

CHARLES UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Institute of Sociological Studies
Department of Sociology

Master's Thesis

2018

Bc. Erika Janatová

CHARLES UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Institute of Sociological Studies
Department of Sociology

**No Two Homeless People Are Alike: Homelessness from
the Perspective of Institutions**

Master's thesis

Author: Bc. Erika Janatová

Study programme: Sociology

Supervisor: Mgr. Petr Vašát, Ph.D.

Year of the defence: 2018

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on 10. 5. 2018

Erika Janatová

References

JANATOVÁ, Erika. *No Two Homeless People Are Alike: Homelessness from the Perspective of Institutions*. Praha, 2018. 66 pages. Master's thesis (Mgr.). Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Sociological Studies. Department of Sociology. Supervisor Mgr. Petr Vašát, Ph.D.

Length of the thesis: 107 910 signs

Abstract

Homelessness represents a most serious challenge for current cities and their administrations across the globe. Despite this fact, it is surprising that the topic of homelessness from the perspective of institutions has been so understudied so far [e. g. Temelová, Jana et al. 2015]. This paper will focus on the conceptualization of homelessness by institutions. It will try to describe how the institutions, which are dealing with homelessness, conceptualize it and see if the conceptualization occurs in the practice of social service providers. There are three main research questions: (1) how do institutions conceptualize homelessness?, (2) do the conceptualizations change over time and if they do how? (e. g. under the influence of the "ETHOS" European definition (FEANTSA 2005)), (3) how is the individualizing neoliberal project manifested in this? For answering the questions I will use a qualitative research methodology - semi-structured interviews with representatives of institutions, which will be supplemented by networks mapping and structured literature search of conceptual, methodological and strategic documents, which will first be deductively and then inductively analyzed with using MAXQDA program.

Abstrakt

Bezdomovectví představuje pro dnešní města a jejich administrativy na celém světě nejvýznamnější výzvu. Navzdory této skutečnosti je překvapující, že téma bezdomovectví z pohledu institucí je doposud tak málo zkoumáno [např. G. Temelová, Jana a kol. 2015]. Tato práce se zaměří na konceptualizaci bezdomovectví z pohledu institucí. Bude se snažit popsat, jak instituce, které se zabývají bezdomovectvím, tento jev konceptualizují a zjistit, zda se tato konceptualizace projevuje v praxi poskytovatelů sociálních služeb. Tři výzkumné otázky jsou: (1) jak instituce konceptualizují bezdomovectví?, (2) mění se konceptualizace v průběhu času a pokud ano, jak? (např. pod vlivem evropské definice "ETHOS" (FEANTSA 2005)), (3) jak se v tomto projevuje individuální neoliberální projekt? Pro zodpovězení otázek budu využívat metodiku kvalitativního výzkumu - semistrukturované rozhovory se zástupci institucí. Ty budou doplněny mapováním sítí a strukturovaným výzkumem literatury koncepčních, metodických a strategických dokumentů, které budou nejprve deduktivně a následně induktivně analyzovány pomocí programu MAXQDA.

Keywords

Homelessness, institutions, social services, neo-liberalism, post-socialism, revanchism

Klíčová slova

Bezdomovectví, instituce, sociální služby, neoliberalismus, post-socialismus, revanchismus

Název

Není bezdomovec jako bezdomovec: bezdomovectví z pohledu institucí.

Acknowledgement

I would first of all like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Mgr. Petr Vašát, Ph.D. for the professional leadership, the valuable advice and the time he devoted to me. I would also like to thank all those who supported me during my writing.

TABLE OF CONTENT

INTRODUCTION	9
1. CURRENT WORK, THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	13
1.1. NEOLIBERALISM AND THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS IN POLICING HOMELESSNESS	13
1.1.1. <i>REVANCHISM VS. POST-REVANCHISM</i>	15
1.1.2. <i>THEORIES OF POST-SOCIALISM, TRANSITION TO CAPITALISM IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC</i>	21
2. ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS	24
2.1. DEFINITION OF HOMELESSNESS	24
2.2. CENSUS.....	25
2.3. TWO SIDES OF THE BARRICADE	26
3. METHODOLOGY	28
3.1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	28
3.2. TARGET GROUP AND DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH SAMPLE	29
3.3. DATA COLLECTION.....	30
3.4. DATA PROCESSING	31
3.5. ETHICAL ISSUES.....	32
4. RESULTS	33
4.1. “STATE OF EMERGENCY IN ITS COMPLEXITY.” CONCEPTUALIZATION OF HOMELESSNESS	33
4.1.1. <i>THE FIRST ASSOCIATION WITH THE TERM "HOMELESS"</i>	33
4.1.2. <i>OWN CONCERNS</i>	36
4.1.3. <i>ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW ORGANIZATIONS</i>	37
4.1.4. <i>„HE CAME HERE TO US, UNDER THE BRIDGE, FOR SOME REASON“</i>	39
4.1.5. <i>THE ROLE OF MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION</i>	43
4.1.6. <i>INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION</i>	45
4.1.7. <i>POLICY</i>	46
4.2. CHANGES OF HOMELESSNESS IN PRAGUE	47

4.2.1. <i>CHANGES IN PRAGUE'S HOMELESS POPULATION</i>	47
4.2.2. <i>IMPORTANT MILESTONES AFFECTING HOMELESSNESS: SIGNS OF POST-SOCIALISM IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC</i>	50
4.2.3. <i>POSITIVE MILESTONES AFFECTING HOMELESSNESS</i>	53
5. DISCUSSION	55
5.1. RESULTS NEOLIBERAL (REVANCHIST)THEORY	55
5.2. RESULTS POST-REVANCHIST THEORY	56
6. CONCLUSIONS	57
SUMMARY	60
LIST OF REFERENCES	61
APPENDIXES	67

..

INTRODUCTION

Homelessness is a phenomenon that is currently connected to mainly large cities across Western countries. In some of them, it has a long history. In the Czech Republic in its present form it began to appear in the 1990s. Since then, there have been many projects and research in the Czech Republic dealing with homelessness. Most of them deal with the lives of the homeless themselves or the public's view. Despite the fact that institutions play a huge role in homelessness, almost nobody has looked at this phenomenon from this point of view. According to Mary Douglas [1986], institutions do the classifying for us. They constitute the sameness of things that are considered as members of the same class [Douglas 1986: 58]. People think of themselves and their place in society through the classification established in their institutions [Ibid: 99]. And make decisions by using the tools of the institutions they created [Ibid: 128].

The inspiration for this research was primarily the work of Petr Vašát „*Kdo je a není bezdomovec? Představy bezdomovce v praxi organizací poskytujících sociální služby*” (Who is and Who is not Homeless? Ideas of Homeless People in Practices of Organizations Providing Social Services). In this research, Vašát deals with a similar topic in the territory of the city Pilsen. In addition, my previous participation in the research “*Čas a prostor bezdomovců v postsocialistickém městě: komparace Prahy a Plzně*” (Time and Space of Homeless People in the Post-socialist City: Comparison Between Prague and Pilsen) (GA15-17540S) was also an inspiration. This master thesis was created as a part of this research project. According to Vašát [2014], who in his work dealt with social service organizations in the city of Pilsen, these organizations systematically disadvantaged the "typical homeless" (as defined by the employees of the Pilsen social services themselves) because the typical homeless are not actively trying to improve their situation. Therefore they do not fit into the category of “deserving” poor [Mitchell 2011].

The purpose of this paper is to explore homelessness from the perspective of Prague institutions. The work aims to answer the following questions.

1. How do institutions conceptualize homelessness?
2. Do the conceptualizations change over time and if they do how (e. g. under the influence of the “ETHOS” European definition [FEANTSA 2005])?
3. How is the individualizing neoliberal project manifested in this?

The research took place on the territory of capital city Prague (as it is not only the biggest Czech city but probably also the city with the highest number of homeless people in the Czech Republic). Unfortunately, it is unclear how many homeless people there really are in Prague. There has been a number of censuses conducted in the past but due to methodological shortcomings, the exact number of homeless cannot be considered credible. According to one of the latest census there were about 4,000 homeless people in Prague in 2010 [Sčítání bezdomovců na území hl. města Prahy, Závěrečná zpráva: 6]. In 2005, *Fédération Européenne des Associations Nationales Travaillant avec les Sans-Abri* (European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless, FEANTSA) made a “European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS)”, which divides homeless people according to their living and housing situation and describes four forms of housing exclusion (roofless, without dwelling, insecure housing, poor housing) [FEANTSA 2005]. None of the censuses included the last two categories of the ETHOS definition (insecure housing and poor housing) even though it is a part of official legislation today.

Qualitative methodology was used in this research. The method of a semi-structured interview with representatives of the institutions was chosen as the primary technique. This was supplemented by an analysis of official documents and a Social Networks Analysis (SNA) to determine the mutual cooperation of individual actors. These methods were chosen with the assumption of good finding as much information as possible about the approach of institutions from various sources.

Theoretically, this work draws primarily on theories of neoliberalism [e. g. Wacquant 2009, Hilgers 2012, 2013] with special emphasis on neoliberal urban governance [e. g. Temelová et al., 2015, Mitchell 2011] in its recent critical reformulation in a form of post-revanchism. In addition, the thesis draws from theories of post-socialism [e. g. Stenning, Smith, Rochovska, Swiatek 2010] and Czech transition from communism to capitalism [e. g. Císař, Navrátil 2016, Večerník 2005].

The Thesis is structured as follows. After this introduction comes a chapter entitled “Current work, theoretical and conceptual framework” which contains three main chapters: Neoliberalism and Role of Institutions in Policing Homelessness, Revanchism vs. Post-revanchism and Post-socialism. This chapter is followed by results of analysis of official

documents. The theoretical introduction is followed by the Methodology chapter, which details the techniques of data collection, the course of their collection, the description of the research sample and the ethical questions of the research. The methodology is followed by a chapter with results of the interviews analysis and SNA. In the end of the thesis there are Conclusions of the entire work. Discussion and the References. The work is complemented by Attachments that include the Interviews Guide and the List of Codes used in the interviews analysis.

1. Current Work, Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

1.1. Neoliberalism and the Role of Institutions in Policing Homelessness

To talk about the impact of neoliberalism on the attitude of institutions to homelessness, it is first important to clarify what is meant by the term neoliberalism. There are many kinds of different approaches and theories, and even though there is not one clear definition of this phenomenon, I would like to briefly introduce some that are, in my opinion, the most important.

Wacquant [2009] define neoliberalism as a “*transnational political project aiming to remake the nexus of the market, state and citizenship from above*” ruled by a new global class composed of politicians, state managers, top officials of multinational organizations (e.g. OECD, European Union), heads of transnational firms etc. [Wacquant 2009: 306]. Besides the promotion of the market, Wacquant also talks about four institutional logics brought by neoliberalism. They are:

- (1) Economic deregulation (regulation promoting the market and for organizing human activities)
- (2) Welfare state devolution, retraction, and re-composition
- (3) The cultural trope of individual responsibility
- (4) Expansive, intrusive and proactive penal apparatus [Ibid: 307].

Hilgers [2012] defines neoliberalism as an extreme form of capitalism which puts an emphasis on individual responsibility and is connected to a new role of the state. He talks about the differences between theoretical and practical neo-liberalism. While the theories are mostly economic, he argues that neoliberalism is necessarily a political project as it is embedded in our personalities and in the ways we think about and problematize our lives. Neoliberalism requires us to adapt to the market mechanism and to competition, and thus determines how we perceive our own destinies [Hilgers 2012: 8]. The implementation of neoliberalism does not only mean the application of socialization to its policies, but Hilgers also stress the historicity of places and institutions where the policies are applied and dispositions that embody it [Hilgers 2013: 78]. Using the example of Africa Hilgers

demonstrates the importance of the role of the socio-historical context. He states that the varieties of trajectories demonstrate that neoliberalism is an element affecting the configuration of the state [Hilgers 2012: 90]. The results of the implementation of neoliberal policies are already rooted in the bodies and in our practices. Not only our human capital but also social relations and networks are transformed under the influence of neoliberalism into the estates of which we are going to the market we compete in [Hilgers 2013: 83]. According to Hilgers, the neoliberal policies are already so deeply rooted in our view and perception of the world that even if those policies would completely change today the effects would not be erased [Hilgers 2012: 91].

Hilgers distinguishes between three approaches to neoliberalism: culturalist (as a power influencing shared practices), systematic (as a system of the structure of social relations and networks in the social space) and the governmental approach (as a set of techniques in governance) [Hilgers 2010: 352, Hejnal 2014b: 34]. Hilgers' approach was named by Hejnal [2014b] as combined – trying to link all the three approaches together.

