as capitalism generates an underclass, there will be a need for homeless services to ameliorate the consequences.

Chapter Eight
CONCLUSION

My research question began in a straightforward manner: *How do homeless parents care for their children while living in an emergency shelter?* However, in the course of my research, this question soon prompted another: *How are social rights (re-)configured in the Canadian welfare state, as suggested by parents' narratives regarding their lived experiences as clients in the emergency shelter system?* A significant contribution of this research is to develop an understanding of social reproduction in the liminal space of the Family Residence by drawing from Sen's (2000) theory of deprivation and capability, life course theory, feminist political economy, and theories of citizenship. In this chapter, I provide three answers to my research questions. I discuss how deprivation is a productive explanation of the causes of homelessness, how homeless families practice social reproduction, and how familialization is entrenched in the Canadian welfare state. Second, I consider the policy implications of my research and make recommendations. Third, I suggest the implications of my research for political sociological theory.

Deprivation and Capability as a Structural Cause of Homelessness

My theoretical framework informed the data analysis by establishing the structural causes of homelessness, the social consequences of homelessness, and the economic and political implications behind social rights and social reproduction as they relate to a citizenship-based analysis of poverty and homelessness in liberal welfare states like Canada. The neoliberalization of social welfare, the lack of affordable housing in the Greater Toronto Area, the increase of precarious employment, and the systemic racism and sexism in the public sphere, all contribute to homelessness, particularly for vulnerable households. In the literature concerning the study of

homelessness, the debate on its causes under modern capitalism remains consistent. Although the "route" to homelessness is distinct for each case, the underlying cause for all cases lies with market poverty; in other words, homelessness results from chronic poverty due to incapacity to earn a sufficient income in the labour market. Typically, the Canadian state's political response to homelessness has been the management model, which provides services in the event of a family becoming homeless. The reasoning behind this model is that responsibility for homelessness prevention lies with the individual or their family and community. The management model stands in contrast with the preventative model to implement affordable housing, which has shown to be effective. Homelessness does have severe social consequences for individuals and the broader civil society, in that the homeless experience capability deprivation that subsequently leads to relational and material deprivation; in other words, homelessness not only diminishes social status in the community, it also effectively robs people of the potential to be fully included in civil society, and therefore limits social mobility.

The participants' narratives showed that poverty could be explained by two factors: social immobility and compounding multi-modal deprivations. In the participants' descriptions of how they came into the Family Residence, they commonly referred to how their incapacity to fulfil their responsibilities of citizenship, either due their acquired status (i.e., criminalized, medicalized, or racialized), their inability to completely commodify their labour, or the intersection of the two, contributes to their homelessness. Social immobility refers to structural impediments to social mobility (i.e., education and employment) that take the form of class boundaries perpetuated by the systemic discrimination endemic to particular societies. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, social immobility was legislated by the state and enforced through laws pertaining to immigration, segregation, criminal justice, employment,

education, health care, and housing. Moreover, during these periods, widespread racial and sexist discrimination in the public sphere had an iterative relationship with legislated social immobility. Although most of these laws (e.g., racial segregation through Jim Crow laws in the US) have been repealed, everyday discrimination persists in our contemporary culture and continues to contribute to social immobility for racial minorities and women. Social immobility contributes to compounding multi-modal deprivations in that social origins, or the intersecting and socially significant demographic features that constitute identity and group membership, routinely interact with the state's constellation of apparatuses and the market in its current political formations – in what I refer to as constitutive deprivation.

When households with compounding deprivations can no longer sustain the means of social reproduction, they undergo a crisis in the life course in which they must volunteer to be liminal citizens and receive assistance. Social immobility then signifies stratification over the life course, and the processes that structure social immobility is organized by the racialized and gendered stratification structure built into the local, regional, and national spheres. Compounding multi-modal deprivations (Sen 2000) relate to the aggregated material and relational deprivations that ultimately contribute to social exclusion in modern, post-industrial societies such as Canada, the US, and the UK. Compounded multi-modal deprivations accumulate to the point where an individual's capabilities, or the ability to live a fulfilled life, is compromised. In the case of the participants in this research, their capacity to maintain a normative household was no longer possible once their deprivations reached a critical level. The intensity or degree to which social immobility contributes to deprivation, the practices that allow poor populations to overcome stratification of the life course, and how these two determinants contribute to class subjectivities lie beyond the scope of this research. Capitalism does not necessarily reproduce poverty; it

reproduces a political culture that establishes the criteria for citizenship. The rights and responsibilities of citizenship reflect the social practices that allow individuals to performatively accomplish their lives.

