

2012-07-13

Visual representations of homelessness in the canadian public sphere: an analysis of newspaper and photo voice images

Remillard, Chaseten

Remillard, C. (2012). Visual representations of homelessness in the canadian public sphere: an analysis of newspaper and photo voice images (Doctoral thesis, University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada). Retrieved from <https://prism.ucalgary.ca>. doi:10.11575/PRISM/28656

<http://hdl.handle.net/11023/121>

Downloaded from PRISM Repository, University of Calgary

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Visual Representations of Homelessness in the Canadian Public Sphere: An Analysis of
Newspaper and Photo Voice Images

by

Chaseten Shynne Remillard

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE

CALGARY, ALBERTA

July, 2012

© Chaseten Shynne Remillard 2012

Abstract

The thesis poses a central question: How do images of homelessness, circulated in the Canadian public sphere, simultaneously bolster or disrupt longstanding discourses surrounding homelessness? The question is addressed through quantitative and qualitative analysis of images related to stories on homelessness published in *The Calgary Herald*, *The Toronto Star*, and *The Vancouver Sun* between 2005-2010. Using the same analytic techniques, images taken by homeless individuals in photo voice projects, and published by advocacy groups within the same time period, are also investigated.

Two central theoretical tenets ground the research. First, images do not merely reflect an empirical reality, but gain meaning within discursive and conventional contexts. Second, images have the potential to function as inter-subjective and performative instances of communication. These theoretical considerations underwrite the methodological procedure, which triangulates coded content analysis, interpretive qualitative analysis, and socio-historic discursive contextualization.

The analysis shows that both the newspaper data and the photo voice data forward a representation of homelessness that emphasizes the personal culpability and experience of homeless individuals, but primarily neglects the structural and systemic causes of the social issue. Several important distinctions are also detected between the two sets of data. The newspaper data emphasizes an "undeserving" image of homeless individuals, one that easily bolsters a punitive and reformatory approach to homelessness. Alternatively, the photo voice data emphasizes the personal agency of homeless individuals and opens

the possibility for an expanded definition of the public, one that includes those who are not stably housed.

The thesis thus offers three main contributions. In terms of visual and communicative theory, the research demonstrates how images function as important nodes for various discursive, representational, and performative meanings.

Methodologically, the work uniquely combines quantitative and qualitative methods in an attempt to bridge the gap between larger social meanings and the expression of those meanings in specific micro-instances of cultural articulation. Finally, and substantively, the thesis provides important insight into how contemporary Canadian society conceptualizes homelessness, but does so through a unique and academically overlooked medium, images.

Acknowledgements

Tanya, my love, you were the lighthouse guiding me throughout this journey. Your unflappable belief in me sustained my motivation and focus, even when my belief in myself and my project faltered. You will always be my muse. I am better in every way because of you.

It was passed from one bird to another, the whole gift of the day

To Natalie and Nicholas, thank you for youthful distraction and for the fun we share.

To my mom and dad, thank you for all you provided – throughout my life.

Barbara, it has been a great pleasure and honour to work with you. I am truly grateful for all of the opportunities, knowledge, and professional insight you have provided me.

Thank you (is not enough).

David, your tireless optimism and willingness to assist will always be appreciated.

My thesis was supported by funding from the University of Calgary, Department of Communication and Culture, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Dedication

To Tanya:

“(anywhere
i go, my dear; and whatever
is done by only me is your doing, my darling)”
- ee cummings

Table of Contents

Approval Page.....	ii
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Dedication	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures and Illustrations	ix
Epigraph.....	x
 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	 1
 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	 8
The condition of homelessness	8
The construction of homelessness	16
 CHAPTER 3: THEORY	 27
Images as social and discursive construction	28
Images as instances of dominant conventions of looking practices	31
Images as a site of social interaction and civic performance.....	34
Conclusion	47
 CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY	 49
Methodological Precedence	52
Data Sample and Selection	58
Development of Coding Schema	61
From Content to Discourse	62
From Structures to Agency and Alternation	64
Conclusion	66
 CHAPTER 5: DESERVING AND UNDESERVING POOR.....	 68
The Discursive Context: The “Deserving” and “Undeserving” Poor.....	70
Who is homeless?	76
Gender	78
Age	80
Social or Familial Group	82
Implications	83
The “homeless” label	86
Homeless Spaces	87
Homeless Faces	92
Homeless Things	96
Implications	98
Discussion	101
Conclusion	105
The Discursive Context: Orderly and Disorderly Space	108