Jennifer Robinson [2010] divided the key elements of neoliberalism into the following:

- Decentralization (in particular, a greater local government economy; stronger fiscal independence)
- Commercialization (operation of local government services on the cost recovery basis; management contracts for private contractors)
- Privatization (public-private partnerships)
- Competitive economic policies (priority of economic growth; adoption of "fast" policies; urban regeneration)
- Market solutions (housing delivery; land)
- Incentive Structures (new public management, key performers indicators with pay of senior officials linked to KPIs)
- Deregulation (market-led development with fewer social controls) [Robinson 2010: 1099].

Of all these elements, I find the most important for this work:

- Competitive economic policies: the political implications connected to this element are, for example, the long-term ambitions of local authorities, especially with property and other local economic tax bases
- Market solutions: pushing poor people to less accessible and worse locations, limited access to services for the poorest such as shelters
- Deregulation: a stronger role for private sector developers in determining location and form of development, much-needed renovation of the built environment [Ibid: 1099].

Even though there is not one clear definition of neoliberalism, based on the observed information and collected data we can say that neoliberalism is a political and social project that puts a large emphasis on individuality, contributes to the increase of social inequalities in contemporary societies, and because it is determined by concrete socio-historical and economic developments and conditions of each particular country, it can take various forms.

1.1.1. Revanchism vs. Post-Revanchism

Neo-liberal doctrines are tasked among others to justify, for example, privatization of public services, reducing corporate taxes, or criminalization of urban poor. Since the eighties of the last century, neoliberalism has been the dominant form of capitalist globalization [Brenner, Theodore 2002: 350]. Cities have become strategic places where various neo-liberal policies, such as privatization, deregulation or place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations are being implemented [Ibid: 368].

“Cities have become strategic targets for an increasingly broad range of neoliberal policy experiments, institutional innovations, and politicoideological projects. Under these conditions, cities have become the incubators for many of the major political and ideological strategies through which the dominance of neoliberalism is being maintained“ [Ibid: 375-6].

The problem is not only that neoliberalism affects cities, but the cities themselves have become important institutional spaces where neo-liberalism develops [Brenner,

Theodore 2002b: 345]. On contrary, it is important to mention that grassroots are emerging in cities that try to resist and mitigate the manifestations of neo-liberalism and prefer the needs of people to capitalist profits [Ibid: 346].

In connection with marginalized populations in cities, the “visible presence” of homeless people emerges as a problem for institutions to solve. These institutional actors dealing with urban governance (e.g. city officials, local politicians) often solve this issue by using different kinds of design prevention or “anti-homeless designs” (e.g. benches with barriers so people cannot lie on them or various spikes) and laws connected to public spaces (for instance making it illegal to sit on the ground or consume alcohol in public). Many authors connect these solutions with *neoliberal urban governance* (e.g. Mitchell 2011, Temelová et al. 2015, Vašát 2012) or with an approach from originating in the US called *revanchism* [Smith 1996]. Urban revanchism tries to spread the idea of neighborhood security and morality, using populist language, and it is actually reaction of ruling majority to minorities, including not only homeless but also immigrants, homosexuals or unemployed [Smith 1996: 207].

Temelová et al. [2015] describes through semi-structured interviews how various institutional actors (including city officials, police authorities, local politicians and nongovernmental organizations) perceive and deal with social problems and marginalized populations in the city center of Prague. The results of their study show various approaches to solving these problems by the local authorities and NGOs. The representatives of NGOs are interested in the structural context of the problem of marginalised populations and their quality of life – generally they are dealing with the social problems more in depth. Whereas the local authorities are not only focusing on marginalised groups but must also address the attractiveness of the city for tourists and the satisfaction and safety feelings of residents, as well as the conflict between these groups. By putting a bigger emphasis on the citizens, according to the authors of the study, the local authorities tend to populism [Temelová et al. 2015: 22].

Vacková, Galčanová, and Hofírek [2014] analyzed qualitative data from twelve Czech cities and tried to describe how the “problematic localities” are represented in speeches of local politicians and public officials. They show what kinds of spaces and people are those authorities and city governments found to be problematic and how this

issue is represented and legitimised in their acting. The study revealed that officials ascribe to the inhabitants of these localities some attributes associated with their ethnicity and they connect these attributes with the idea of impurity. These narratives lead to the need for surveillance and discipline or purification that sometimes also means displacement or demolition of the “contaminated” space [Vacková et al. 2014: 653].

Mitchel and Heyen [2009] examine how changes in the governance of urban space affect the geography of survival in American cities. They talk about, for example, cameras watching dustbins [Mitchel, Heyen 2009: 618] or Food Not Bombs who are being punished for giving people food on the streets [Ibid: 626].

Under the auspices of "security-think", contemporary societies try to hide that in fact, under the influence of neoliberalism, they use strategies that show the situation of the poor as unwanted or threatening. These three main strategies are, according to Wacquant, socialization, medicalization (e.g. the reason why a person is living on the street is considered as an individual pathology - because of alcohol/drugs / mental deficiencies) and penalization (for instance for lying on the sidewalk, a person is labelled as delinquent and afterwards finds himself behind bars) [Wacquant 2009: XXI].

The division of worthy and unworthy or deserving and undeserving poor originated in America and was reinforced in the 80s with neoliberal policies [Mitchell 2011: 945]. Deserving poor were those willing to accept their own responsibility for their actual situation, accept charity help and integrate into the market system. Undeserving poor were those who were not willing to do this. Deserving were due to new policies supported and undeserving punished [Ibid: 945].

Petr Vašát in his research tried to find out how employees of the Pilsen social services perceive, identify and categorize their clients and describe the role of the neoliberal idea of “chronic or real” homeless person in their practices [Vašát 2014: 116]. In his research, he found out that these “typical” homeless (as defined by the employees of the Pilsen social services themselves) are by those employees systematically marginalised [Ibid: 132]. Either they are subjected to special treatment, or they are rejected as clients who do not fit into the target group - as they are not young or drug addicted, they are not actively trying to change their situation and don't need any medical help. The homeless

who are not visually perceived as “typical” can use the services, even though the life strategy of these, are practically the same as those, who are not “typical” [Ibid: 134].

Even though Vašát [2014] doesn't really divide between un/deserving poor, it is quite clear from the results of his study that the employees of social services organizations, under the influence of neoliberal ideas, do this classifying. The “typical” homeless people represent the undeserving poor not only in their perception but also in their daily practices.

Ondřej Hejnal [2014a] analyzed meanings that institutional actors ascribe to the “homeless” and through an analysis of interviews with these dominant actors, collected in one medium-sized Czech town, tried to describe discursive reproduction of the idea of “deserving” and “undeserving” poor [Hejnal 2014a: 137-138]. These meanings, according to him, affect how the homeless are treated - if homelessness is conceived as a structural problem, the left hand should prevail, if it is perceived as an individual failure, the right hand should dominate¹ [Ibid: 140]. Hejnal found that institutional actors divide homeless people into three groups (clients of prevention, clients social services and clients of repression) and most of them share the idea of the radical differences between the two groups - the deserving (clients of prevention and social services) and undeserving (clients of repression) poor [Ibid: 150]. The division in the research of Hejnal [2014] among the representatives of institutions is also apparent. Worthy are the clients of prevention and social services, unworthy represent the clients of repression.

Some authors talk about “Americanization” of homelessness in post-industrial countries. On the examples of Germany, France, South Korea, Sweden, and Russia they are trying to show how neo-liberalism manifests itself in post-industrial countries [Jürgen von Mahs 2011].

Americanization has, according to them, three parts:

1. Americanization of Form and Causes – social and economic circumstances, the lack of cheap housing and the growing number of homeless people

¹ Hejnal's application of the concept of right and left hand is based on the theory of Pierre Bourdieu (1998).

2. Americanization of Social Policy and Welfare – insufficient funding and privatization of social enterprises, services, etc.
3. Americanization of Punitive Policy – the exclusion of homeless people from the public space, the use of repressive elements, etc. [von Mahs 2011: 924].

With the exception of Germany, homelessness is on the rise everywhere. Capital cities had problems with social policy implementation, and because there were no homeless people in the socialist countries there was no structure to help these people afterward and they were not ready to move from socialism to capitalism [Ibid: 929].

However, in another example, Jürgen von Mahs [2011b] shows that thanks to good welfare it is possible to avoid the consequences of neoliberal policy implementation. Specifically, he shows the example of Germany, Berlin [von Mahs 2011b: 1039].

DeVerteuil (2003) conducted research about how welfare transformation is perceived in practice at the Los Angeles social services, especially in their client targeting. He finds out that with more policy aimed at getting people out of their situation, it is also up to organizations to help the deserving poor and thereby weaken the others who also need the help. Changes are visible for example in the fact that organizations are hiring new people who are coaching experts in order to get homeless people back into everyday life, to find a job, and to succeed. The entire process is called "Welfare-to-work". New financial resources shift towards more employable individuals and away from those difficult to employ, who are then at the expense of this new concept disadvantaged [DeVerteuil 2003: 547-548].

Not strictly in opposition but rather in an attempt to bring alternative to the widespread theory of neo-liberalism as political project standing behind most of the problems of the urban poor, some authors came with different theory. These do not disprove the theory of neo-liberalism, but rather try to challenge it with contradictory ideas. Recently, especially among the authors researching homelessness or urban policies in general, there is a new approach to punishing politics. It is called Post-revanchism or Post-secularism. While most of the authors have previously dealt with how a policy against homeless people is punishing, some people later try to show that it also involves compassion.

For example, Clock, May and Johnsen [2010] use the example of the British Social Services and show that homeless care is a key indicator of post-secular sympathy that opposes neo-liberalism [Clock, May, Johnsen 2010: 241]. They show that the phenomenon needs to be seen more comprehensively. Homeless people on the streets do not only experience punitive repression, but also compassion on the side of volunteers who take care of them. This is easily neglected by the authors in previous works on homelessness [Ibid: 254].

One of the key authors dealing with Post-Revanchism is DeVerteuil. He looks at homeless shelters as opposed to theories about punitive cities and anti-homeless city policies [DeVerteuil 2006: 111]. Shelters, according to DeVerteuil, have not only the fundamental importance of providing accommodation to people without home in times of emergency but also reflect the fact that the increase in their number in times of economic crisis symbolizes an increase in the need to help [Ibid: 118]. DeVerteuil [2014] tries to rebut the mainstream theory of punitive policies by criticizing, for example, Wacquant, who is one of the authors who sees urban politics too unilaterally and punitiveness everywhere, and says that there are policies, organizations and associations in the cities that try to alleviate the effects of this punitive policy and to help to the punished people via different centers for homeless, etc. [DeVerteuil 2014: 878-881]. DeVerteuil emphasizes that we should not look at punitive theory in isolation as the only and main concept. He suggests to always took into account its co-existence with other motivations such as need to help to others [Ibid: 890].

Homeless policy is not strictly punitive in North America and Western Europe, but, as is obvious, also supportive. The balances in these two counterparts are then different between countries and even between cities in one country [May, Cloke 2013: 898]. As DeVerteuil examines the shelters, May and Cloke are mapping London Run-Soups and motivations of their providers and concludes that it is a public response of goodwill towards homeless people, which stands in opposition to urban revanchism [Ibid: 909]. Stacey Murphy [2009] deals with post-revanchism in San Francisco and says the city's approach to the theorising of homelessness is changing. Those who were previously considered to be dangerous and criminals are now prevented from deseving by some supporting services [Murphy 2009: 324]. O' Sullivan [2012] argues that homelessness

strategies in European Union countries show that homelessness is more the result of social inclusion policies rather than social exclusion [O' Sullivan 2012: 89].

1.1.2. Theories of Post-socialism, Transition to Capitalism in the Czech Republic

„The „transition“ from communism to capitalism in ECE represents perhaps one of the boldest experiments with neo-liberal ideas in the world today, demonstrating vividly the policies and practices associated with market-led ideology.” [Stenning, Smith, Rochovská, Swiatek 2010: 2]

Post-socialism is a topic currently dealt with by many social scientists across various socio-scientific disciplines. Judith Timar [2006] is concerned with the transformation of social and cultural geography in the period of "post-socialism" in Hungary. Kathrin Hörschelmann [2009] examines post-socialism in terms of city transformation (higher rents and house prices, new phenomena such as urban marginality and social inequality, investment in infrastructure, etc.) [Hörschelmann 2009: 92] talks about one German city (Leipzig) and reflects on the life of a specific group of people - young high school students who have no experience of life under socialism themselves [Ibid: 93]. Dryzek and Holmes [2004] map the process of democratization in 13 post-communist countries - and conclude that the post-communist world is vastly diverse and that each country has its own "eccentricities" in how democracy looks like [Dryzek, Holmes 2004: 225]. Nevertheless, these countries are more similar in their way to democratization than if compared across all states [Ibid: 255]. According to Hann [2004], post-socialism is a concept that involves the transition of one dominant ideology into another and from a scientific point of view, too little attention is paid to its cultural aspect (how post-socialism is perceived and understood and how it affects how people think about themselves). Therefore Hann appeals to anthropologists to pay more attention to these aspects of post-socialism [Hann 2004: I, preface]. Caroline Humphrey [2004] is concerned about whether the post-socialist category still makes sense and claims that even though the concept varies across different states, the structures still have more in common than exiting "capitalisms" [Humphrey 2004: 12]. Humphrey concludes that we can only leave the concept of "post-socialism" aside if socialist values cease to exist and "actually existing socialism" will be forgotten [Ibid: 15]. Verdery [2004] comes with another interesting viewpoint. She says that the Cold War is not over until scientists and political actors appeal

to "privatization, democratization and marketisation" of the "ex-socialist others" as a sign that the Cold War is over and put emphasis on these processes to show somehow "them" like "outdated us" [Verdery 2004: 21]. Gil Eyal [2000] is devoted to the Czech transition to capitalism and argues that there is a complete lack of a capitalist class in Czech society after socialism [Eyal 2000: 49]. He also comes with an interesting idea; he strongly disagrees with the fact that neoliberalism is an element from the West that originated from Thatcherism and Reaganism, which was forced on the East. Neo-liberalism has not been invented in the West, but has emerged as a puzzle compiled from different parts of the world [Ibid: 52].