Homeless Families Practicing Social Reproduction

Homeless parents residing in the emergency family shelter system practice social reproduction in much the same way as housed parents. The Family Residence in the City of Toronto provides substitutes for some, but not all, the means of social reproduction. However, the participants did not necessarily benefit from these resources. Some participants were able to maintain continuity in their households in the Family Residence, yet others discussed how the transition to being a client led to disorder in their households. Homeless parents must navigate, instrumentally and emotionally, the institutional expectation that the residents re-house their family as quickly as possible, reflecting the culture of austerity that dominates the Canadian welfare state. These parents then live with the proverbial albatross around their neck, balancing their child-rearing responsibilities with their responsibilities as liminal citizens. The participants experienced a triple burden: they had to care for their children, abide by the Residence's rules and regulations, and seek out new housing. An important dimension of social reproduction, specifically in relation to child-rearing, is the sense of continuity in the household. The parents strove to create the impression of normalcy for themselves and their children in such a way that the transition into the Family Residence did not disrupt continuity, or disrupt the going about one's everyday social life that constitutes a sense of progress. Some parents reported feeling "stuck" and therefore struggled to reconcile their situation with making goals for the future. The factors that contributed to their homelessness influenced the inflows to social reproduction at

their disposal, the means that they needed to access, and the practices used to access them when required.

Parents with fewer resources or experiences of severe social exclusion tended to require more resources both inside and outside the Family Residence. Moreover, their social position determined the strain they experienced practicing social reproduction. Again, parents with the least resources and the most excluded reported a higher degree of personal strain in maintaining continuity in the household and performing as responsible liminal citizens. The research also implies that social reproduction persists despite the difficult circumstances. The parents held themselves responsible for their children's well-being, since the right to care (and to be cared for or to care for oneself) is attributed to the profound experience of being a parent.

The Familialization of Care Work and the Liminal Citizen

The participants' narratives not only indicated a deepening of familialization, but also provided an example of the state's reliance on familialization to supplement social welfare for poor families. The liminal space works to reproduce familialization. The Divorce Act, EI, Child Tax Credit, and maternity leave are examples of policies that gave women the opportunity to decommodify their labour and not be involuntarily attached to a male breadwinner. These laws and policies, however, do not necessarily benefit poor or working-poor women; women who are unemployed, underemployed, and lack citizenship will not have sufficient insurance against a crisis. The women (and men) I interviewed were considered low-income, and this contributed to a crisis in their life course, namely housing loss and entering the Family Residence. Their class position resulted from the complex intersection of race, disability, and citizenship. Criminalization also played a role, since a criminal record or being accused of criminal

behaviour, like drug use, had a stigmatizing effect in everyday life. Social welfare was insufficient for the participants to keep their homes or to find a home, as is often the case for immigrant and refugee women.

Familialization deepens for low-income women during a crisis in their life course; heterosexual partners fall back on traditional gender roles, which buttress familialization. In other words, women are more likely to decommodify their labour to take up the majority of unpaid domestic work. For low-income women, stratification over the life course, which operates in the background of their lives, becomes acutely visible when a crisis occurs and results in a stratification of social welfare. Social welfare for the participants included strong dependence on their immediate and extended family for support, along with the emotional work to maintain those social networks. I argue that low-income women are more likely to decommodify their labour *and* have fewer resources to draw from due to their social position. The Family Residence, then, functioned as a space in which these inequalities were exacerbated.

The Family Residence's primary responsibilities were to ensure that children were sheltered and to quickly transition families back into housing. Amenities like a kitchen and laundromat along with programs for children and youth were provided; yet acquiring the inflows to social reproduction was the parents' responsibility. The space to carry out social reproduction was present but the material necessities were not, unless the parents were destitute. Moreover, the participants' narratives about their being "clients" in the Family Residence were characterized by a *triple burden*: caring for children, navigating the system, and finding a home. The majority of the participants' narratives described their sole efforts to practice social reproduction and obtain assistance from family members or (a few) service providers on their own. The participants also characterized the challenge of "juggling" the responsibilities of their

triple burden as an isolated affair; they were effectively on their own until they reported destitution, as was the case for refugees who had arrived in Canada with no resources. The narratives that spoke of disorder or emotional pain to describe their transition in the life course into the liminal space reflected not only the trauma of losing a home but also, I argue, the results of the familialization approach to social welfare in the Family Residence. The neoliberalization of social welfare manifested in the Family Residence, in which the institutional policy relied on familialization as the primary support system for poor families.

Neoliberal welfare state restructuring enshrined familialization, which is defined as the assumption that families be the primary source for social welfare. A feminist political economy perspective shows how the family, the state, and the market are social institutions acutely interconnected, and the pressures exerted by familialization have distinct gendered consequences. For example, social reproduction demonstrates how these three social institutions interact to shape women's (and increasingly men's) experiences as workers and caregivers. Lastly, citizenship is conceptualized not as a static status but rather one born of social practices, such as active employment and caregiving that come with different criteria for women and men. Citizenship has transformed under neoliberalism, with an emphasis on individuals protecting themselves in the pursuit of wealth and stability, meaning that responsibility has overshadowed the right to care and be cared for under modern capitalism.