Disorderly Space: From label to contagion	113
Losing Subjectivity and Inter-Subjectivity	120
The Homeless Body	121
The homeless gaze.....	122
Implications	125
The Control of Space	127
Contagion and Containment	128
Implications	131
Conclusion	134
 CHAPTER 7: AGENCY, SUBJECTIVITY, AND CAPABILITY	136
Data Sample	138
Picturing the other; Picturing the self	139
Reframing homelessness and the “homeless” label.....	147
People, places, and things.....	148
Implications	150
Reimaging Homelessness	160
Demographics.....	160
Deserving and Undeserving	161
Gaze and Expression	162
Implications	163
Redefining community: Images of Aboriginality and Homelessness	167
Implications	168
Conclusion	171
 CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION	174
Possible Contributions to Theory, Method, and Literature on Homelessness.....	177
Possible Contributions to Stakeholders	180
Limitations	183
 REFERENCES	185
 APPENDIX 1	202
Sample Coding Sheet.....	202

List of Tables

Table 1 - % of Homeless Subjects by Gender and Newspaper.....	79
Table 2 - % of Homeless Subjects by Age and Newspaper.....	81
Table 4 – % of Subjects Coded as “Disorderly”	114
Table 5 – % of Homeless Subjects by “Order” and Gaze Orientation	125
Table 6 - % of Subjects by Data Set	148
Table 7 - % of Aboriginal Homeless Subjects by Newspaper.....	168

List of Figures and Illustrations

Figure 1 – <i>I’m very surprised to be alive</i> , (Gradon, 2006).	90
Figure 2 – <i>Volunteers like business owner Catharine Fennell</i> , (Jones, 2006).	94
Figure 3 – <i>Highway shanty knocked down</i> , (Zimmerman, 2006).	94
Figure 4 – <i>Part of what keeps you going</i> , (De Neve, 2006).	95
Figure 5 – <i>Habitat For Humanity...</i> (Calgary Herald Archive, 2005).	95
Figure 6 – <i>Terry Weaymouth works as a general labourer</i> , (Jacob, 2006).	97
Figure 7 – <i>A number of politicians...spent a night on the street</i> , (Perrin, 2007).	115
Figure 8 – <i>As a jogger runs past, a group of people huddle</i> , (Black, 2006).	116
Figure 9 – <i>Pedestrians walk around a homeless woman lying</i> , (Cooper, 2007).	116
Figure 10 – <i>Dr. Janette Hurley, on-site physician</i> , (Rhodes, 2009).	129
Figure 11 – <i>Tramp in Mulberry Street</i> , (Riis, 1887).	143
Figure 12 – <i>Roving Bill</i> , (Roving Bill, 1893).	144
Figure 13 – <i>Pedestrians walk around a homeless woman lying</i> , (Cooper, 2007).	152
Figure 14 – <i>King of the horseshoe pit</i> , (Bunting, 2009).	153
Figure 15 – <i>Pigeon walking</i> , (Lesnick, 2007).	154
Figure 16 – <i>Reflection</i> , (Bolduc, 2008).	154
Figure 17 – <i>Pat Hatzistamatis serves Harold Fredrikson</i> , (Rhodes, 2008).	157
Figure 18 – <i>Barbeque bike</i> , (Buda, 2007).	158
Figure 19 – <i>A man asks motorists for money</i> , (Calgary Herald Archive, 2007).	164
Figure 20 – <i>Emergency shelters stay closed</i> , (Vancouver Sun Archive, 2005).	164
Figure 21 – <i>Greetings</i> , (Bolton, 2005).	165
Figure 22 – <i>Oppenheimer Park</i> , (Georges, 2006).	165

Epigraph

The strength of a nation derives from the integrity of the home.

- Confucius

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In December 2008, *The Calgary Herald* published more than forty news stories on homelessness to help raise awareness and funds for various charitable organizations in the city (Remillard & Schneider, 2010). Although the prevalence of news coverage on homelessness typically is highest during the holiday season (Bunis, Yancik, & Snow, 1996), the strong reliance of *The Calgary Herald* on images piqued my interest, for associated with those holiday stories were well over sixty distinct images. Beyond the textual specifics of the news articles, at least for that month and within that publication, the social issue was communicated visually. What was the visual narrative constituted by those images, in particular, and in general, what larger discourse engendered that visual narrative?

Preliminary research into those questions generated several important findings. First, the use of images to document poverty has had a long history, as has the use of images to advocate for social reform. In other words, images of poverty, and even more specifically, photographs of poverty, have been used to both generate social knowledge about poverty and to stimulate social activism for some time. Consider, for example, the iconic work of Dorothea Lange, which both endeavors to document the depression through the raw empiricism of photographic realism, but also served a more ideological function as a call for social change. Second, despite this legacy, little research exists on the visual representation of contemporary homelessness. Finally, when the images of homelessness were considered beyond what they substantively documented, and instead considered in terms of how they functioned within larger systems of meaning

surrounding poverty and homelessness, they revealed how distinct systems of knowledge and power can be affirmed or contested within distinct micro-instances of cultural articulation. From these preliminary findings, the basis of the following research was founded.