Although views on where post-socialism and neo-liberalism originated differ, we can agree that post-socialism is not just a transformation of economic, political and social arrangements, but also a conceptual "umbrella" covering the application of neoliberalism and "modernization" in those countries [Harutyunyan, Hörschelmann, Miles 2009: 7].

The process of post-socialist transition has begun and an emphasis is placed on achieving "standards and performance norms of advanced industrial economies ..." [Stenning, Smith, Rochovska, Swiatek 2010: 5]. In order for a market economy to start in these countries, four pillars have been identified to be implemented to help meet these standards. The pillars are: privatization, stabilization, liberalization, and internationalization [Ibid: 5]. This is due to rising poverty in post-socialist countries [Ibid: 7]; the implementation of a neo-liberal ideology has a negative impact on the poor and socially excluded groups [Ibid: 2]. This means the greatest problems for the working class are that some professions disappear and that these people are excluded from the labor market [Ibid: 229].

In the Czech Republic, after 1992, with the victory of ODS led by Václav Klaus in the parliamentary elections, reforms with some more liberal elements started, including a shift towards individual responsibility. A new reform program was declared. It included, for example, strengthening of private insurance and individual responsibility in health care, strengthening the income threshold for social assistance and child allowances, etc. [Večerník 2005: 867].

In 2006 the Czech government (with ODS) decided to follow other post-socialist countries and, due to the intimidating rhetoric about an impending crisis, started to assert a neoliberal program [Císař, Navrátil 2016: 1]. The government took steps that were reflected in healthcare, pensions and family policies and for the first time institutionalized pro-market policies and declared the neoliberal project as their political strategy [Ibid: 6]. The reason why neoliberal policies were adopted so openly in the Czech Republic was not only the rhetoric of some politicians about the economic crisis, it was also a sign of post-communism. Post-socialist states were at the time quite willing to accept ideas from the outside and follow some examples of Western countries [Myant, Drahokoupil 2013: 380-382].

Simultaneously, in 2006 an Act on Social Services was approved. Social services was defined by the Act as “an activity or activities that are, according to this act, providing assistance and support to persons for the purpose of social inclusion or prevention of social exclusion” [Zákon o sociálních službách 2006]. Around the same time, a mapping of homeless persons began. According to Vašát [2014] this monitoring of homeless often had some kind of restrictive context, e.g. the contracting authority was the police [Vašát 2014: 120].

The Social Services Act divides the assistance into three different kinds of services: (1) social advisory, (2) social care services, (3) services of social prevention. Today, there are many organizations providing social services in the area of Prague. Their goal is "to help individuals overcome their adverse social situations and to protect society from a rise in undesirable social phenomena" [Zákon o sociálních službách 2006]. These services are provided in conjunction with other institutions, which give them a legal, conceptual and methodological framework (e. g. State and local administration, advisory bodies, etc.). In 2005, the European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless made a typology of homelessness “ETHOS”. ETHOS divides homeless people into four forms of housing exclusion according to their living situation (roofless, without dwelling, insecure housing, poor housing) [FEANTSA 2005].

2. Analysis of Official Documents

2.1. Definition of Homelessness

In the Czech Republic, no clear definition of the words “homelessness” or “homeless” existed in official documents and legislation until 2007. Several surveys about homeless people were made in the past, even though it was not clearly defined who the homeless in the Czech Republic actually are.

In 2005, *Národní zpráva o bezdomovectví* (National Report on Homelessness) [Hradecký 2005] and the publication *Profily bezdomovectví v České republice: proč spí lidé venku a kdo jsou ti lidé* (Profiles of Homelessness in the Czech Republic: Why Do People Sleep Outside and Who Are Those People) [Hradecký 2005b] were both written by Ilja Hradecký. In addition to being the author of these two reports, he is also the founder of an organization called Hope that helps people without home. Among other things, he highlights the problem of a missing social services law that is hindering the development of social services [Hradecký 2005: 18] and lack of prevention of homelessness among young people [Ibid: 19].

In 2006, the *Zákon o sociálních službách* (Act on State Social Support) was established. In the same year, the Statistical section and the Political part of the National Report on Homelessness were published [Hradecký 2006, 2006b]. Hradecký highlights several persistent problems. For example the fact that the City of Prague cannot establish the necessary shelters without consent from the local authorities, and these authorities do not want any shelters in their territories [Hradecký 2006b]. Another issue is the persistent problem with the definition of homelessness. Although there is already a Social Services Act that works with some concepts ("homeless people" and "people in an unfavorable social situation associated with the loss of housing"), they do not explain these concepts in any way. At the same time, there is no strategy for addressing the homeless situation [Ibid: 15].

The first comprehensive definition of homelessness in the Czech Republic can be found in *Definice a typologie bezdomovství* (Definitions and Typology of Homelessness) [Hradecký 2007], in which Ilja Hradecký defines homeless people based on the European definition of ETHOS. In 2012, *Koncepce návrhů řešení problematiky bezdomovectví v*

Praxe v letech 2013-2020 (Concept of Homelessness Solutions in Prague in the Years 2013-2020) is being developed and followed by *Koncepce prevence a řešení bezdomovectví v ČR do roku 2020* (Concept of Prevention and Homelessness in the Czech Republic by 2020). Both concepts were approved in 2013. The nationwide concept eventually overtook its predecessor, on which it is based. Both concepts are already working with the definition of homelessness according to the European ETHOS concept, covering all 4 categories of homeless people. They also include a sub-category of young people leaving children's institutions who are in the Czech Republic an exceptionally vulnerable group. The Prague concept also includes proposals for systematic preventive action for prisoners or those released from children's institutions. The aim is to teach them to take responsibility for their lives [Koncepce návrhů řešení problematiky bezdomovectví v Praze v letech 2013-2020: 13]. The nationwide concept estimates the number of homeless people at 30,000 [Koncepce prevence a řešení problematiky bezdomovectví v ČR do roku 2020: 10] and the number of potential homeless (the last 2 categories in ETHOS) in 2012 as 100,000 [Ibid: 11]. The concept emphasizes that the aim of all policies intended to tackle homelessness should be to find housing, not only accommodation [Ibid: 10].

Another important document is *Strategie sociálního začleňování 2014-2020* [Social Inclusion Strategy 2014-2020], where the Commission for Social Inclusion is set up to ensure the implementation of the Czech and EU policies and prepare strategic documents [Strategie sociálního začleňování 2014-2020: 74]. In 2015, a homelessness survey was conducted in the municipalities. It identified the availability of social counseling needed to comply with the Conception of Homelessness from 2013. The survey results, among other things, outline the main reasons for homelessness and concludes that they are primarily debt and unemployment in Prague [Vyhodnocení průzkumu řešení bezdomovectví v obcích s rozšířenou působností: 15]. The document estimate the number of people in the Czech Republic at risk of losing their homes to be 119,000 persons. For non-residents, it is estimated that the figure is 68,500 [Ibid: 7-9].

2.2. Census

The first census of homeless people in the Czech Republic took place in Prague in 2004. As already mentioned, at that time there was no official definition for homeless

people. In the legislation, this group was referred to only as stateless persons [Hradecký et al. 2004: 11]. The census in 2004 focused only on apparent homeless people and their definition was given by the ETHOS concept. The census focused on the first two categories (roofless, without dwelling) [Ibid: 4]. Another census on the territory of Prague took place in 2010. Again, only people in the first two ETHOS categories were included. The study worked with homeless people outdoors (sleeping in public spaces), social service organizations (dormitories, shelters) and those who were currently in institutions (such as prison, hospital) but who, after leaving, would also fall into one of these two categories [Sčítání bezdomovců na území hl. města Prahy, Závěrečná zpráva: 5]. According to this study, there were about 4,000 homeless people in Prague in 2010 [Ibid: 6]. This census continued in 2010 as a nationwide census. The census in 2010 was criticized by social scientists mainly because there was no clear methodology, consequently different municipalities used different approaches to the census (or rather estimations), and the results are inaccurate [Mikeszova 2010: 1]. In 2011, a nationwide census was organized, including homeless people. This census is also criticized, as only those people who have visited particular social services on that particular day were counted. The census lists were also filled in by the employees of these organizations themselves [Kuchařová et al. 2015: 173].

2.3. Two Sides of the Barricade

In the past, there was a more repressive policy approach in Prague. For example, local politicians were trying to expel homeless people beyond their borders, or that the establishment of subsidiary organizations was seen as the cause of the rise in the number of homeless people in Prague [Hradecký 2006: 29]. Hradecký also states that efforts are being made to solve “problems with the homeless” rather than “problems of the homeless” in a very repressive way [Ibid: 28]. In 2005, Prague 5 commissioned field research among the homeless in order to get these homeless from the streets into the offered services. Although it is not clear from the final report what the research proposal of the Prague 5 district said, the final document speaks, among other things, about two sides of the barricade or hiding of the homeless: “we will not be able to hide all the pathologically visible persons from the eyes of ordinary citizens, nor is it our goal. The goal is to help and protect the person who needs it, whether standing on any side of the barricade” [Analýza výstupů terénního výzkumu mezi bezdomovci pohybujícími se na území MČ Praha 5 2005: 8].

One of the most repressive measures that took place in Prague is the "Action Plan" of 2008, which was formed under the rule of Councilor Jiří Janeček (ODS). The establishment of the plan was based on a public opinion poll on homeless people in Prague. Janeček's plan solves the situation of homelessness through measures involving, to a large extent, police assistance. Its repressive approach does not seek to hide, it aims to "mitigate the negative phenomena that accompany homelessness and to make it easier for ordinary citizens of Prague to live their everyday life" [Akční plán řešení problematiky bezdomovectví pro rok 2008 a následující období 2008]. This document was analysed, and criticized, by Ilja Hradecký in detail and the analysis points to a great ignorance of the homeless situation from the side of the authors of the text (who are not known) [Hradecký 2008].

Very important document is a decree prohibiting the use of alcoholic beverages from 2013, approved by the Mayor Hudeček [2013]. It lists the public spaces in all parts of Prague where they prohibit the use of alcohol. These are areas where homeless normally meet (such as business centers or public transport platforms).

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Objectives and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to describe how the institutions dealing with homelessness in Prague conceptualize it and to see whether-or-not any changes in their definitions occur from a historical perspective. The work is also trying to find out what role the concept of homelessness plays in the practice of social service providers. The study is trying to answer the following research questions:

1. How do institutions conceptualize homelessness?
2. Do the conceptualizations change over time and, if they do, how? (e. g. under the influence of the “ETHOS” European definition (FEANTSA 2005)),
3. How is the individualizing neoliberal project manifested in this?

A qualitative research methodology was chosen to answer these questions. The main technique of data collection is semi-structured interviews with representatives of Prague institutions dealing with homelessness, complemented by social network analysis to determine their mutual cooperation. Besides the interviews, an analysis of official documents was carried out to determine the legal anchoring of homelessness and its development over time.

As the primary technique of data collecting, the method of semi-structured interviewing has been chosen. The technique of semi-structured interviews enabled me to have personal contact with the investigated representatives of individual institutions, which I also had the opportunity to meet at their place of work. The technique allowed me to ask additional questions and lead a natural conversation and, thanks to the prepared scenario, not omit anything important. Several different scenarios were used for interviews because it was necessary to modify the scenario prior to each interview according to the position the particular respondent held. All versions included a number of thematic areas related to the practices of the organization and attitude to homelessness, opinions on the development of homelessness in Prague (especially milestones considered by respondents to be important), or to the policy or public attitudes towards homeless people today. An example of a general scenario is to be found in the appendices of this Master's thesis.