From this premise, I put forward the concept of citizenship-as-practice to describe the contemporary social contract in Canada. This means that citizenship is a life-long practice in which citizens must remain firmly attached to the labour market and be prepared to re-enter the market quickly if they become unemployed. Social rights, therefore, are not secured under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The state expects individuals and their families to

achieve an adequate standard of living through continuous attachment to the labour market. When an individual partially or completely detaches themselves from the labour market, they may volunteer to be a liminal citizen. The liminal citizen is emblematic of the neoliberal ethos: citizens who "fail" in practicing "good" citizenship, resulting in poverty and homelessness, must elect to effectively become wards of the state and enter the liminal space of the Family Residence as they transition from pauper to citizen.

The research shows that the lived experience of being a liminal citizen is deeply complex and diverse. Parents in these circumstances view themselves as failures, not just as parents but also as citizens. However, many respondents were grateful for the Family Residence, and viewed their experience as an opportunity to regain continuity in the household. The respondents' lived experiences reflected the neoliberal ethos of responsibilization and familialization; they were cognizant of the relational deprivation resulting from their homelessness, which suggests that they internalized citizenship-as-practice, yet redirected their blame onto themselves when they lacked access to the means of social reproduction. They shared either how they contributed to society in some way, such as paying taxes, or that they had fundamental and immutable human rights tied to their citizenship, and that housing was a vital component of those rights. They inhabited the liminal space, in which social rights were not protected, and this could explain why the liminal citizens' ideological stance on citizenship-as-practice had sometimes been internalized. In the absence of formal social rights, the liminal citizen has no choice but to rely on themselves and their family to transition out of the liminal space. Since the state expects the liminal citizen to find their own means out of poverty, and the liminal space can only guarantee the bare minimum of social rights, the question then becomes how to reshape social policy for poor families facing homelessness.

Policy Recommendations

The participants' narratives justified the argument that Canada requires a robust anti-poverty strategy to address the social problem of homelessness. As reported by the respondents, access to affordable housing, one if not the most important means of social reproduction, lay at the heart of the problem as reported. The Housing First model has demonstrated success in numerous Canadian cities and although it has not been universally implemented across the country, its efficacy in re-housing a vulnerable population illustrates that a paradigm shift is essential. The last policy recommendation is the adoption of a Guaranteed Basic Income (GBI) to support underemployed adults, or the working poor, who are highly susceptible to housing insecurity.

Three policy approaches are available, each with varying degrees of radical reform: expanded state intervention in the private rental market, an increase of social housing, or widespread application of the right to housing. Two state interventions could be immediately applied: rent control and limiting credit checks for potential tenants. The respondents reported that the high cost of rent in the GTA was prohibitive for low-income families. Furthermore, many respondents discussed how their poor credit rating barred them from being re-housed. The ethical concern, of course, is how much to limit the free market without interfering with the individual liberty to accumulate wealth. A complete discussion on the ethics of operating in a free market requires more space than this research permits, although I am not hesitant to briefly argue that the freedom to accumulate wealth should not disadvantage others, given that social relations are not entirely equitable in a free market.

The federal government has promoted an increase in social housing stock through the Investment in Affordable Housing (IAH) since 2011 (Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation 2018a), along with a partnership with the Ontario government (see Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2017). Furthermore, the National Housing Strategy does align with public demands to increase affordable housing stock and renovate current housing units. The prinicples behind the National Housing Strategy, to make affordable housing accessible and to end homelessness, is a positive step towards long-term housing security. However, with the ongoing austerity measures implemented by the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party (Jones 2019), the future of improved access to social housing is uncertain. I argue that although social housing is a necessary anti-poverty strategy, this policy is susceptible to ideological sea changes that may occur in electoral politics.

The most radical reform would be a complete overhaul of how Canada and perhaps the globe values housing. To promote the idea that housing must be a right as opposed to a commodity would take years, if not decades, to be fully appreciated by all social and political institutions. Nonetheless, what these different approaches have in common is that housing is linked to other social determinants to homelessness that require redress. An anti-poverty strategy that heavily leans on an affordable housing platform that advocates for housing as a right must contend with landlords' deeply entrenched monopoly on private property. Given the federal and provincial governments' preference for liberalized markets in which labour costs are reduced, particularly wages (Myles and Pierson 1997), a multidimensional approach to homelessness that addresses stagnant wages, for example, could be considered. The reason this section is included is to highlight a key contradiction revealed in my findings. If low-income families are expected to care for their children with little or no support or outright protection, then the neoliberal

project to enshrine continuous employment in the age of market citizenship cannot be sustainable in the future.

Regardless of which policy approach is implemented, improvements to housing affordability and accessibility potentially could make liminal spaces like the Family Residence no longer necessary. The participants' narratives spoke of hardship during their time in the Family Residence that most Canadians may never experience. From feelings of shame and guilt to the stressors associated with extreme poverty, emergency shelter services like the Family Residence, although currently necessary, have the potential to traumatize a vulnerable population already struggling in difficult circumstances.