Most primarily, my dissertation asks a central question: How do images of homelessness, circulated in the Canadian public sphere, simultaneously bolster or disrupt longstanding discourses surrounding homelessness? In order to address this question, however, the research is further guided by four overlapping questions: 1) Through what photographed content does homelessness become visible as a social issue? 2) What are the dominant representational trends and frequencies of this visibility? 3) In what ways do these dominant visual trends emphasize or delimit particular visual associations between homelessness and certain types of behaviors, spaces, and artefacts? 4) To what extent do these visual associations fortify or undermine existent discourses related to homelessness?

Each of these four secondary questions serves a procedural function. The first question draws attention to the distinct content of images of homelessness. Content, in this sense, is a consideration of both what was pictured and how the image was composed. Although a consideration of both subject and convention of any individual image is useful, when those elements are considered in relation to a large number of images, a different type of insight is gained, as a composite picture of the trends and frequencies of those elements can be garnered. Thus, to answer the second question, five years of images associated with homelessness and collected from three major Canadian newspapers (*The Calgary Herald*, *The Vancouver Sun*, *The Toronto Star*) and two sets of

photo voice images, taken by homeless individuals and distributed by advocacy agencies, formed the basis of the present study. Each image was coded for individual content, but various trends and frequencies of that content were also ascertained. Guided by the third question, these trends and frequencies of the images were then assembled into particular visual associations, which considered the prevalence of the individual elements in relation to one another. For example, homeless subjects were pictured receiving donated goods at a higher frequency than participating in normalized work. These visual associations, homeless subjects and donated goods, and silences, homeless subjects and normalized work, were in turn used to consider to what extent particular discourses related to homelessness were expressed. For example, discourses exist that support the notions that philanthropy adequately addresses homelessness, or that homelessness is a state of incapability and dependence. To do so effectively, however, dominant discourses surrounding the meaning of homelessness were in need of delineation, and so, much of the analysis is also an attempt to reveal how particular ideas about homelessness have cultural, institutional, and historic legacies. Overall, the consideration of these four secondary questions implicitly address the primary research question, both quantitatively and qualitatively, as the individuated articulation of cultural meaning documented in any particular image is continuously shown to either fortify or undermine larger systems of knowledge about homelessness.

The research draws upon a diverse and interdisciplinary approach to images and is founded on three theoretical tenets. First, the meaning of any image is not inherent within the content of that image. Rather, the meaning of an image is always socially constituted within wider webs of discourse. Second, particular conventions exist that also inherently

structure the meaning of an image. These conventions, or “ways of seeing” a subject influence meaning. For example, whether a subject is looking at or away from the camera, a subject is pictured from below or above, or a subject is smiling or not, all function to shape the meaning of who that subject is considered to be, despite the fact that the substantive content of the image has remained the same. Finally, despite the restrictions placed on meaning by both discourse and visual grammar, images also stand as a location of potential social interaction. In the recognition that a photograph not only documents what it visually displays, but that it also documents a particular moment of social interaction and a reflexive performance of identity by the pictured subject, an image opens an important civic space, for the subject looks out of the image in expectation that someone will look in to it. An image, thereby, has the ability to function as a public communicative utterance, as in so doing, serves to redefine the parameters of who rightfully constitutes the public.

After a more thorough discussion of the theoretical and methodological foundation of the study, and after a contextualization of the study of homelessness as a social construction, the analysis is organized into three distinct chapters. The first chapter situates the visual data in a broader discursive construction of homeless individuals into the categories of the “deserving” and “undeserving” poor. Unlike the findings of subsequent chapters, the analysis of the categories “deserving” and “undeserving” did vary from newspaper to newspaper. Therefore, the chapter is unique within the dissertation as it provides a comparison of the demographics of homelessness pictured in each newspaper, as well as, the various conventions that visually label someone as homeless. In the end, the chapter finds that certain newspapers do present a more

deserving image of homelessness than others, but that the overall visual presentation of homeless individuals in all the newspapers is in accordance with a more “undeserving” subjectivity.

The second chapter draws upon the work of critical geographers, and outlines another dominant discursive tendency to define homelessness in relation to the “orderly” or “disorderly” use and occupation of space. In a consideration of the various different ways that homeless subjects are pictured in urban space, and those spaces most often associated with homelessness, the chapter concludes that a strong correlation exists between the “disorderly” use and occupation of space and homelessness. This connection carries an implicit consequence, that homeless subjectivity tends only to gain an “orderly” appearance within particular institutional settings. Thus, the visual narrative affirms a particular punitive and rehabilitative approach to homelessness, one that tends to marginalize homeless individuals out of public space.

The final chapter considers the use of images by homeless individuals to reassert their subjectivity, agency, and capability. The trends determined in the previous chapters are used as a template of comparison and a more qualitative analysis of images is conducted. Overall, the images of the photo voice data reaffirm the ability of homeless individuals to function independently within the urban environment, complicate and make ambiguous the visual label of homelessness, provide a more representational image of aboriginal homelessness, and broach an important civic space in which homeless subjectivity is considered a legitimate component of the public.