In each interview, I identified which other organizations the individual representative collaborates with. A special table was prepared in advance for this purpose, and then filled in together with each respondent at the end of the interview. The intent was to identify the organizations that the respondents most often are in contact with, the reason for the contact and the frequency of the contacts.

3.2. Target Group and Design of the Research Sample

Name	Type of organization	Name of organization/ department	Date	Place of interview
<i>Respondent 1</i>	NGO	Salvation Army (<i>Armáda spásy</i>)	3. 10. 2017	Prague 7
<i>Respondent 2</i>	Public	Department of Social Affairs and Health, Prague 1	4. 10. 2017	Prague 1
<i>Respondent 3</i>	NGO	Hope (<i>Naděje</i>)	9. 10. 2017	Prague 2
<i>Respondent 4</i>	NGO	Hope (<i>Naděje</i>)	12. 10. 2017	Prague 5
<i>Respondent 5</i>	Public	Charles University, Faculty of Humanities	12. 10. 2017	Prague 5
<i>Respondent 6</i>	Social Enterprise	Pragulic	18. 10. 2017	Prague 3
<i>Respondent 7</i>	Public	Prague Institute of Planning and Development	13. 10. 2017	Prague 2
<i>Respondent 8</i>	NGO	Sananim	23. 10. 2017	Prague 2
<i>Respondent 9</i>	NGO	Hope (<i>Naděje</i>)	1. 11. 2017	Prague 1
<i>Respondent 10</i>	NGO	Hope (<i>Naděje</i>)	6. 11. 2017	Prague 5
<i>Respondent 11</i>	Public	Prague City Hall, Department of Health, Social Care and Prevention	8. 11. 2017	Prague 1
<i>Respondent 12</i>	Public	Department of Social Affairs and Health, Prague 7	28. 11. 2017	Prague 7
<i>Respondent 13</i>	Public	Municipal Police	28. 11. 2017	Prague 7

Source: Erika Janatová

All research participants were selected purposefully and were recommended by the supervisor. The main criterion for the composition of the research sample was a combination of public and private/non-governmental organizations. In the case of NGO's, I wanted to include the main and biggest traditional non-governmental organizations helping homeless people as well as representatives of newly emerging social enterprises. In both cases (NGO and public organization) I mainly interviewed people in leadership positions, for example the head of the branch or director in the case of a state organization. The aim was to explore both sides, the side that is helping and the side that makes the rules or has more of a repressive task (in the case of the police). I have also tried to conduct interviews in several different parts of Prague, including the historical center (Prague 1, 2) and some more marginal parts (Prague 3, 5, 7). I tried to conduct interviews with organizations working with different target groups (homeless people under/above the age of 26, people released from prison, drug addicts) and also organizations offering different services to these target groups (e. g. shelter for homeless men, street-work, day center). All the interviews took place in October and November at the headquarters of each organization.

3.3. Data Collection

In the first phase, individual respondents who were found to be suitable for research were addressed by e-mail. Most of the respondents reacted to the email, they were very helpful and willing to devote their time and take part in the research. After agreeing to the terms of the interviews, all respondents were very kind and willing to answer the questions. All the interviews were very natural because the respondents were professionals in their field, they had no problems with any of the questions asked, they were willing to describe the issue in a clear way.

All the interviews took place in their offices and lasted for about an hour. The interviews were generally conducted in a calm atmosphere, except for one, where a client was present in a next room and at the end of the interview he had health problems so an ambulance needed to be called.

Interviews were recorded using an audio recorder and individually transcribed and analyzed. All documents for the document analysis were freely available on the internet or

sent to me by the supervisor, who had worked with them in his own research project in the past.

3.4. Data Processing

All transcribed interviews were uploaded to the MAXQDA 10 Document Analysis Program. Subsequently, a codes-tree was created and the interviews were coded. I first used the script to build general codes, then I manually added additional codes containing other important topics. After a rather descriptive cycle of code creation and further reading of individual conversations, I tried to find contexts and analyze between the coded segments. The codes-tree along with the coded part of the interview can be found in the appendix of the thesis.

All analyzed documents were also uploaded to the same MAXQDA 10 document analysis program. Their analysis was then carried out in the same way as the interviewing analysis. The individual segments of the documents were assigned by the relevant codes, and the coded parts were then analyzed. The analysis of the documents preceded the interview analysis.

For the Social Network Analysis (SNA) I used a program called UNICET. The data from the completed tables from all respondents were uploaded into Office Excel as a Matrix and analysed with UNICET. For the purpose of this research, I measured centrality (degree and betweenness) and density of the collected data. Respondents with a high degree of centrality maintain contacts with the largest number of others in the network. Respondents with high betweenness number form important communication points. They are interconnecting with each other [Vašát, Bernard 2015: 210]. Density denotes the ratio of the number of real bonds to the number of potential bonds [Wasserman, Faust 1994: 101]. For better illustration of the results of the SNA I created a chart that can be found in the empirical part of the thesis. For creating the chart I used NetDraw, which is part of UNICET. SNA was done to look at the data from a different angle and deepen the findings from interviews and document analysis.

3.5. Ethical Issues

In the research, I did not request any document with the informed consent from the respondents. All the researched people agreed with the purpose and conditions of the research verbally. In the research I followed the following basic ethical principles:

Each respondent is familiar with the purpose of the research, with the data collection techniques (interviews with audio recording), with the subsequent analysis of the data and the way of preservation of the collected data. The project protects the anonymity of each individual, only information with permission has been published. Individual participants of this research are throughout the entire thesis identified only as “Respondent 1, 2,...”, while the number indicates the sequential order in which they were interviewed. The identity of the all the participants are known only by researcher and the supervisor and it will not be announced to anybody else.

All audio recordings from the interviews are accessible only to the researcher and serve just for their transcription and subsequent analysis. They will be stored only on the researcher’s personal computer and recording equipment.

The research was conducted as a part of project “*Čas a prostor bezdomovců v postsocialistickém městě: komparace Prahy a Plzně*“ (Time and Space of Homeless People in the Post-socialist City: Comparison Between Prague and Pilsen) (GA15-17540S), led by Petr Vašát (supervisor of this thesis) at the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. Therefore the transcripts of the interviews will not be accessible to anybody except for the researcher and the supervisor, who is allowed to use them for his own research project. The actual results of the research will be publicly accessible only as an electronic document that cannot be edited.

4. Results

4.1. “State of Emergency in its Complexity.” Conceptualization of Homelessness

In this chapter I will try to describe the conceptualization of homelessness by Prague institutions, including all actors who enter into this conceptualization (for example, media, politics, etc.).

4.1.1. The First Association with the Term "Homeless"

The first association with the word "homeless" among representatives of institutions dealing with homelessness in Prague can be divided into four categories:

1. Mental attributes
2. Physical attributes
3. A victim of the system
4. Links to their own work

1. Mental Attributes:

Some of the respondents attributed the homeless to relationship problems: Unresolved relations with family, homelessness is a case of emergency - especially in relationships (it is somebody who cannot keep a relationship). Homeless is a person who has some typical mental states. It is a person who lives now, does not see the time before or behind, cannot plan. They have their daily routines, he/she observes different things in the city than a regular person.

Well, he (a homeless person) said, "Well, it took me half a year to realize that I cannot spend the 150 crowns over the weekend to get on the New Space on Monday". He had nothing else, so he was hungry. And before he realized he had to do it, it took six months. As soon as he succeeded, he began to think in a slightly different context than before. That is so desperate, do you think it's normal? (Respondent 5)

2. Physical Attributes:

Homeless are people without shelter, someone who has no stable housing, a person who has no place to lay down. He/she survives in public spaces, uses temporary services - social or emergency. He/she is a street wo/man, has no intimate background.

Probably a man living on the street. Such a person who sits in front of the city council and just sits there with a plastic bag. That is what comes to my mind (Respondent 11).

Respondents in most cases do not attribute any specific physical characteristics to homeless people, especially not those who work with them daily (curators and NGO employees). If they attribute any physical characteristics, then they are aware that it is stereotyping and that homeless looking like this are a minority.

When the person comes, then, of course, I can judge by some of the visible signs, but I know from experience that it usually cannot be known at all, either by action, by appearance or by education (Respondent 2).

3. A Victim of the System:

A homeless man is a man who has no security around him, he is in a very difficult life situation. It is a victim of the system, somebody who doesn't manage life at this time.

4. Link to Own Work:

The first association with the word “homeless” for many respondents was often connected to their own work. ‘Homeless’ is the client, the person who comes to them. It means that more work awaits them when they hear there is a new homeless somewhere. It is the man with whom they deal daily with all of his/her problems.

It is important to emphasize that all these descriptions were connected and none of the target groups were inclined to a more specific description. Answers were connected in a similar way between representatives of public and private institutions.

It is symbolized by an individual, my own intimate background where I can rest, were I find understanding, were I am entrusting myself. ... And, of course, that's one part of what

it is, what it does for this purpose. And the second thing is, and when you turn it around, what homeless people do not have is the ability to keep it. Relationships with people around, internally, relationships with family, with the people with whom they live. Fulfill conditions, pay rent, service, solve problems, yeah. This is what we have to imagine, what it's all about, what it means to have a home, so when we turn it around, that's what the people don't have. And that's homelessness. So I perceive it as a state of emergency in its complexity (Respondent 2).

When it comes to **“typical homeless”**, in some cases, representatives of the Prague institutions try to name a statistical average (e.g., Man, about 40 years old,...). Furthermore, they appoint a stereotype which they say is ingrained in wider society and often shown by media. This stereotype usually includes the idea of manifest homeless people who are, according to the respondents, a minority.

This is definitely a type of person who is middle-aged or older. He is dirty and who has a plastic bag etc. It is the labeling that takes place as if it is media and is commonly perceived by these people. I consider myself to be a common person, that is to say, this description. What media are showing us about these people, in the pictures, so that's the guy (Respondent 11).

The stereotype is.... it will be a man, the same age, but he will look older and he will have a beard, an unkempt look, he will move somewhere outside in the parks or squares where he will probably also sit on a bench and there he will probably consume a red wine box. He will smell, he will have dirty clothes, there will probably be more homeless or a dog or such a group, and he will probably be loud and will elicit some passion there. Such an idea probably (Respondent 6).

On a personal level, the general stereotyping and description of a typical homeless person tends to be avoided in Prague. No two homeless people are alike. Everyone is confronted with their situation on the street differently. As with any situation, different populations deal with it in different ways.

What the representatives of the institutions agree on is the mental set-up of these people, the difficult motivation of the target group, and perhaps poorly set up services that

make up the safety net but do not push homeless people and help them out of their situation.

...You are going to help the people who do not care much about it, so they do not appreciate it. They just need it sometimes in life and it is often help that is more like a rescue network, not the torpedo that we would like to see... Just because of their health and psychological deficits and social deficits that have gained incredible gradation over the years, and the problem of their ability to motivate themselves and adapt is much bigger than we would like to admit in any naive view of the target group (Respondent 11).

4.1.2. Own Concerns

You always have to look for the boundary of what is still a system of aid that motivates people to change, and what is the system of assistance that keeps them in the system. And this balancing is hard to find, and the whole process of institutional help is looking for something like that. Certainly, they would have made them nicer shelters where they would have nice bathrooms and everything, and maybe we could even get the money for that but it is about not reaching something we do not want to reach. We would totally undermine their motivation to change their way of life (Respondent 11).

Representatives throughout the Prague institutions working with homeless have many concerns about the impact of their own work and shortcomings of the services.

One problem is aging of the homeless population, which mainly those working with the older group (older than 26) see as the biggest issue. According to DeVerteuil [2003] organizations in LA under the concept of "welfare-to-work" have begun to concentrate only on those homeless who have the potential to go back to work while the others are rejected by the services providers [DeVerteuil 2003: 547-548]. It seems that the representatives of the Prague institutions themselves realize that these organizations are mainly targeted at the deserving poor. There are not enough services in Prague to work with a target group of elderly homeless people in retirement age. Aging of homeless people is also linked to various illnesses, and services in Prague are aimed primarily at homeless people of economically productive age and trying to help people to come back to a normal life (which includes finding a job).

I do not think there is a big deal about the increase in the number of (homeless) at this time, but the changing of their needs and age of the target group that uses those services... and some of the services that were designed for people of productive age living on the street, today they are inadequate in relation to the care system that is set up (Respondent 11).

Representatives of organizations believe that there are many elderly people living on the street today in Prague. These people are often addicted to alcohol and society cannot expect very much from them. There is a lack of services for these people (mainly because of the ban on alcohol consumption in individual residential organizations) that would offer them shelter and, above all, a dignified place where they can live their lives to the end.

There is certainly no social service in the Social Services Act that would be designed for old or sick homeless people, and they are always old or sick. The system is in a bad position toward those people because they need a completely different kind of care. Working with them is different than working with regular seniors or people who have health defects need. So there I see the inadequacy of legislation, but on the other hand, I do not know exactly how to overcome this because it is likely that the Legislative Council of any Government will reject any advice on how services towards this target group should be adjusted. They will say that we have this kind of service here already (Respondent 11).