The GBI model, in which targeted households receive monthly income supplements, could be one solution in aiding low-income populations in meeting their social reproduction needs. The Ontario Liberal Party initiated a GBI experiment (the Ontario Basic Income Pilot Project) in 2017, but it was swiftly dissolved when the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party was voted into office in 2018 (CBC 2018a). Although a previous GBI experiment in Manitoba, referred to as "Mincome" and conducted between 1974 to 1979, showed promising results in improving population health (CBC 2018b), the lack of current longitudinal research on the effects that GBI would have on low-income households, not to mention how it would transform the welfare state, means that the model's potential as an anti-poverty strategy remains inconclusive. Nonetheless, at least theoretically, GBI has the potential to de-familialize care work by providing women the option of de-commodifying their labour without incurring the motherhood penalty or giving them the capacity to afford private childcare. Another concern related to GBI is the recognition of individuals' social rights to income support when a crisis in their life course occurs. Although a GBI model could mitigate the need for social welfare, the

matter of the state's obligation to citizens to ensure an adequate standard of living for them would remain a timely subject. Again, whether GBI would affirm the state's responsibility to enshrine social rights is inconclusive. Upon reflection on GBI as a policy alternative and the participants' narratives of being liminal citizens struggling to transition out of the liminal space, I came to consider a broader question in political sociology, how modern capitalism has structured the social contract in the 20th century.

Implications for Political Sociological Theory

Chapter 7 developed the thematic elements from previous chapters to address the research's broader implications on how the modern welfare state conceptualizes the relationship between citizenship and the state, within the context of contemporary global capitalism. The implications of this research suggest that social welfare in Canada remains deeply residual. The means of social reproduction are but one component of ensuring the general welfare and well-being of the population. Economic growth is contingent upon the degree to which populations are physically and psychologically healthy, as that ensures that women and men are economically productive in order to provide for their families and contribute to national growth and stability. Simply put, labour creates value. Without a productive population, value cannot be sustained. However, the residual nature of the welfare state suggests that human welfare is familialized, and this places considerable strain on vulnerable households when they experience a crisis in their life course. Family homelessness is therefore an example of the consequences of a means-tested welfare system that does not take into the account the relationship between social reproduction and the social rights of citizenship, and how those contribute to a crisis in the life course if they are not at least marginally protected.

All the participants recounted compounding deprivations that accumulated to a crisis in their life course. These deprivations suggest that the participants lacked social rights, since their only recourse was to rely on paid employment, support from kin or friends, or inadequate social welfare. When they entered the liminal space once they reached a crisis in their life course, the participants' social rights remained largely unprotected outside of the Family Residence providing a basic standard of living.[43] Since the participants' social rights were not fully protected, the deprivations they experienced that brought them into the liminal space were reproduced *inside* the liminal space. The participants' circumstances in the liminal space contributed to their difficulty in transitioning out of the Family Residence and into a housing market hostile to low-income households. The relationship between social rights and deprivation sheds light on how class is reproduced in welfare states. Liberal welfare states assume that the individual is responsible for their financial security and social welfare is activated when an individual is in crisis, as determined by means testing. Those in receipt of social welfare continue to be poor even after they are no longer liminal citizens, because Canada's current solution to "combat" poverty resides with the individual. Deprivations continue across the life course for poor families as they transition in and out of liminality and play a part in social immobility for the poor. Next, I present a closer examination of how social rights figure into the Canadian social contract.

Social rights of citizenship

[43] Although the question lies outside the scope of this research, further reflection on whether the state is obligated to provide more than the basic standard of living to those in receipt of social welfare could be considered. In other words, should the state offer opportunities of upward social mobility that do not entirely consist of enforcing claimants to individually develop their human capital? This line of questioning could conclude that a GBI model is an appropriate policy for the very poor in Canada.

I turn my focus to the state's role in providing the relational and material means for social reproduction and how this indicates the limits of social rights in Canada. I argue how these limitations contribute to the familialization of social reproduction. Second, I briefly outline the differences between the United Nation's International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Culture Rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms to establish the residual character of the Canadian welfare state in relation to protecting the social rights of citizenship. The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Culture Rights (1966) outlines in Part 3 that social rights refer to the right to work, the right to social security, the right to family life, the right to health, the right to education, and an adequate standard of living, which includes clothes, food, and housing (United Nations n.d.). Social rights encompass the rights of citizens to practice self-determination in pursuit of their political status, which requires a high degree of inclusion and participation in the community. The reason I use the ICESCR as a benchmark for establishing the degree to which liberal welfare states protect social rights is because they parallel those outlined by Marshall (1950) as necessary for full citizenship. The participants' narratives spoke to how our current welfare state infrastructure is in contravention of these principles.