In the end, through a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of images of homelessness, produced both by newspapers and homeless individuals, the thesis makes

several conclusions. First, images of homelessness reaffirm longstanding divisions between “deserving” and “undeserving” poor, and tend to forward an “undeserving” image of homelessness. Second, homeless subjectivity is strongly associated with disorderly space, and such association legitimates a more punitive and rehabilitative approach to homelessness. Third, images of homelessness do have the potential to assert alternative subjectivities and to define the public in a more inclusive manner.

Thus, on the one hand, dominant visual framings of homelessness do tend to forward a particularly long-standing form of poverty knowledge. This discourse largely exempts from culpability the social, economic, and political forces that create and perpetuate an unequal distribution of wealth and resources within Canadian society and instead conceptualizes homelessness in terms of personal pathology and failure. Inherently, such poverty knowledge reaffirms a normative approach to homelessness. This is an approach that 1) is reliant on reformatory and corrective institutions to address homelessness through a regime of individual therapy and social exclusion, and 2) does little to address the systemic issues that generate both poverty and the lack of affordable housing in the first place.

On the other hand, and in contrast, alternative framings of homelessness, as manifest in photo voice images, do undercut a central pillar of this type of poverty knowledge. These images recast homeless individuals as capable social agents, and in so doing, resituate homelessness in lived day-to-day communities and outside the walls of corrective institutions. As well, these images reaffirm a legitimate civic identity for homeless individuals within the public.

However, despite these important contestations, homelessness still remains pictured as an individuated and personal experience. Indeed, throughout both sets of visual data, an important representation of homelessness is largely silenced.

Homelessness is simply not presented as a symptom of an inequitable economic system and as a result of failed social policy. Perhaps, the photographic medium is inherently limited in its ability to capture the complex correlations related to systemic issues.

Instead, images of homelessness tend to be represented through metonymic or personal images. Despite the ability of images to mobilize meaning demonstratively and performatively, and to both bolster and disrupt longstanding discourses related to homelessness, the following research suggests that images of homelessness do not present homelessness in a manner that shifts the focus from the individual and therefore fails to consider the issue as a systemic economic and social consequence.

Finally, an important point must be made about the ethics of research that considers images of human suffering and social inequity. Despite the public nature of the images considered for investigation in the following study, a reflexive acknowledgement needs to be made: these images still portray specific individuals. Thus, although the subsequent discussion is based on an extended look, a critical stare, of images of suffering and social inequality, and invites the reader to join in similarly, it does so with the belief that such acts of looking foster an important social interaction between the starrer and the staree. Hopefully, as the work of Rosemarie Garland-Thomson articulates, the investigation into images of homelessness intends to unsettle common understandings “that starers are perpetrators and stares victims... [and instead] lays bare staring’s generative potential” (2009, p. 10).

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Modern homelessness in North America began to dramatically rise in the 1980s. Not surprisingly, an extensive array (and amount) of social scientific research has considered homelessness as a condition, and investigated the causes, cures, and day-to-day reality of homelessness. However, for most, our conception of homelessness is less a factor of knowledge about the reality of homelessness, and more constituted from our own personal acts of social interaction and/or gained from our consumption of mediated information and representations of homelessness. Arguably, homelessness, as a social understanding, is a composite of prominent discursive formations, social renderings, and personal interactions. Such an articulation is by no means intended to reduce the seriousness of living without a home, nor is it a statement that homelessness is not experienced as a daily reality for (too) many people; instead it is a strategic statement that positions homelessness within a communicative and social constructivist framework in order to broach important questions about how homelessness gains social meaning and how those meanings may structure our collective response to homelessness. Indeed, a substantial amount of research has considered homelessness “as a social construction rather than a social condition” (Bogard, 2003, p. 1).

The condition of homelessness

Interestingly, “*homelessness*” as a term to describe a recognizable social issue in North America only emerged in the mid-1980s. A survey of the *New York Times* from

1851 to 2005, for example, shows that “*homelessness* was used in 4,755 articles, but 87% of this usage (4,148 articles) was in the 20 years between 1985 and 2005” (Hulchanski et al, 2009, p. 1). Certainly, prior to the mid-1980s, some people were referred to as “homeless,” but the term was distinct from more contemporary conceptions of “homelessness” in two important ways. On the one hand, the problem of “homeless” people was distinctively defined as an issue of the developing world. In 1981, for instance, the United Nations declared 1987 the “International Year of Shelter for the Homeless,” but devoted the focus of the year to “the problems of homeless people in urban and rural areas of developing countries.” (UN Report, p. 102). On the other hand, when the term “homeless” was used in North America, it tended to describe a lack of “home” as a social and psychological space, and not a physical structure. A homeless person was considered someone who was without the support (economic, emotional, social) that a home normally provides. Although transient, these persons were very rarely without housing, albeit of poor quality. In other words, a “homeless” person in North America, prior to the mid-1980s, was still a housed person.