4.1.3. Establishment of New Organizations

Today, new organizations dealing with homelessness are being established in Prague. These organizations deal with homelessness not only on the basis of daily assistance, but also try to get homeless people back into normal life; eventually popularize the subject and try to bring it closer to the public, which has a positive effect on the public view to issues related to homeless people (or it is at least goal of the organizations).

Even though there are quite a lot of these organizations in Prague today and therefore they could serve as a support for homeless people well, the SNA results show that the individual actors do not co-operate very much.

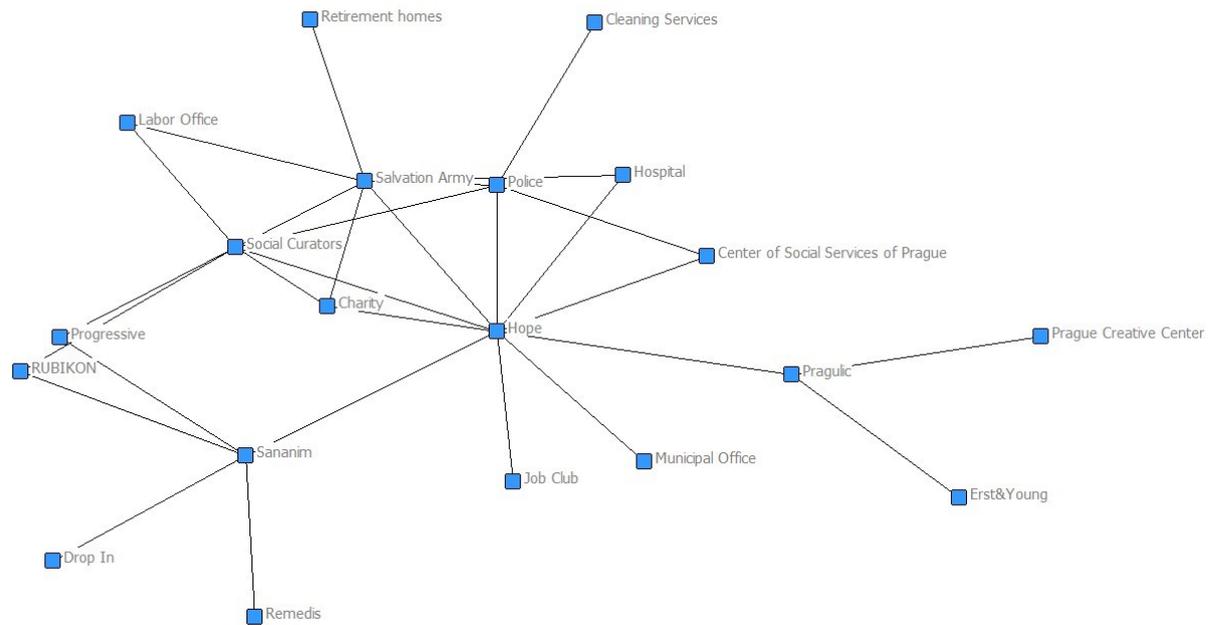


Chart 1 (source: Erika Janatová)

As already mentioned in the methodological chapter master's thesis, SNA was used to supplement the information and extend the view on the issue. During data collection the respondents named total of 20 other participants, with which they normally communicate and cooperate in their work. Networks between these 20 actors were therefore mapped. It is important to note that in the analysis I assume in any case bidirectional communication. If one respondent referred to another one and this one did not mention the previous one later, they are still supposed to communicate with each other. In the chart above you can see the network between the different actors and all the connectors are bi-directional.

Institution with the highest degree of centrality is Hope (12), followed by Salvation Army and Social Curators (both 10). The last actor with a relatively high degree of centrality is the Police (7). As Vašát and Bernard [2015] stated in their SNA study, degree and betweenness centrality usually correlate in practice [Vašát, Bernard 2015: 210]. Similarly in the case of this research, betweenness centrality is highest for Hope (31, 5), followed by Social Curators (12), Salvation Army (10) and Police (6). Based on these findings, Hope, the Salvation Army, and Social Curators are the most important actors in working with homeless people in Prague. All of these actors have the largest social networks and cooperate together. Hope and the Salvation Army are among the first

organizations helping to homeless people founded in Prague. Both have a very wide network of branches.

The total density was only 18%. This means that the organizations do not co-operate very much. If they do co-operate, then usually only the main central organizations with each other. The reasons for this co-operation can be divided into three categories.

1. Shared clients (usually between NGOs and social curators)
2. Finance and administration (between NGOs helping homeless people, social curators and institutions focused on debts and documents (e.g. ID cards) of clients)
3. Emergency (organizations providing social services and police or hospital, co-operating in cases of emergencies).

4.1.4. „He Came Here To Us, Under the Bridge, For Some Reason“

Results of the research show that service providers (public or nonprofit) do not refuse to provide their services. If it happens, it is in most cases for three reasons:

1. the person interested in the service does not belong to the target group

This includes, in particular, the age for those who provide services in the younger age category (under 26). If an older person comes in they simply send him/her to an organization that is intended for his/her age group. Furthermore, medical services for drug addicts refuse to provide their services to those who are not drug users due to capacity reasons. They are instead referred to another organization providing healthcare to all homeless people.

If a person has some income that is not too high, such as a low pension that covers his/her rent, but he/she does not have enough food, he/she can use the service providing food. They do not deny such a person, it is better to pay for the accommodation than to end up on the street, according to service providers. In this case, the cooperation of NGOs providing food and the social curators who send their clients into these organizations works.

If clients who do have an income but still wants to use the services of the organization for homeless people, representatives of organizations see the problem as these people cannot balance their budgets. At the same time, they do not have the resources to teach them how to handle their budget. In cases when the providers know that a person has money, is accommodated in a shelter, and does not pay for the shelter, they offer him/her a lower level of accommodation that is cheaper.

And someone says, "But that's his problem, he has to learn how to manage it". And it would be good to teach him, but at the same time we do not have such means, we have no possibilities for how to proceed with it (Respondent 6).

On the Edge

Sometimes institutional representatives are confronted with being unsure whether the client is entitled to their services or not. This happens in two cases. First one is when the person is sick. In this case, it is being decided whether the person is ill (physically / mentally) or whether he/she is a homeless person - which of the diagnosis is more important. This is a problem because mostly it is a mix of everything. If the person has a psychiatric disorder he/she should be in a medical facility.

Sometimes it's a duel with that medical facility because the point is which diagnosis is more important. If he's a psychotic, or if he's a homeless person. When he's a psychotic he should be in the hospital, when he's homeless he should belong to us. But it's often interconnected and it is important which diagnosis comes out on top (Respondent 1).

Another case is when a client has some amount of money. Organizations do however still provide services to these people although they do not belong to the homeless target group for which the services are primarily intended. They argue that if the people come there, they need help. And if they would not help, they might end up on the street. So they act as prevention.

There is a hierarchy in official definitions or the target group. For example, for shelter homes the condition is that the person needs to work on his/her situation, try to move on and find their own home. In the day center, this is not a condition. A homeless

person can get soup there, but it is not about getting this person out of the situation, it is not the main objective of the organization.

A very important finding of this research is that social service providers do not reject clients, even if they do not fall directly within their target group. They usually provide services to all those who come and ask for it.

I do not have the need to identify them as a priority, it actually results from the request for help. When the person comes, of course I can say some visible signs, but from experience I know that it cannot be known at all, either by action, by appearance or by education (Respondent 2).

This is related to the way in which service providers in Prague define their target group. In Vašát's study [2014], the employees of the Pilsen organizations were deciding whether the service seekers were their target group, depending on their appearance and smell. The homeless people smell like urine, drug addicts have special chemical smell [Vašát 2014: 129]. In Prague, when a person comes to them with a problem and is desperate, he/she comes to place full of homeless people, it is a sign for the providers that the person needs their help. This means that homeless people define themselves by identifying themselves as homeless.

So I could say “Well, but that guy is not my target group. So I am not going to talk with him”. Well, but that's wrong, it's just not like this. The man came to us for some reason, came here, under the bridge, to an environment where homeless people stay. For a lot of people, it's terribly nasty, yeah. And such a man came here for us and asked us for help, so probably not everything is alright (Respondent 3).

As for the official definitions written in the directives and official documents, the respondents do not bring them into their own practice very much, in a positive way for the recipients of the services. Even though the official document says that a service is intended for homeless people it is provided to people who have a home.

2. Violates the organization's order

Prague organizations reject those clients who do not follow the rules. That happens when they are under the influence of alcohol or other addictive substances and behave aggressively, for example against other clients. These services then exclude for some time those who behave aggressively and demolish property.

Well, we refuse when the man is drunk because it does not make any sense to do anything with him. Often it is caused by us, because there is enormous tension in those people, and it happens that we become the object of the ventilation of the tension. Which is sometimes good, it's better that it is not a citizen or an officer, that it is happening here. If we are able to absorb it somehow, or we should absorb it, we should be able to work it out (Respondent 2).

On the other hand, if somebody is in this bad state (under influence of alcohol) constantly, it is also necessary to provide the service to the person.

But it also depends, someone who is drunk all the time and looks like a pig, so it is necessary to provide those services. Mostly really, when people act aggressively to others or to us, we are trying to avoid them, because it is mostly a problem (Respondent 9 NGO).

3. They are not self-sufficient

Service providers must refuse to provide services to those who are not self-sufficient. This happens in cases of residential services which are not equipped for such clients In Prague, it happens that homeless people complain to newspapers, for instance, that they have been denied a service, so the organization has to be careful about who they are rejecting.

Occasionally there is a client who is complaining to the newspaper that he has not received any service, he got no socks and so on. And media get caught and it's an affair. Which is, in fact, a good thing that the big institutions must be really careful when to dismiss that person (Respondent 1).

Contrary to the research of Petr Vašát [2014], the representatives of the Prague organizations do not usually reject the help. Vašát stated that organizations providing

social services reject people who don't belong to their target group. In Prague, the first reason mentioned above is rather marginal and does not happen very often.

Larger and more established organizations have recently encountered the issue of biased reporting by the media. Sometimes the organisation refuse to provide a service to somebody who behaves inadequately and violates the rules in the organization. The person complains to the media that he/she have not been provided with a service and this media shows the service provider in a negative light. These situations can often be contradictory. They might be positive for the homeless but they can also have a negative impact on perception and trust in these organizations.

4.1.5. The Role of Media and Public Opinion

Representatives of the institutions agree on a big influence of media on the situation of homelessness in Prague, especially in matters of public opinion. Again, according to the respondents, there are two sides with opposite views of homelessness. On one side, there are media writing brief news that something has happened somewhere and that the guilty person is also homeless. On the other side, there are media writing about homeless nicely and trying to describe their situation a positive light, searching for a warm human story that is intended to touch the reader.

Well, the media are mostly interested in November and December. Mainly around Christmas, they are interested, at that time the view is positive, it is not critical. In the autumn of November or early December, they ask how we are prepared for the winter. And otherwise, there is not much interest in the homeless throughout the year (Respondent 4).

Since the media have a great deal of power in forming public opinion about homelessness, some news organizations have it as one of their goals to bring the topic closer to the public through media work.

This is definitely our goal because we really wish that as many people as possible are informed about it or are familiar with homelessness. So the goal is not to employ those of our nine homeless, but to get as many people as possible on those tours we make. We had around 40,000 people on those tours, which means, that 40,000 have faced the problem,

and I think it's just like the added value of what we do. Then there are some media outlets where we try to show some specific cases of those people (Respondent 6).

Then a nice guy comes here and he makes the video that you say Well, but no one said that... so they have a lot of power, but they certainly do not only affect negatively. But the question is whether the positive influence is to say that the homeless person found a puppy and put it in a shelter or found a baby and put him in a baby box. It says nothing about that issue (Respondent 3).

In general, the topic of homelessness is rather marginal for the media. The media is not in favour of any particular side of the issue. In other words, they do not try to change or influence the situation of the homeless.

The media are less rough to the homeless. Sometimes there occurs some article about someone has been thrashed or the police do not do anything about a bum, but I think it was much worse in the years 2006 - 2010 and now it's slowly getting better. They are still rough to those institutions that provide the services (Respondent 1)

According to representatives of the Prague institutions, the attitude of the public can be divided into two opposites. On one side are opinions rather negative. These arise from either fear, xenophobia or personal negative experiences (people usually meet only visible homeless people who are dirty and begging, people are xenophobic and they think that the homeless are responsible for their own situation, they do not want to help them).

On the other hand, there are those who try to help homeless people. Sometimes they are too enthusiastic. For example, they might bring food to a particular person every day. This is also not a very good attitude according to the respondents. If someone makes the lives of people on the street too easy, then these homeless people are not motivated enough to leave life on the street or to at least somehow try to change their situation.