Social rights are contingent on the means of social reproduction, as stated in Part 2 in the ICESCR. In other words, households cannot enact social rights if they do not have adequate material and emotional resources, such as housing. Governments must ensure that citizens' social rights are protected without discrimination (United Nations n.d.). Hence, the inflows to social reproduction are a prerequisite for full inclusion into the community. The Family Residence provides substitutes to the inflows to social reproduction that are typically found in private homes (i.e., kitchens) or communities (i.e., social services). However, other means of social

reproduction, such as food and diapers, are ultimately left to citizens' responsibility to acquire, as the market provides these according to employment opportunities. Exceptions do exist, however. Canada's socialized healthcare system provides services for all citizens, though it is increasingly subject to privatization. Compulsory primary and secondary public education serves most households. Social welfare is accessible, yet only for those who have made contributions though taxable income or satisfy means-testing. Although the quality of those services and their capacity to facilitate upward social mobility differs according to race, gender, age, and ability, they demonstrate that the welfare state residually provides the relational means of social reproduction. The state does not always provide inflows for social reproduction until a household crisis occurs, such as homeless shelters, or subsidizes them if household income can be proven to be inadequate, like in the form of social housing. However, cash transfers from income assistance can only be dispensed once clients fulfill the requirements to claim them. The limitations to the social rights of citizenship therefore lie with the assumption that social rights are contingent upon participation in private markets, except in cases where absolute poverty is a threat. Capitalist logics dictate that social rights are protected insofar as those measures do not interfere with market profitability.

The economic health of liberal welfare states depends on how familialization is enforced across multiple spheres of social, political, and economic life. Familialization pertains to the ideological standpoint that families, as opposed to the state, must care for their own members. Recall from Chapters 2 and 3 that although familialization persisted in Canada prior to the Second World War, the "Golden Era" of the Canadian welfare state after 1944 rolled out social protections for families against the inevitable cyclical failings of capitalist markets, though these were reserved for white, male breadwinners. Neoliberal reforms to social welfare in Ontario and

beyond in the 1990s pointed to an intensified familialization: the care of oneself and family members have become responsibilized under fiscal austerity and means-testing, harking back to pre-war political sentiments, although not entirely.

Social rights are of importance to this research because poverty is not only an infringement on the rights to citizenship but also human dignity, which recognizes that human beings have inherent value. Human rights establish the standards for the law to protect human dignity and this is the reason why I argue for a rights-based framework to study poverty (Nickel 2021). Poverty engenders social exclusion from civil society when an individual cannot fully participate within the institutions that uphold the social rights of citizenship, such as education and employment. A rights-based perspective then begs the question as to whether the participants' human dignity is protected during their time as liminal citizens. Furthermore, I ask if the protection of human dignity takes a gender-based approach since the lone mothers are subject to greater surveillance in the Family Residence. Indeed, the Family Residence does provide some inflows for social reproduction to reduce parents' feelings of depletion, yet the presence of surveillance suggests that time in the liminal space requires a brief suspension of human dignity, particularly for lone mothers. I argue that increased surveillance of lone mothers is founded on the assumption that their inherent value as competent, responsible mothers is questioned because their homelessness is perceived to be a result of individual failure. My analysis is not intended to "blame" the Residence's frontline staff. Instead, my goal is to identify the assumptions that inform policymaking and delivery writ large that enmeshes staff members into the broader logics of neoliberalism. Next, I look to how social rights are related to the participants' efforts to transition out of the Family Residence.

As discussed in the Chapter 7, the participants reported on how the work required to become re-housed, along with caring for their family members, largely rested on their own efforts, with *some* support from caseworkers and social services writ large. The social character of that support will be discussed in the next section. Moreover, the participants' narratives suggested that familialization is a deeply gendered phenomenon, since mothers were more likely to shift their responsibility to caregiving in the family, especially during a household crisis, and be compelled to leave the job market, at least temporarily. Familialization also intensifies the "double burden" that working-class women experience if they remain in the labour market, even on a part-time basis, which contributes to stress-related illnesses and poor work performance (Crompton 2011; Karkoulian, Srour, and Sinan 2016; Wilkins and Beaudet 1998a; 1998b). An argument that can be extrapolated from the data is that, regardless of whether women are employed or not, familialization diminishes their earnings and hence their capacity to pursue self-determination; subsequently, from the state's perspective, their citizenship-as-practice is ameliorated if they claim income support. My purpose is not to advocate for an expanded welfare state (i.e., the so-called "nanny state") but to illustrate the power capitalism has in subsuming facets of everyday life to the point where markets dictate the very welfare and well-being of citizens, a political project historically undertaken by welfare states.