Federal cuts to social housing began in 1984 and subsequently diminished until 1993, when the federal government announced its decision to stop the creation of any new social housing projects altogether. Concurrently, provincial commitments to social housing also drastically reduced from the mid-1980s onwards. The persistent decline in funding at both levels of government negatively impacted the creation of new social housing to such an extent that in 2000 only 940 units of social housing were built in all of Canada – a figure starkly contrasted to the national average of 20,000 for the years between 1964 and 1993 (Falvo, 2003, p. 10).

The reduction of social housing projects only exacerbated a growing demand on low-cost housing in Canadian cities. Urban gentrification drastically reduced the number of low-rent and rooming housing accommodations in cities and replaced those spaces with condominiums or higher priced rental units. Between 1995 and 1999 demolition or conversion to ownership took 13,000 rental units off the market nationwide (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2000, p.1). Once this low cost housing was destroyed, “it was hard to find any other area that viewed the very poor as a commercial asset rather than a liability” (Jencks, 1994, p. 74). The physical loss or conversion of low-income units only compounded the difficulties for low-income households in an increasingly competitive rental market. In the mid to late 1990s overall vacancy rates tumbled to below 3% for Vancouver, Calgary, and Toronto. However, as Jack Layton points out, overall rates are inflated from the perspective of low-income rents for “the lower the price range, the lower the vacancy rates” (Layton, 2000, p. 141). In actuality, therefore, “from 1991 to 1996 the number of rental units available in lower rent ranges (less than \$500) declined by 310,000 units” (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2000, p. 1). In some cities, such as Toronto, for example, the process was even more aggravated. In the 1980s, Toronto experienced an annual increase of 5,000 tenant households who no longer could afford market rents, and in the 1990s, that number grew to 12,000 (Falvo, 2003, p. 8).

Federal and provincial cuts to income assistance during the same time period compounded the difficulties for low-income earners to secure stable housing. Due to changes in policy and coverage in unemployment insurance (UI), “the percentage of unemployed workers receiving regular UI benefits fell significantly, from 74% in 1989 to

36% by 1997” (Falvo, 2003, p. 12). Changes in policy also increased the number of hours of work required for eligibility and decreased the duration of benefit collection, a shift that precluded 1.2 million unemployed Canadians from collecting UI in the late 1990s who would have otherwise qualified for benefits ten years prior (Falvo, 2003, p. 12). As one report remarked, as many as 60% of people in Toronto shelters in 1999 “would have qualified for the old employment insurance, workers' compensation and disability programs” (Dunphy, 1999, A1).

From the mid-1980s to the late 1990s these structural, economic, and policy changes had de-housed enough people for *homelessness* to take discursive root and become recognizable as set of social problems associated with a particular type of poverty, “a poverty so deep that even poor-quality housing is not affordable” (Hulchanski, 2009, p. 6). Not surprisingly, this new poverty initiated a significant amount of social scientific research. Gregg Barak (1991) and Christopher Jenks (1995), for example, each trace the rise of homelessness through an analysis of various changes in housing availability, social policies, and gentrification processes in the United States. In Canada, Jack Layton (2000) drew upon and expanded the analysis provided in the “Golden Report” on homelessness in Toronto (Goldon, 1999) to provide a similar structural overview of homelessness within the Canadian context. More currently, Nick Falvo (2003) has produced a thorough and insightful policy paper on structural causes of homelessness within Canada.

Still other analysis has focused on more distinctively economic causations of homelessness. Notably, Brendon O’Flaherty synthesizes personal economic factors with larger city specific data to model the probability and rate of homelessness. As O’Flaherty

concludes, “being homeless is not just a matter of being either the wrong kind of person or in the wrong kind of place; rather, it depends on being both the wrong kind of person and in the wrong kind of place” (O’Flaherty, 2004, p. 5). Such economic analysis has also been conducted variously in regard to Canadian cities. For example, a recent paper produced by the University of Calgary School of Public Policy considers the various economic trends that impact homelessness rates in Calgary and Edmonton (Kneebone, Emery & Grynishak, 2011), as does a policy paper produced by the Pivot Legal Society, which specifically addresses homelessness within the Vancouver context (Eby & Misura, 2006).

Beyond discussions that address general homelessness within Canada, other studies have focused on Aboriginal homelessness within Canada. Studies have determined that a disproportional number of Aboriginal individuals are homeless in Canada (Walker, 2003). Moreover, Aboriginal individuals are over-represented in almost all homeless sub-groups (including youth, families, urban and rural populations) (McCallum & Isaac, 2011). The over-representation has generated investigations into the unique causes of Aboriginal homelessness. For example, studies have considered the legacy of residential displacement programs within Canada (Sinclair, 2007; Wente, 2000) and the contemporary lack of adequate housing on many reserves (Auditor General of Canada, 2003). Provided the unique causes of Aboriginal homelessness, other studies have focused on forwarding a more culturally responsive approach to homelessness, one that accounts for the distinct historical and structural factors of Aboriginal homelessness (Mccallum & Isaac, 2011).