Some people help them too much, give him almost a tent, a sleeping bag and food every day, ma'am, when the homeless lies at the entrance to the house, she gives him food twice a day... and this help is rather wrong. He needs to move somewhere to a shelter, and not to be on the street in front of the house. So it's kind of a two-sided situation (Respondent 12).

Era of peace thanks to refugees

According to the representatives of the institutions, there is a quiet period for homeless at this moment, at least in terms of the media and the public. Recently, a refugee crisis has occurred and those people who have previously felt threatened with homelessness or the Roma population now instead feel threatened by Islamic populations. Paradoxically, they are now on the side of those who they have previously accused and use them as an argument for the Czech Republic to not fund refugees using public money, since we have "our own people" who need the money more.

Rather paradoxically, we get positive comments from society, that we should help those people so they would not be on the street. It is easy to say but it is not possible to make such a solution in institutional terms. But as I would say the political situation is good in this sense because of the homeless, even though it is not really always true. But it is perceived in the way that they are like... ours (Respondent 11).

4.1.6. Influence of Political Representation

The political and economic situation and public opinion are mutually influenced and, according to the respondents, the way the political representatives work with the public is very important. An example of good work with the public can be councilor Hudecek, who worked with people's xenophobia. Unlike some others, he did not turn it into repression against the homeless but to help.

Good work with the public, Mr. Hudecek asked what people don't like the most about the homeless and found out that the biggest problem is that the people smell in the tram. And he said, But if they smell in the tram, why are they actually there? They said They're in there over the winter because it's warm. Let's do some winter program to get the people out of the tram to somewhere where it's warmer. He also came from some sort of xenophobia of those people, like Janecek, but this was much more reasonable (Respondent 1).

Since social debate about homelessness takes place much more often at the local level than at the national level, respondents associate both positive and negative political influence with local representatives and their actions. For example, if the mayor of a city

district has a pro-social approach and is popular among the people, then these people become more tolerant towards the homeless.

As if there is more tolerance, perhaps. And now when I try to think and find out why it has changed, what is different, why does the public seem to be more tolerant towards homelessness, I would say that this is related to the activity of the political representation that is now in Prague 7, in communal politics, not at the state level (Respondent 13).

As has been said in the previous chapter, public opinion is also being influenced by new businesses that try to popularize homelessness and bring the topic closer to the public through media.

4.1.7. Policy

The current policy operates differently according to institutional representatives at the level of service organizations and at the level of the homeless themselves.

1. Social Services

Social services for the homeless serve well as a safety net, there are not too few of them and they are more or less supported by political representatives. This is explained by the overall economic situation of the country, there is more money in general.

On the other hand, services do not work as a tool for changing the situation of homeless people. They do not help them to move forward. According to the respondents, only half-baked solutions are being implemented and there is a lack of any good program that would leave positive results behind. For example, the Social Housing program was expensive according to the respondents and, apart from the group of people who invented it, no one paid very much attention to it.

2. Homeless People

The situation is even worse on the level of support for homeless people. Homeless people in Prague have a place where they can eat and possibly sleep, but they do not have enough help to get out of their situation. They lack state support. Representatives of

institutions believe that the conditions are getting harder for them for example by changes in working conditions and the impossibility of redundancy etc.

So first aid, or in the first phase, our state can help them fairly well. In the second phase it may be a lot harder. I think that the majority have got into that situation just because of their financial debt, they do not know how to manage. In that way, I think it is much harder. We may allow them to be warm and eat somewhere but we will not allow them to engage in that life because they are going back to debts or, in fact, their past is catching up. So, as I see it, there is a much bigger problem (Respondent 13).

As mentioned earlier, a big point that emerged during interviews with representatives of the institutions in Prague was the quiet period for homeless in the sense of public opinion. Due to the growing problem connected with a perceived threat of impending Islamization that part of the population feels. Political leaders are also reacting to this.

These people, who were the most concerned about the Roma before are now focused on this danger, which comes as bigger and if it happened, it would definitely be a fatal danger to these people in relation to identity etc. This somehow adapts to a political environment that has to respond to it, otherwise people will not vote (Respondent 11).

4.2. Changes of Homelessness in Prague

The aim of the work was to find out, besides the concept of homelessness itself, how homelessness in Prague developed over time. In this chapter, I distinguish between the changes of homeless people themselves and the development of circumstances that have affected homelessness. At the same time, it is important to say that these two lines intersect and influence each other.

4.2.1. Changes in Prague's Homeless Population

Changes in Age of the Homeless Population

When the representatives of the Prague institutions talk about changes in the homeless population, they talk a lot about their age. Two groups emerge in this respect: one claims that the population of homeless is getting younger, the second considers that it is getting older. Different views are explained because different actors are working with different target groups, which means, they are also more aware of a specific group. If they work with younger homeless people or drug users they feel that the population is getting young. On the other hand, those who work with older people feel that the homeless population in Prague is aging.

Representatives of the first group, those who think that the homeless population is getting younger, explain their beliefs that there are many young people today who come out of some children's institutions, children's homes, poor family backgrounds and so on. The first group of representatives state that these people are not able to stand on their own feet and that there are just more and more of them.

For those young people, the vast majority of those who have experience with children's institutions, children's homes, educational establishments, infant establishments, some of them have been living in children's institutions for 18 years. And of course they cannot catch up, only a few of them can get through (Respondent 5).

The second group, arguing that the population of homeless people in Prague is getting older, explains this aging by the low incomes of the elderly, the unemployment of the elderly, their ability to find a new job after losing one. Another reason can be their inability to work after having worked only "officially" under the former regime, and actually held positions that did not required too much work or skills.

And older people, that's the problem of employment and unemployment of people over 50. It has been dragging on for years. When the person is on the street for a long time he loses his work habits and it's very difficult for him to come back (Respondent 5).

Increase in the Number of Women

Another phenomenon agreed on by representatives of various organizations is the increase in the number of women among the homeless population. These women, according to respondents, come from dysfunctional marriages. At the same time however,

they also agree that women have a better chance of coming back to normal life from the street than men.

The proportion of women is growing steadily. On the other hand, women have a huge ability, compared to men, to return to normal life from the street. There is a general rule that if they find a partner or something, they are able to interrupt the homeless career (Respondent 11).

Increase of Mental Disorders

Respondents across all types of organizations agree that the number of people with a psychological disorder is increasing in the homeless population in Prague. At the same time, they admit the possibility that this problem has not been solved and followed so much in the past. Their view may be affected in this respect. In this regard, the biggest problem is that there are no adequate services for homeless people with psychiatric diagnoses in Prague. These people are often aggressive and hurting themselves as well as causing problems in organizations providing social services. Accordingly, these organizations are trying to exclude them from their premises in order to protect other clients. There are not enough doctors and psychologists for these homeless people.

The big change is we also seem to have more people on the street... and maybe it's a given that since it is more diagnosed and more closely monitored, there are also more mental, psychological and psychiatric disorders discovered. It is more perceived. Maybe it was also there before but the trend was not monitored as much... and now it's more common (Respondent 10).

Each Man for Himself

We were doing theatres with them, somebody got into it and brought friends and they played the theater. Now the lecturer says it's no good. Some individuals come with some of their own needs, but that something solid will arise, no. So, I think that when there were more people there was some sort of connections, or I do not know how to describe it (Respondent 9).

Another major change in the homeless population in Prague is, according to representatives of the institutions, the gradual individualization of this group. They feel that life on the street has roughened, the homeless are more individualistic now, they do not maintain close relationships, they are ruthless and calmly rob each other. They explain it in two ways. The first is the increase in mental disorders among the homeless. These people have a problem to exist in a collective. Another reason is the fact that the places where they lived previously in bigger groups (e. g. large squats) are disappearing. The homeless are now more often expelled from them. As a result they are hiding more in forests for instance, where they survive rather separately in their tents. This kind of more individualistic type of behaviour the respondents associate more with younger homeless people.

These people are now robbing themselves more, being ruthless and the typical groups are disappearing. They are expelled from their shelters where they may have lived for a long time, so I think they are more vulnerable than in the 1990s (Respondent 1).

Researches on neoliberal urban governance talk about cameras guarding bins [Mitchel, Heyen 2009: 618] or purification of contaminated sites [Vacková et al. 2014: 653]. Exclusion of homeless people from where they previously lived in groups and greater individualism among young homeless people is a nice example of neoliberalism in practice.

They create groups, but I would say that lately ... that's interesting actually. I just realized now that they were creating bigger groups of more people more before than now. I think that they are being more individualist nowadays, and when they actually are with somebody, there are couples. And it does not matter whether married or same sex, but I remember that more people stuck together before (Respondent 2).

4.2.2. Important Milestones Affecting Homelessness: Signs of Post-socialism in the Czech Republic

Significant event affecting the development of homelessness in Prague are, according to the representatives of individual institutions, the presidential amnesties of prisoners, especially the first one announced by Václav Havel. The problem mainly

involved people who were confronted with a new situation and did not know how to deal with it. The prisons took the freedom from these people, but on the other hand they were provided with accommodation, food and so on.

And in the nineties he made a great amnesty, and that was a reversal of Czech homelessness because the people of that prison suddenly came out. They had freedom, but they did not know what to do next. They did not know what to do with freedom, so they just went to the Main Train Station (Respondent 1).

Another major milestone was privatization, especially the privatization of large companies. This was due to the cancellation of cheap business hostels where low-skilled people lived. They were used to the previous government in which they did not have to worry too much about finding accommodation. When these hostels were discontinued, these people suddenly did not know how to manage their situation.

Similarly, due to the privatization of apartment buildings people in poorer conditions were suddenly excluded from these apartments that they used to live in.

Other milestones that played a role in the development of Prague homelessness were the various right-wing governments that reduced the number of subsidies (on which aid organizations were dependent). This was not only done only by the national government but also by local authorities. This means that aid to homeless always depended on the specific people who were elected to the city hall.

That previous leadership, I can say... that the word homeless had certainly such a negative connotation there and it was probably more focused on some repression than aid. No one there offered any help, but they always turned on us, let's throw them (homeless) away from there. Nowadays they only ask for some assistance from us when they are solving some problem there (Respondent 13, Police).

There was a madman years ago, the deputy mayor, he wanted to move them, he had a plan that there will be a bus... it was perfect, he was a really open person, sort of like a social conscience and understanding of the situation, a complete jerk. Well maybe not, but ideologically like that ... and moreover stupid (Respondent 5).

The great event related to the right-wing governments was, according to the respondents, councillor Jiri Janecek. It was spontaneously mentioned by almost all the interviewed representatives of all institutions, both non-state and public. And they shared in a very negative evaluation of his activities. In addition to a large amount of xenophobia, they attributed to him credit for the abolition of several social enterprises in Prague.

Well, he had such an idea, an Action plan was created when he was there or as it was called and he had the idea to create, he said Oasis, a fenced area at a dump or an incinerator. That he would export there all the homeless every day and let them spend the night there. Well, at that time it was not only Hope, it was two shelters that were closed. Both in Prague 11, where he comes from (Respondent 4).

According to respondents, there was greater solidarity in Prague in the 1990s under the reign of Vaclav Havel. Subsequently, some politicians began to behave xenophobically (e. g. Jiri Cunek evicted the Roma population out of Prague). After this the negative series of events described above started to happen. And at the same time, people began to tolerate and even support it.

A large historical milestone influencing the development of homelessness, according to Prague's institutions, is the economic crisis around 2008. First of all, it is a crisis linked to high unemployment and a reduction in work for low-skilled people and people with criminal records. This means that it is harder for the homeless to find a job or even a little extra income. The crisis, according to respondents, also affected the sex business. Clients of some homeless women who worked as prostitutes did not have enough money anymore. This resulted in even greater poverty among these women. At the same time the city also began to recover debts from transport companies and the city districts began to terminate (and/or cancel) the leases of people who had outstanding debts on their rent payments, which caused a rise in the homeless population in Prague.

When there was an economic crisis, then the unavailability of work there, it certainly made it a little more difficult for the homeless. When I compare it to the situation that is now, it is still hard for them to keep a job, but it is not difficult to find it (Respondent 6).

4.2.3. Positive Milestones Affecting Homelessness

The first great positive milestone/breakthrough, as spontaneously mentioned by the respondents, was the opening of the first nonprofit organizations to help homeless people, including healthcare facilities, during the 1990s. First, it was the first branch of Hope and the Salvation Army. This was followed by the opening of a shelter on the boat Hermes, as well as the establishment of public institutions, the Center for Social Services.

It was such an interesting thing at that time because in the town halls it was mixed somehow. There were people from the Communist system who stayed there and who were uncertain, did not know what was going on, they were uncertain about their future and afraid to forbid anything. And then there came new people, those who wanted to change things in this country or in the territory they were elected to, and they were opened to these things. So we got a few non-residential spaces where we could establish those shelters and thanks to this, we also acquired a day center in Bolzanova street (Respondent 4).