Social rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

The fundamental point I arrived at in my research was that the participants' narratives invited an interrogation of the notion that the modern Canadian welfare state completely protects citizens' standard of living. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms protects citizens' civil

and political rights, but generally does not uphold a social rights framework. The federal government ratified the ICESCR and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in 1976, which make up the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (Porter 2016). Canada's ratification of the UDHR coincided with Pierre Trudeau's Just Society doctrine, which largely influenced the amendments to the Canada Bill of Rights (1960) that would form the *Constitution Act* (1982), with the Charter being a part. In 1968, Trudeau argued to include social rights into the Constitution to distinguish Canada's identity from the United States:

> Most people take it for granted that every Canadian is assured a reasonable standard of living. Unfortunately, that is not the case … The Just Society will be one in which all of our people will have the means and the motivation to participate. (Trudeau 1988: 16).

In other words, the *Constitution Act* was intended to legislate not only civil and political rights but also a reasonable standard of living through the protection of social rights, since all those rights were not formally protected in the Canada Bill of Rights. An approximation of social rights in Canadian law is found in Section 7 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms:

> Life, liberty and security of person
>
> 7. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived thereof except in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice. (Government of Canada 2021b)

The legal arguments pertaining to Charter applications to social rights and social welfare are beyond the scope of this paper.[44] Nonetheless, a short review of how social rights are or are not enforced through social policy and programs demonstrates that an adequate standard of living to meet the right to life, liberty, and security of the person is not protected under the Charter.

[44] However, see *Gosselin v Quebec* (2002), *Finlay v Canada* (1993), and *Andrews v Law Society of British Columbia* (1989) for historical Charter applications concerning social rights. The last decision is of importance to this discussion in that "human dignity is the core of the Supreme Court's conception of equality rights pursuant to section 15 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*" (Pothier 2007:40). In other words, social rights, if enshrined in the Charter, would satisfy equality under the law, including equal protection and benefit of the law.

After 1994, individual citizens and advocacy groups in Ontario filed Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms challenges (known as "Charter challenges") against the provincial government to argue that the state had violated Section 7 when income assistance rates were reduced. Legal challenges to these welfare cuts (See *Masse v Ontario* 1996 and, generally, Young et al. 2007) led to the lower courts ruling that social and economic rights fall under the government's jurisdiction rather than the law and therefore are not justiciable; governments were considered experts in social policy and leaving these decisions to unelected officials like judges was thought to be potentially disastrous (Porter 2016). Moreover, provincial governments argued that the state is under no obligation to provide positive rights to citizens and instead should only protect negative rights, or the right to not be subjected to another's action, be it a government or social group. Therefore, if social rights are to be implemented, it will be through social policies and programs that grant a standard of living, but with conditions. Although income assistance could never grant a standard of living equal to employment income, the central purpose of the programs was to protect individual rights; yet the assumption was that employment was preferable. The neoliberal period of policy reform for income assistance programs (1990s to early 2000s) redesigned them to incentivize people to find employment through strict eligibility criteria and meagre monthly benefit amounts.

As reference, the *Canadian Assistance Plan Bill* (CAP) was legislated in 1966 for the provinces to cost-share funding for social programs with the federal government and ensure citizens could appeal decisions that barred them from accessing assistance. The role of the CAP then was to fulfill the state's obligation to protect citizens' social rights outside the Charter's purview, and ultimately satisfy Trudeau's Just Society doctrine under a broader human rights framework. However, the reduced funding and "loosening" of obligations that came with CHST

in 1996–97 and eventually the Canada Health Transfer and Canada Social Transfer in 2004 signified a shift to the individualization and familialization seen today. Under the CHST, welfare claimants were no longer afforded the right to financial support without the obligation to participate in workfare programs, while the only right that remained after the reform was that claimants did not have to meet minimum residency requirements to be eligible for support (Battle and Torjman 1995). The CHST, and eventually the CHT and CST, attached the moral obligation to receiving welfare that claimants must be employable at all times and encouraged citizens either to seek out private insurance or to rely on their family as a source for social insurance. The market citizen, or the citizen who can choose their social insurance (and social welfare) from a variety of private providers, ranging from pensions to retirement homes to daycare, was the ideal citizen shaped by neoliberal doctrine that permeated the political culture throughout North America and Britain in the 1970s and 1980s (Fudge 2005; Root 2007). Under these conditions, the liminal space cames into sharp focus.

However, caution must be taken when appealing to legislative reform to remedy inequalities. Canadian law is founded on colonial systems of expansionism and domination. As discussed previously, the legal system, which included the welfare regime, is a set of mechanisms to enforce colonial rule, displace Indigenous people from their traditional terroritories and propagate assimilation, reinforce tradtional gender roles in the home and workplace, and disadvantage racialized minorities by failing to protect their interests for the sake of preserving the white settler hegemony. In summary, the law has limits in curbing capitalism's excesses. If the federal government enshrines social rights into law, ignoring the logisitical, legal, and ethical problems when passing amendments to the Charter, I hesitate to offer predictions due to the lack of evidence. Furthermore, since Canadian law is a mechanism for

colonial violence, the question remains open as to whether legally protected social rights will be enforced or if only the social rights of particular groups will be protected.