Homelessness has also been considered in terms of individual contributing factors. From this perspective, homelessness is less about the availability of housing or economic characteristics, and more about personal disability and deficiency. Without the ability to adequately care for themselves, individuals find themselves reliant on governmental support and assistance, and in those cases where such care is not available, or under-utilized, individuals will inevitably be unable to secure stable housing. Authors correlate rises in homelessness with increased drug use (Baum & Burnes, 1993) and the reduction of treatment services for mentally ill and addicted individuals (Rossi, 1989). However, despite their findings, many researchers of individual causes “felt that these [factors] were not enough to explain the growth of homelessness over the 1980s” (Sommer, 2000). Still others, such as Alice O’Connor, criticize the impulse to consider poverty (and by extension, homelessness) an individual issue as a manifestation of a particular “poverty knowledge,” one that “re-pauperizes the poverty issue while emphasizing individual, rather than social, morality” (O’Connor, 2001, p. 10).

Beyond the debate surrounding the causes of homelessness, statistical research continues to attempt to record the number, demographic composition, and geographic location of homeless people and populations. So-called “homeless counts” have become a staple of research into homelessness, and yet remain notoriously controversial. Early counts in the United States, for example, produced clearly contestable results, as numbers ranged from 250,000 to nearly 3 million (Hopper, 1997; Link et al., 1995; Shlay & Rossi, 1992; Sommer, 2000). Such variance is in part a consequence of different definitions of homelessness (Corday & Pion, 1991), as well as, two distinctively different approaches to such research. As David Hulchanski outlines, “the first is called a ‘point prevalence

measure (a point-in-time count) and the second is called a ‘period prevalence’ measure” (Hulchanski, 2000, p. 2).

Period prevalence measures homelessness as it impacts a population over a cumulative period. Point-in-time counts consider the number of individuals who require housing on a particular night. The period prevalence provides a broader and deeper picture of homelessness, one from which preventative measures can be developed; however, such analysis is less prevalent than point-in-time counts. Point-in-time counts tend to provide a shallow understanding of homelessness for they fail to distinguish between those who are unhoused just at that moment, those who are unhoused periodically, and those that are chronically unhoused. As such, point-in-time counts tend to provide very little useful information about what to actually do about homelessness. As Hulchanski concludes, homeless counts typically raise ancillary questions: “who will do what with the number? How many houseless people will be better off as a result” (Hulchanski, 2000, p. 5)?

In an effort to focus on processes through which homelessness can best be addressed, researchers such as Dennis Culhane and Stephen Metraux (2008) have forwarded recommendations that center on the provision of housing first, rather than efforts that provide support to individuals vis-à-vis temporary shelters. Once implemented, such “housing first” approaches have been studied and deemed tentatively successful. For instance, Martha Burt and Jacquelyn Anderson (2005) concluded that homeless people with mental illness that have been provided with stable housing are “more likely to stay enrolled” in mental health services (p. 3). Similarly, Carol Pearson, Ann Elizabeth Montgomery, and Gretchen Locke report that 84 percent of homeless

individuals who participated in housing first initiatives were “still housed at the end of 12 months” (Pearson, Montgomery, and Locke, 2009, p. 410). Notably, the 16% of participants that were no longer housed either left the region or died within the time of the study. In Canada, Nick Falvo (2009) has produced a paper outlining the success of a similar program in Toronto. According to Falvo, individuals who were provided housing first were found to have improved health, be less likely to engage in illicit income earning, and to spend less time in jails and emergency rooms than those without (Falvo, 2009, p. 25).

Finally, beyond the causes, counts, and cures of homelessness, researchers have investigated both the impact of homelessness on individuals and the lived practices, performative identities, and day-to-day strategies of homeless people. For example, research has revealed a negative psychological impact of homelessness on identity and esteem (Kidd, 2009), as well as, an elevation of health risks for homeless people (Wen, Hudak, & Hwang, 2007). Other research demonstrates the various constraints experienced by homeless people, environmental, social, institutional, and the various innovative strategies of survival that homeless employ to overcome or manage such constraints. These ethnographic studies reveal the manner in which homelessness is performed differently in different contexts (Lankenau, 1999), or how the “shelter culture” serves to limit the range of acceptable subjectivities available to homeless people seeking aid (Lyon-Callo, 2004). Other studies illustrate the extensive strategies employed by homeless people to overcome environmental constraints and that help maintain individual autonomy and agency in the face of extreme economic deprivation (Snow & Anderson, 1993).