Another major milestone was the Czech Republic's entry into the European Union in 2004. It was especially important because of the obligation each of the EU Member States to take care of their poor.

In 2004 we joined the European Union, where it is stressed that the Member States should take care of those people who fall to the bottom (Respondent 1).

Joining the European Union is linked to the adoption of certain measures and conditions. According to the respondents, another major milestone was the adoption of the European definition of ETHOS (FEANTSA 2005). The definition includes an expanded target group of people in poor housing conditions or those at risk of losing housing. Thanks to this, the interest of the organizations that helped also spread to this group.

Ethos, well, it's good that it got into the discussion and that, in the context of a professional discussion, we can refer to it. We support the definition, of course, because it includes a wide range of people, not just those who got to the street, but those who are at risk of losing a roof over their heads, who do not live in good conditions. But I am afraid that the practical impact is not very big, yet (Respondent 10).

Even though respondents are actually not sure if the mission of ETHOS is reflected into their practice, research shows that yes, it is. Organizations in Prague are not only helping people on the street, they also act as a preventive tool when people are at risk of losing their homes.

The big turning point in the approach to homelessness has been the emergence of some official documents that deal with this issue and establish ground rules and provisions. This was, for instance, the creation of the Social Services Act in 2006 thanks to which the social work began to be professionalized. Another such document is the Concept of Proposed Solutions of the Issues of Homelessness in Prague in the Period 2013-2020, which was co-authored by three of the respondents. This document was then finally followed by Conception of Prevention and Solution of Homelessness in the Czech Republic by 2020. These two documents include, among other things, one category that was not in the original definition of ETHOS, younger persons leaving child institutions. This is a group typical of the Czech Republic. Due to the establishment of the rules outlined in these documents, representatives of institutions feel that if question of adherence to rules now arises, they have a document that is approved by the government to turn to.

Well, I did not want to say it because I think I mostly co-created or created it, so I did not want to talk about it, but it is good that Prague has the material in one thing. Any steps it takes to support care for those homeless can be relied on by the material approved by the Council and the Prosecutor's Office. As you refer to some approved material you make sure that the thing should not come to a halt. If it has already been approved by the deputies before, nothing should contradict these matters (Respondent 11).

5. Discussion

5.1. Results Neoliberal (Revanchist) Theory

Based on the research, the following points speak for the theory of neo-liberalism in the conceptualization and institutional approach to homelessness in particular:

- (1) *Competitive economic policies* [Robinson 2010: 1099]: This is changing over time, and it is especially connected to the government in a specific location in the given period. According to what emerged from literature, official documents and what the participants of this research said, the main emphasis on these policies was placed earlier, especially at the time when a fast transformation from socialism to capitalism was set up.
- (2) *Market solutions* [Robinson 2010: 1099]: Again, the main emphasis on market solutions was mostly during fast transition from socialism to capitalism. However, the representatives of the institutions see this now as well, especially as a result of the growing economy. There is a regeneration of the public spaces and the general gentrification of some parts of Prague and thus these marginal groups are being expelled to the outskirts of the city.
- (3) *Deregulation* [Ibid: 1099]: This is closely related to the previous point, the emphasis on market-led solutions and private investors etc.
- (4) *Punitive policies*: There have been many punitive measures that seek to maintain the homeless population outside of tourist sites in Prague since the 1990s. One such measure is the decree prohibiting the drinking of alcohol in public. At the same time however, in reality there are not as many such cases as some authors state in their articles. None of the representatives of the institutions got a punishment for helping the poor [e.g. Mitchel, Heyen 2009: 618] neither has it been necessary to guard bins [Ibid: 626]. If a punishment for helping the poor occurred it was primarily the complete closure of social services driven by an anti-socially-minded person linked to a right-wing government.
- (5) *Individualism*: A phenomenon that occurs primarily among young homeless people. They are driven out of squats, living on the edge of the city in tents in the woods. They are less communal, they rob each other. A kind of competition exists among them.
- (6) *Focus on the deserving-poor*: As DeVerteuil shows in his research of LA services [DeVerteuil 2003: 547-548], in the case of Prague this phenomenon is mainly indicative of the focus of helping services that are oriented towards younger homeless people of working age. Their goal is to help people get out of the current situation and find a job.

There is a lack of services in Prague for the older target group of homeless people, who no longer have the ambition and prospect of finding work and engaging in normal life.

(7) *Privatization of large businesses:* Above all, especially in the 1990s, this relates to a rapid transformation and an attempt to catch up with the West. Some people suddenly had no place to live as a result of the disappearance of corporate lodgings due the privatization of large businesses. Under socialism they had work and secure housing, to obtain both did not require too much effort. Once these conditions had been abolished some people became unable to work and to take care of themselves in general. In addition, this process took place too fast for them to have time to learn.

5.2. Results Post-Revanchist Theory

The research results can not be applied to only the neoliberal theory, since several elements that contradict this theory were revealed. The most striking elements are:

(1) *Efforts to help:* Even though there was, and there sometimes still is, a right-wing set-up of local and nation-wide authorities, services have been created in the past to help the poor. Similarly, new businesses are emerging today. Their goal is not only to help people on the street, but also to get the whole issue of homelessness in all its complexity into the public's awareness. At the same time, when the strongest implementation of neo-liberal policies was taking place, official documents were created outlining basic rules of dealing with homeless people.

(2) *Implementation of ETHOS:* First of all, it has helped to officially expand the target group to groups that are at risk of losing housing. In Prague today, there are some organizations that provide services to these people and also work at the prevention of house loss.

(3) *Definition of the target group:* Representatives of the Prague institutions often leave the homeless people to define themselves. Contrary to what Vašát [2014] in Pilsen found, they avoid refusing to provide services based on the definition of the target group. The influence of media that occasionally write about these services in a negative light contributes to this. Service providers are trying to avoid a negative media image and are therefore very cautious in refusing to provide services.

6. Conclusions

The aim of the thesis was to explore homelessness in Prague from the perspective of institutions while using the theoretical frameworks of neoliberalism, (post)revanchism and post-socialism, and to answer three research questions:

1. How do institutions conceptualize homelessness?

According to representatives of the Prague institutions, homelessness is a complex problem that many actors are entering. They attribute homeless people primarily specific mental attributes (or “mental settings”). This is related to their current situation when this kind of setting is important for those people to be able to survive a life on the street.

In my research, I focused on how respondents define "typical homeless people". This definition is rather avoided by the institutions in Prague. Unlike in Vašát's study [2014], the respondents do not like to generalize and from their own practice they are aware that it is not very easy to describe a typical homeless person by, for example, appearance.

When it comes to defining the target group in practice, the organizations working with homeless people let their clients define themselves. This means that if somebody comes and asks for help, help is needed.

When it comes to refusing to provide services, this research shows different attitudes compared to the case of Pilsen [Vašát 2014]. If the client does not threaten others with his behavior, the organizations do not reject him. This may also be related to the focus of some media on large organizations providing assistance to homeless people. They are today struggling with cases where homeless people complain about the organizations to the media, and these media then show these organizations in a bad light.

Regarding the official definitions of homelessness in Prague, this phenomenon is institutionally embedded in official legality, which works with the European definition of ETHOS. It has been used in the Czech Republic since 2007. The definition of ETHOS includes 4 categories, of which 2 are people at risk of losing their housing. The representatives of the Prague institutions know and support the definition of ETHOS. As far as the usage in practice of this definition is concerned, they are not sure whether it is

happening. However, the research shows that Prague organizations helping homeless people also act as a prevention against the loss of housing (for example by providing some services to people who have not yet, but could easily lose their homes).

Concerning the interdependence of the Prague institutions, network analysis shows low values of dependence. Most of all, it is the large organizations that are co-operating with each other, smaller organisations remain more independent.

2. Do the conceptualizations change over time and if they do how? (e. g. under the influence of the “ETHOS” European definition (FEANTSA 2005)),

As far as the phenomenon of homelessness in Prague is concerned, the representatives of the institutions see the differences in time, mainly in the reasons why people end up on the street. While years ago, the main reasons were mostly connected to the post-socialist phenomenons such as privatization or presidential amnesty, today people leaving children's institutions or older people who are non-employable become homeless.

With the accession of the Czech Republic to the European Union, according to the respondents, claims have arisen which have led to the creation of official documents dealing with homelessness. By anchoring the phenomenon of homelessness in these documents, actors have something to rely on in their work and at the same time they feel that this anchoring will not be contradicted, for example, by various government decisions.

As has already been said, the adoption of the European definition of ETHOS affects the functioning of Prague organizations also in the way that some of them now act as a prevention for people at risk of losing their housing.

3. How is the individualizing neoliberal project manifested in this?

While the situation of homeless people in Prague has been experiencing problems with right-wing governments in previous decades, which also affected some official legislation (for example, Janeček's Action Plan), today the situation is better.

According to representatives of the Prague institutions, the media and public view of homelessness is now better and politicians no longer allow such repressive rhetoric that they used in connection with homelessness in the past. Respondents believe that the reason

is a public that would not accept this anymore. At the same time, the recent situation with Islamic refugees paradoxically helped to the public's view of homelessness. Since people are now more concerned by Islamisation, the topic of homelessness is left aside.

As for homeless people themselves, representatives of institutions see change in some aspects of their behavior. While formerly living in larger groups, today they are more individualistic. This is due, for example, to the fact that they are more excluded from places where they previously lived in large groups (for example large squats).

As for services for the homeless, the focus of the organizations does not respond to the actual needs of the target group. Most services are aimed at people who have the potential to go back into a normal everyday life; for those who are employable. The representatives of the Prague organizations themselves are aware of the lack of accommodation services for old homeless people who are no longer employable. Even though most services are focused on deserving poor, which means that the organizations should help them to get back to work, the services do not work very well in this regard. They work well as a safety net, but the steppingstone to a normal life is missing. This is explained by the lack of large projects that would have a significant impact. Instead, there are only half-done solutions to the homeless situation.

Summary

In this work I focused on conceptualizing homelessness by Prague institutions working with homeless people. The aim of the thesis was to find out how institutions conceptualize homelessness, if the conceptualizations change over time and how, and if the individualizing neoliberal project is manifested in this and how. Theoretically, the thesis draws on theories of neoliberalism, urban post / revanchism, post-socialism, and transition to capitalism.

Thanks to the 13 semi-structured interviews with representatives of the most important institutions working with homelessness in Prague and an analysis of official documents, I managed to answer all three research questions.

Institutionally, the concept of homelessness is evolving in Prague. While in the past decade the practices of the Prague institutions had rather neo-liberal / revanchist tendencies, which copied and confirmed some post-socialist theories, now there also appears to be some post-revanchist tendencies. Institutional representatives in most cases help those who ask for help or at least do not try to act punitively. Joining the European Union has helped to produce important documents that institutions can rely on when undertaking different actions. The issue of homelessness on the territory of Prague still has some signs of revanchism, for example social services for the homeless are focused mainly on the deserving-poor. The institutions' representatives are however aware of these deficiencies and will likely try to reduce them in the future.

Due to the qualitative nature of the conducted research, the results can not be generalized. I however believe that the most important institutional actors have been included in the research. My thesis serves as a link and development of some studies and tries to fill in the missing gap in research of institutional actors dealing with homelessness in the city of Prague.