The notion of social rights of citizenship acknowledges that humans exist in interdependence with each other and the larger social world, in which the community inhabits. Social inclusion is a requirement for human survival for current and future generations, as it forms the basis for social reproduction. Without the means of social reproduction, families simply "come apart." The logics of neoliberal social policy, however, led to reductions in state supports for the means of social reproduction, namely income assistance and affordable housing for poor and working-poor families. These trends in the political economy of social welfare manifested in the participants' life courses at the time of the interviews. The participants' emotional experience practicing social reproduction in the family shelter were varied: some were grateful for the respite; others experienced anger, frustration, and depression; and many reconciled the stigma attached to being homeless. A common theme among the participants' experiences was that entering the Family Residence was necessary, yet either regrettable or welcomed depending on their circumstances. Their emotional experience of this particular liminal space marked a significant moment in their life course, where they were made vulnerable by social policy and inclined to pursue safety and security from the state. Liminal spaces like the emergency shelter system are a normalized response to family homelessness, and their feelings constituted an awareness of the consequences of entering the Family Residence. The lack of formal protections for social rights, especially in the Residence, perpetuated the cycle of poverty, because a liminal space is a self-created transition to housing rather than a preventative measure against homelessness.

Final Remarks

The bourgeois project to accumulate wealth through the exploitation of the proletariat's labour depends on women carrying out social reproduction within the family. The interviews with the participants suggested that traditional gender roles among heterosexual partners in families remain largely entrenched in Canadian culture. Pre-war social policy was simply familialized, with the state expecting women within the family (and women working in charities) to provide care and support in lieu of formal state policy. Although post-war social policy gradually gave women the opportunity to decouple themselves from traditional gender roles, the introduction of neoliberalism into the political economy of social policy after the 1970s re-established familialism into the Canadian welfare state. Familialization is effectively replicated in the liminal space of the Family Residence, as liminal citizens depend on themselves, their family, and extended kin and friends to transition out of the liminal space. How deeply rooted neoliberalism is in Canadian political economy and our society writ large is certainly open to debate, yet its effects were apparent in the participants' narratives. Capitalism's sustainability is contingent upon the exploitation of unpaid work in the home as much as paid employment outside the home; neoliberalism was a political technology to reaffirm labour market attachment at the expense of women's autonomy.

When an individual's capacity to remain attached to the labour market is compromised, the risk of homelessness increases. Neoliberalism was not only technology to socially and morally regulate workers and to regulate the very poor in society. The Family Residence, a liminal space that functions as an extension of the welfare state, disciplines poor families to return to the normative household. This comes at the expense of mandating preventative measures, like affordable housing, so that families could avoid the risk of homelessness

altogether. Policies to remedy homelessness in Canada are set out to affirm capitalism's legitimacy by directing parents to enter dominant class relationships shaped by gendered and racialized standards. This suggests that social rights are not protected by the Canadian state, meaning that poor households are more likely to experience multiple crisis like housing insecurity in their life course. A major obstacle to a paradigm shift in homeless policy, from managing a housing crisis to preventing a housing crisis, is capitalism's authority to structure the right to housing, family gender relations, and the primacy of paid employment.

Appendix A: Table 1.1 (Participants' demographic characteristics)

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Disability[45]	Marital Status[46]	Citizenship Status	Employment Status[47]	Income[48]
Elizabeth	Female	21	Black	No	Partnered	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	OW
Lavonne	Female	31	Black	No	Partnered	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	OW
Finlay	Male	51	White	Yes	Separated	Canadian Citizen	Employed	ODSP, employment income
Maree	Female	33	Black	No	Partnered	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	OW
Lillian	Female	43	Black	No	Single	Canadian Citizen	Employed	Employment income
Bekki	Female	43	Black	No	Single	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	EI
Frannie	Female	22	Black	No	Married	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	OW
Vera	Female	37	First Nations	Yes	Partnered	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	ODSP
Cheryl	Female	27	Black	No	Single	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	Family
Daniel	Male	21	Black	No	Common-Law	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	OW
Rihana	Female	37	Black	No	Single	Refugee	Unemployed	Shelter allowance
Sylvester	Male	49	Black	No	Partnered	Landed Immigrant	Unemployed	OW
Hailee	Female	37	Black	No	Partnered	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	OW
Audrey	Female	22	Black	No	Partnered	Refugee	Unemployed	Casual work
Theodora	Female	35	Black	No	Single	Landed Immigrant	Unemployed	Shelter allowance

[45] Disability was determined by the participants' self-identification during the interview. Participants collecting ODSP entitlements are considered "disabled" under Sections 3(1) and 4(1)(a)(b)(c) of the *Ontario Disability Support Program Act*, *1997*.

[46] Partnered means the participant was in a relationship did not identify a legal status.

[47] Employment status refers to formal employment rather than all employment.