The construction of homelessness

Several critics interested in the social construction of homelessness have conducted thoughtful and thorough historical analyses of how the vagabond poor were represented and understood in popular discourses and texts outside of the contemporary context. Both Tom Nichols (2007) and Sean Shesgreen (2002) consider images of and texts about the urban poor from the 17th century Europe. Tim Creswell (2001), Kenneth Kusmer (2004), and Todd Depastino (2003) each consider late-19th century and early 20th century representations, academic studies, and popular writings related to the transient poor. Amanda Grzyb (2007) also considers turn of the twentieth century depictions, but focuses on literary and filmic examples. In these studies, unlike the previously outlined social scientific inquiries, the researchers are less interested in the trajectory of causes (either personal or systemic) that contribute to the rise of homelessness nor are they concerned (primarily) with the lived consequences of being homeless. Rather, the analysis situates the social meaning of poverty (and homelessness) within a larger cultural context. These critics separate homelessness from the empiricism of lived experience, and in so doing, use homelessness as a platform from which to study larger societal norms about civic identity.

Centrally for each critic, the most important attribute of homeless subjectivity is its marginalization. Placed on the fringe of society, this estranged identity enables the figure of the transient poor to “operate as a means of facilitating cultural communication” (Nichols, 2007, p. 239). Precisely what is culturally communicated through the homeless

figure is articulated differently by each author. For Nichols and Kusmer it is the expectations of what constitutes proper ordered and moral civic action. For Creswell, it is the complication of normative ideals around masculinity and familial obligation. Grzyb, on the other hand, detects within the homeless subject a cultural tension between domesticity and (sexual) freedom, and Depastino outlines how the homeless subject puts into relief dominant notions about productive civic identity. In more or less the same fashion, each critic considers the unhoused figure as a dialectical figure, an inverted doppelganger for the housed self, and as such, one that carries the capacity to “alter or transcend the fixity of the given social order” (Nichols, 2007, p. 239). As Grzyb articulates, the sign “homeless” is ripe with contestation and conflict, “between adventure and derision, freedom and restriction, public space and private domesticity, visibility and invisibility, social exclusion and dynamic community, mobility and immobility, inertia and adventure” (Grzyb, 2007, p. 24).

Rich in historical detail and insightful about the ways in which social meaning is mobilized through cultural texts, these analyses also provide some opinion about the theoretical implications of such cultural meanings of homelessness for homeless people. Indeed, the vast majority of these historical and cultural examinations focus more on the capacity of homelessness to serve as a mirror, or mechanism, through which to regard larger social and historical contexts, than on the implications of those meanings for homeless people. Ironically, although the focus of analysis is undoubtedly the meaning of homelessness, the strength of the conclusions rests on what homelessness can relate about society as a whole. Thus informative, and incredibly useful for the purpose of contextualizing homelessness in western history, the analyses are not transformative, in

that they largely fail to take critical aim at the social structures and institutions that produce the articulated cultural meanings of homelessness in the first place.

A notably exception to this generalization is Depastino, who extends his discussion of the cultural meanings of homelessness to the foreseeable political and economic consequences of such meanings. Significantly, he asserts that citizenship is ultimately tied to social definitions of home. As he concludes, “home remains an essential means for gaining access, belonging, inclusion, and power” (Depastino, 2003, p. 271). In this regard, Depastino demonstrates how historically focused analysis can position homelessness as a consequence of cultural forces which carry political and economic consequences.

In a similar manner, Kim Hopper (1991) considers the various different social scientific discourses that have operated to define homelessness in distinctively different ways over the course of the twentieth century. For Hopper, the importance of understanding these discursive social constructions of homelessness is not what homelessness reveals about domiciled norms. Instead, Hopper traces the various historical understandings of homelessness to show how distinct definitions serve to categorize and make recognizable homelessness differently. Crucially, he then demonstrates how these different definitions of what constitutes homelessness shape collective responses to homelessness. Although Hopper discerns a range of historical definitions of homelessness, variously construed as “the hapless plight of impaired minds, as the deviant subculture of the chronically marginal poor, and as the latest trick of the idle and unscrupulous,” he also detects a common theme in these categorizations: homelessness “transforms the character” (Hopper, 1991, p. 785).

Both in approach and conclusion, Hopper provides an unacknowledged echo of another slightly earlier examination of the social scientific discourse surrounding poverty and homelessness. In his book, *The Undeserving Poor*, Michael Katz (1989) provides an analysis of the history of American social scientific research on poverty, and claims the process of studying poverty has produced a specific type of knowledge that conceptualizes poverty as a consequence of individual deficiency. The implication, as Katz points out, is that “by individualizing poverty, social scientists have aided the mystification of its origins and obscured its politics” (Katz, 1989, p. 237). In this way, as both Hopper and Katz acknowledge, homelessness becomes understood as an individuated and therapeutic issue, and not an economic or political one. Defined in this manner, homelessness is reduced to a matter of personal pathology, and homeless people are understood to be in need of “intensive services, mental health care, discipline and order in their lives” (Hopper, 1991, p. 785). What becomes silenced by this knowledge is the systemic root of poverty, that is, the inequitable distribution of material resources and social opportunities that constitute the structural and economic causes of extreme poverty in the first place. Once exempted as the source of poverty, these social, economic, and political forces remain unquestioned, and instead, societal attention turns to institutions of reform and control to ameliorate the perceived pathology or personal failure that defines homelessness.