List of References:

- Akční plán řešení problematiky bezdomovectví pro rok 2008 a následující období. 2008. Magistrát hlavního města Prahy.
- Analýza výstupů terénního výzkumu mezi bezdomovci pohybujícími se na území MČ Praha 5. 2005. Praha: Naděje.
- Brenner, Neil, Theodore, Nik. 2002. *Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism"*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Brenner, Neil, Theodore, Nik. 2002b. „Preface: From the “New Localism” to the Spaces of Neoliberalism“ in *Antipode* 341-347.
- Douglas, Mary. 1986. *How Institutions Think*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Císař, Ondřej, Jiří Navrátil. 2016. „Polanyi, political-economic opportunity structure and protest: capitalism and contention in the post-communist Czech Republic“. *Social Movement studies*.
- Clock, Paul, May, Jon, Sarah Johnsen. 2010. *Swept Up Lives? Re-envisioning the Homeless City*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- DeVerteuil, Geoffrey. 2003. “Welfare Reform, Institutional Practices, and the Service-delivery Settings”. *Urban Geography* 24(6): 529-550.
- DeVerteuil, Geoffrey. 2005. „The local state and homeless shelters: Beyond revanchism?“ in *Cities* 23(2): 109-120.
- DeVerteuil, Geoffrey. 2014. „Does the Punitive Need the Supportive? A Sympathetic Critique of Current Grammars of Urban Injustice“ in *Antipode* 46(4): 874-893.
- ETHOS – Evropská typologie bezdomovství a vyloučení z bydlení v prostředí ČR. European Federation of National Organisations. Downloaded from: <http://www.feantsa.org/spip.php?article120&lang=en>

- Eyal, Gil. 2000. "Anti-Politics and the Spirit of Capitalism. Dissidents, Monetarists, and the Czech Transition to Capitalism". *Theory and Society* 29: 49-92.
- Hann Chris M. (ed.). 2004. *Postsocialism. Ideals, Ideologies, and Practices in Eurasia*. New York: Taylor&Francis.
- Harutyunyan, Angela, Hörschelmann, Kathrin, Malcolm Miles (eds.). 2009. *Public Spheres after Socialism*. Chicago: Intellect Books.
- Hejnal, Ondřej. 2014a. "Bezdomovec jako klient represe: diskurzivní reprodukce potřebných a nepotřebných chudých". Pp. 137-151 in Lupták, Lubomír (ed.). *Neoliberalismus a marginalita. Studie z českého reálkapitalismu*. Brno: Doplněk.
- Hejnal, Ondřej. 2014b. „Úvod do studia neoliberalismu: Inspirace pro antropologii“. *AntropoWebzin* 10(1): 33-47.
- Hilgers, Mathieu (2010): The Three Anthropological Approaches to Neoliberalism. *International Social Science Journal* 61: 202, 351–364.
- Hilgers, Mathieu (2012): The Historicity of the Neoliberal State. *Social anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, 20: 1, 80–94.
- Hilgers, Mathieu (2013): Embodying Neoliberalism: Thoughts and responses to Critics. *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, 21: 1, 75–89.
- Hradecký, Ilja. 2005. *Národní zpráva o bezdomovectví*. Praha.
- Hradecký, Ilja. 2005b. *Profily bezdomovectví v České republice: proč spí lidé venku a kdo jsou ti lidé*. Praha.
- Hradecký, Ilja. 2006. *Národní zpráva o bezdomovství v České republice 2006: politická část*. Praha.
- Hradecký, Ilja. 2006b. *Národní zpráva o bezdomovství v České republice 2006: statistická část*. Praha.

Hradecký, Ilja. 2007. *Definice a typologie bezdomovství*. Praha: Naděje.

Hradecký, Ilja. 2008. *Malá analýza Akčního plánu řešení problematiky bezdomovectví pro rok 2008 a následující období*. Online. Downloaded from: <http://docplayer.cz/17942618-Mala-analyza-akcniho-planu-reseni-problematiky-bezdomovectvi-pro-rok-2008-a-nasledujici-obdobi.html>.

Hradecký, Ilja, Petra Kosová, Maria Myšáková, Lenka Omelková, Petr Sedláček. 2004. *Sčítání bezdomovců Praha 2004, závěrečná zpráva*. Praha.

Hudeček, Tomáš. 2013. *OBECNĚ ZÁVAZNÁ VYHLÁŠKA, kterou se mění obecně závazná vyhláška č. 12/2008 Sb. hl. m. Prahy, kterou se zakazuje požívání alkoholických nápojů na veřejných prostranstvích, ve znění obecně závazné vyhlášky č. 7/2010 Sb. hl. m. Prahy*. Hlavní město Praha.

Humphrey, Caroline. 2006. *Does the category "postsocialist" still make sense?* In: Hann Chris M. (ed.). 2004. *Postsocialism. Ideals, Ideologies, and Practices in Eurasia*. New York: Taylor&Francis.

Koncepce prevence a řešení bezdomovectví v ČR do roku 2020. Ministerstvo práce a sociální věcí. Praha.

Kuchařová, Věra, Jana Barvíková, Kristýna Peychlová, Sylva Höhne. 2015. *Vyhodnocení dostupných výzkumů a dat o bezdomovectví v ČR a návrhy postupů průběžného získávání klíčových dat*. Praha: VÚPSV.

MacLeod, Gordon, McFarlane, Colin. 2014. „Introduction: Grammars of Urban Injustice“ in *Antipode* 46(4): 857-873.

May, Jon. Clocke, Paul. 2014. „Modes of Attentiveness: Reading for Difference in Geographies of Homelessness“ in *Antipode* 46(4): 894-920.

Mikeszova, Martina. 2010. „Bezdomovství v Praze a ve větších městech Středočeského kraje“ in *Sociologický webzin*. Downloaded from:

<http://www.socioweb.cz/index.php?disp=temata&shw=346&lst=106>

Murphy, Stacey. 2009. „Compassionate” Strategies of Managing Homelessness: Post-Revanchist Geographies in San Francisco“ in *Antipode* 41(2): 305-325.

Mitchell, Don, Heynen, Nik. 2009. “The Geography of Survival and the Right to the City: Speculations on Surveillance, Legal Innovation and the Criminalization of Intervention”. *Urban Geography* 30(6): 611-632.

Myant, Martin, Drahokoupil, Jan. 2013. „Transition economies after the crisis of 2008: Actors and policies“. *Europe-Asia Studies* 65: 373 – 382.

O’Sullivan, Eoin. 2012. „Varieties of Punitiveness in Europe: Homelessness and Urban Marginality“ in *European Journal of Homelessness* 6(2): 69-97.

Prudký, Libor, Ilja Hradecký, Ludmila Tomešová, Ladislav Varga, Tomáš Klinecký. 2012. *Koncepce návrhů řešení problematiky bezdomovectví v Praze v letech 2013-2020*. Praha.

Robinson, Jennifer. 2010. *Urban Geography Plenary Lecture— The Travels of Urban Neoliberalism: Taking Stock of the Internationalization of Urban Theory*. London: University College London.

Sčítání bezdomovců na území hl. města Prahy, Závěrečná zpráva. Šnajdrová, Zuzana, Petr Holpuch. 2010. Praha.

Smith, Neil. 1996. *The New Urban Frontier. Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. New York: Routledge.

Stenning, Alison, Smith, Adrian, Alena Rochovská, Dariusz Swiatek. 2010. *Domesticating Neo-Liberalism. Spaces of Economic Practice and Social Reproduction in Post-Socialist Cities*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Strategie sociálního začleňování 2014-2020. 2014. Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí. Praha.

Temelová, Jana et al. 2015. "Urban Social Problems and Marginalized Populations in Postsocialist Transition Societies: Perception of the City Center of Prague, the Czechia." *Urban Affairs Review* 2015: 1-32.

Timár, Judit. 2006. „The Transformation of Social and Cultural Geography During the Transition Period (1989 to Present Time) in Hungary“. *Social & Cultural Geography* 2006: 7(4): 649 – 667.

Vacková, Barbora, Lucie Galčanová, Ondřej Hofírek. 2011. „“Za čistší město“: Problémové lokality a jejich obyvatelé z pohledu místní politiky a správy“. *Sociologický časopis* 47(4): 633-656.

Vašát, Petr. 2014. „Kdo je a není bezdomovec? Představy bezdomovce v praxi organizací poskytujících sociální služby.“ Pp. 116-136 in Lupták, Lubomír (ed.). *Neoliberalismus a marginalita. Studie z českého reálnokapitalismu*. Brno: Doplněk.

Vašát, Petr, Bernard, Josef. 2015. „Formování komunit, nebo sociální integrace? Analýza personálních sítí ukrajinských imigrantů v Plzni“. *Czech Sociological Review* 51(2): 199-225.

Večerník, Jiří (2005): Proměny a problémy české sociální politiky. In: *Sociologický časopis / Czech Sociological Review*, 41: 5, 863–880.

Verdery, Katherine. 2006. *Whiter Postsocialism?* In: Hann Chris M. (ed.). 2004. *Postsocialism. Ideals, Ideologies, and Practices in Eurasia*. New York: Taylor&Francis.

Von Mahs, Jürgen. 2011. „Introduction – an Americanization of Homelessness in Post-industrial Countries“. *Urban Geography* 32(7): 923-932.

Von Mahs, Jürgen. 2011b. „Homelessness in Berlin: Between Americanization and Path Dependence“. *Urban Geography* 32(7): 1023-1042.

Vyhodnocení průzkumu řešení bezdomovectví v obcích s rozšířenou působností. Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí. Praha.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2009. *Punishing the Poor. The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Wasserman, Stanley, Faust, Katherine. 1994. *Social Network Analysis. Methods and Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zákon o sociálních službách 108/2006 Sb. Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí.

Downloaded from: http://www.mpsv.cz/files/clanky/7372/108_2006_Sb.pdf

Appendixes:

1. Interview Guide
2. Table of Co-operation
3. Code System

Interview Guide

Interview Guide	
Introduction	<p><i>Objective: Explain the purpose of research, anonymity, introduction.</i></p> <p>Could you describe in your own words what your organization/department is working with?</p> <p>What is your job?</p> <p>What is the target group of your services? (describe briefly).</p> <p>What do you think of when you hear „homeless“?</p>
Homelessness in general, definition	<p><i>Objective: To find out how they define, identify homeless people.</i></p> <p>Do you meet homeless people in your work?</p> <p>Could you describe a typical homeless?</p> <p>What rules do you follow when identifying homeless people? (eg, appearance, self-labelling, etc.) Can you give some examples?</p> <p>Do you have any custom definition or criteria you use when</p>

<p><i>For NGO</i></p>	<p>identifying in practice? (if so, describe it with your own words)</p> <p>What is your institutional definition of the client? (in official documents, etc.)</p> <p>Are there any "border" clients that you are not sure by definition, if they belong to you or not?</p> <p>How do you divide them and how exactly do you proceed? Can you give an example?</p> <p>In which case are you forced to deny service/services to a client? (eg, violates a rule, or there is a better social service for him, etc.)</p>
<p>History</p>	<p><i>Objective: Identify historical milestones and describe what role they played.</i></p>
<p><i>The transformation of</i></p>	<p>What would you say about how homelessness has evolved since the 1990s in Prague?</p> <p>Do you remember any milestones? Any specific events? Positive or negative?</p> <p>YES: Why were they important? NO: For example, the economic crisis, the foundation of Hope, joining the EU, the adoption of ETHOS (2007), the Concept of homelessness prevention and resolution in the Czech Republic by 2020 (2013), ...</p> <p>What do you think about today's policy towards homeless people? What was the situation before? When did it change?</p>

<p><i>homeless people themselves and their tactics based on a punishing policy</i></p>	<p>How do you think it will evolve in the future?</p> <p>How do you see society's attitude towards homelessness? Do the media contribute to it? How much and in what way?</p> <p>Do you think that homeless people themselves have changed? How or what specifically? Who were the homeless twenty years ago? How do they differ from today?</p>
<p>Architecture and homelessness</p>	<p><i>Objective: To map the relationship between homelessness and architecture today and its evolution in the past.</i></p>
<p><i>For NGOs, or those who are working with homeless daily</i></p>	<p>What kind of shelters do homeless people use most often? (eg public spaces, buildings, etc.)</p> <p>Do you know where these places are?</p> <p>Can you name, for example, a known (past or present) homeless place?</p> <p>In what situations and in what context are clients talking about "home"? Do they ever talk about it?</p> <p>Have you ever heard that some of your clients refer to a place where they are more likely to be sleeping with the word "home"? (eg unused train car at the station, etc.)</p>
<p><i>Places in the city</i></p>	<p>In what places in the city center do homeless people, according to your experience, most often stay? (what you have heard or seen)</p> <p>Can you give any specific examples? Where exactly do they stay in Prague?</p>

	<p>What is typical of these places?</p> <p>Do you know for what purpose they stay there?</p> <p>Do you think these places change over time? Where did the homeless reside earlier? And when did they start gathering where we can meet them today?</p> <p>Do you think it has any influence on those places? Are the places changing because of the fact that they are there?</p>
<p>Information and network</p>	<p><i>Objective: map sharing information and network (for NGOs)</i></p>
	<p>Does your organization cooperate with other institutions to disseminate information (ie concepts, methodologies, statistics, etc.) about homeless people?</p> <p>What kind of institution is it? How do you cooperate with them specifically?</p> <p>Who did you contact within the last year? How often do you contact them and what do you solve for example?</p>

Table of Co-operation

Name of institution	Frequency of contact	Reason for the contact

Code System

The screenshot shows a software window titled 'Code System' with a toolbar at the top. The main area displays a hierarchical tree structure of categories and their counts. The categories are listed on the left, and their corresponding counts are listed on the right. The total count for the entire system is 261.

Category	Count
Code System	261
GROUPS	3
PLACES	17
Changes	4
Public Opinion	13
Cooperation	9
Introduction	12
Finance	3
Objective	2
Own Concerns	11
Target Group	10
Rejection	10
Identification	7
Unclear Clients	6
Official	5
HOMELESS	16
Visage	7
Future Development	4
Social Housing	7
Media	12
Today's Policy	22
History	4
Milestones	0
Negative	19
Janeček	6
Positive	19
Conception	7
Typical Homeless	11
Changes	12
Stereotype	3
Sets	0