[48] Participants were not asked to disclose their annual income amount. A recipient with no spouse receives $1,013 per month from OW if they have one child under 17 years old; $1,478 if they have two children under 18 years old; and $1,019 if they have three children under 18 years old. A recipient with a spouse receives $1,294 per month from OW if they have one child under 18 years old and $1,523 if they have two children under 18 years old (Toronto Employment and Social Services 2018). A recipient with no spouse receives $744 per month from ODSP if they have 1 or more children under 18 years old; $986 per month if they have 1 child over 18 years old; and $1,168 per month if they have 2 children over 18 years old. A recipient with a spouse receives $917 per month from ODSP if they have 1 or more children under 18 years old; $1,098 per month if they have 1 child over 18 years old; and $1,229 per month if they have 2 children over 18 years old (ODSP 2017). To estimate income for casual workers, the average wage amounts to $19.10 per hour (Statistics Canada 2017).

Diane	Female	31	Black	No	Married	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	EI
Nimasha	Female	23	Sri Lankan	No	Common-Law	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	OW
Dinesh	Male	31	Sri Lankan	No	Common-Law	Permanent Resident	Unemployed	OW
Carrie	Female	55	Black	Yes	Single	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	Savings, OW
Michelle	Female	28	White	Yes	Partnered	Canadian Citizen	Unemployed	OW
Louise	Female	40	White	No	Married	Landed Immigrant	Unemployed	OW
Carol	Female	37	Black	No	Married	Refugee	Unemployed	Shelter allowance

Appendix B: Table 1.2 (Number of children and childcare benefits)

Name	Number of Children in Family Residence	Total Number of Children	Child Care Benefit
Elizabeth	1	2	No
Lavonne	5	5	Yes
Finlay	2	4	No
Maree	0	3	Yes
Lillian	2	2	Yes
Becki	5	5	No
Frannie	4	4	Yes
Vera	1	1	No
Cheryl	1	1	Yes
Daniel	3	3	No
Rihana	3	1	No
Sylvester	1	1	Yes
Hailee	2	4	Yes
Audrey	1	2	No
Theodora	2	2	No
Diane	3	3	Yes
Nimasha	1	1	Yes
Dinesh	1	1	No
Carrie	1	1	No
Michelle	1	1	No
Louise	6	6	No
Carol	5	5	No

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

Current Situation

Could you give me an example of what a typical day looks like for you?

- Where do you make food?
- Where are you doing your laundry?
- Does the Residence have a washroom where you can shower?
- What are your sleeping arrangements right now?
- Do you move around a lot?
- How do you unwind?

Could you walk me through how you came into Family Residence?

Could you tell me a story about the best experience you have had with your family while homeless? The worst experience?

Paid and Unpaid Work

How do you meet your family's needs? Do you work?

If you aren't working, how do you make money?

How do you take care of your kids during this time?

- How do you arrange food?
- How do you arrange to get new clothes?
- How do you get your kids to school?
- Where do you take them to play?

Tell me a story about a challenge you had in looking after your kids.

- What are the days or times that are the most challenging? Certain times of the year?

If you're living with your partner, how do you share parenting responsibilities?

Tell me about the people you are close to right now, such as teachers, caseworkers, family, or friends? Anyone I didn't mention? What are your relationships with them like?

- Who helps you with the kids?
- Who helps you out with food or things for the kids?

What is your employment situation right now? Have you ever been in training for work?

- How do you manage working/going to a training program/attending school during this time?
- What are some of the challenges you faced while you are working?
- Does your employer/instructor know? Does your friends and family?
- How do you spend your money?

Liminality

Tell me what it's like being between having a home and not, compared to living in a home.

Tell me what it's like to be homeless with a family.

Tell me what it's like doing paid work while being homeless.

Do you feel pulled in different directions by the communities you're a part of?

Citizenship and State Support

Does the government subsidize you in any way?

What are the community services you rely on?

- Which services do you find most useful? How did you find them?
- Are any of the services we talked about actually helping you?
- Do they help out with the kids in any way?

Do you use drop-in centres, food banks, or soup kitchens? Other services I didn't mention? How did you find them?

- Which services do you find most useful? How did you find them?
- Are any of the services we talked about actually helping you?
- Do they help out with the kids in any way?

What are the ways the government helps you with your monthly income?

- How does this work?

Who is helping you look for permanent housing? Are you receiving help?

- In your view, do you have rights as a person looking for permanent housing?

Has anyone interfered with your raising of your children? Would you like to talk about it?

- How is your relationship with them right now?
- How does that make you feel?
- Tell me why you think you couldn't keep your kids?

- Do you ever get to see them?

How do you think the government views your family's situation?

How do you think the government views your future? Your kids' future?

What do you think about your future?

- What are your plans for yourself?
- What are your plans for your family?

Do you think the government or the public only sees your paid work and not your caregiving?

Do people have a right to a home?

Do you feel you have a right to a good job?

Do you feel you have a right to child care?

What would make your life easier for you right now?

What would you change?

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