Hopper and Katz ground their discussion in broader institutional, cultural, and historical contexts, but neither critic loses sight of the lived condition of homelessness. Thus, the elaboration on the social (scientific) construction of homelessness provided by Hopper and Katz does not blunt the important critical point of their investigation – as

could be criticized of the work conducted by the researchers such as Cresswell, Kusmer, and Grzyb. Both Hopper and Katz uncover the means in which representational and discursive constructions bear embodied consequences for homeless individuals, and each suggests that alternative definitions of homelessness may determine a better and more systemically focused approach to the issue of poverty.

Taken together, these macro and longitudinal studies provide valuable insight into the social construction of homelessness and do so through a broad historical purview of strategically selected cultural texts or data. Although such studies demonstrate the longevity and culturally embedded nature of certain social understandings of poverty, they tend to overlook how these meanings are made manifest in particular instances of articulation. In other words, in an effort to map the larger cultural terrain, these studies neglect the specific mechanisms through which social meanings of poverty are propagated and apprehended within and by publics.

Not surprisingly, a significant amount of research does address precisely these questions. On the one hand, researchers have conducted in-depth, systematic, and critical analysis of contemporary public discourses surrounding homelessness and revealed the specifics of how such discourses serve to forward various social meanings of homelessness (Best, 2010; Klowdowsky et al, 2001; Pascale, 2005). On the other hand, investigations have questioned and surveyed how cultural texts about homelessness are understood by members of the public, and thus indicated how texts may stimulate or silence particular meanings of homelessness in audiences (Iyengar, 1990; Lee et al, 2004).

A significant literature exists that considers the manner in which homelessness is constructed and framed in contemporary cultural texts, notably news coverage. William Bunis, Angela Yancik, and David Snow (1996), for example, regard the temporal pattern of coverage related to homelessness in the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *CBS News*, and the *London Times* for a five year period from 1981-1985. Although unconcerned with the content of such stories, per se, the study demonstrated an important cultural pattern in coverage – the highest levels of media attention to homelessness corresponded to the holiday season. Thus, the authors conclude, by grafting homelessness onto preexistent seasons of ritualized sympathy, the very frequency pattern of media coverage of homelessness forwards a social understanding of homelessness that situates it within a framework of charity and volunteerism, and, in so doing, fails to conceptualize a response to the social issue in terms of systemic change.

Whereas Bunis, Yancik, and Snow (1996) considered temporal frequencies to link specific instances of articulation about homelessness to larger cultural meanings, other critics have considered thematic frequencies to make similar conclusions. These more content based analyses of news stories, thereby, also demonstrate how distinctive patterns of coverage serve to inform public notions of homelessness. Some such studies have demonstrated that the news coverage of homelessness tends to be more positive than negative (Buck, Toro, & Ramos, 2004), where others have traced a change in coverage from sympathetic to unsympathetic (Pascale, 2005). Studies have also determined that news stories typically address homelessness as a matter of personal deficiency and not structural inequality (Best, 2010; Klodawsky et al, 2001) and that coverage of poverty typically documents a threat to non-poor community members (Entman, 1995). Although

distinctive in approach, ranging from quantitative content analysis to qualitative critical discourse analysis, each of these studies shares two analytical impulses 1) to sample a non-subjectively selected data set; and 2) to consider the specifics of content to draw conclusions about larger social understandings. Thus motivated, the studies tend to overlook the possibility of interpretive variance and the manner in which discourse is often strategically employed within specific contexts.

Other studies have attempted to consider how public discourse on homelessness serves to forward particular meanings of homelessness, whilst adopting an approach that is grounded in a more localized and focused context. In an exemplary study, Cynthia Bogard (2003) shows how the social construction of homelessness as a social issue in the 1980s was a result of various intersecting public discourses that were articulated by a range of “claimsmakers” located in Washington DC. Through detailed consideration of public statements about homelessness made by these “claimsmakers” (activists, government officials, academic experts, and politicians), Bogard traces the formation of a distinctly modern definition of homelessness. This “new” homelessness of the 1980s, she concludes, considered homelessness in terms of shelter and not housing, as well as, entrenched homelessness as a permanent feature and natural consequence of contemporary American society.

Similarly, Catherine Kingfisher (2007) interprets the discourse produced in town hall meetings on homelessness by residents of a small community in Alberta. Through close analysis of this discourse, and its omissions, Kingfisher reveals how the subjectivity of homeless individuals is constructed as both a racialized and deviant category. In short, homelessness, she concludes, is synonymous with Aboriginality and addiction. In another

study, Josh Greenberg et al. (2006) conducted both a content and discourse analysis of organizational documents and news coverage of homelessness in Ottawa. Through a consideration of how media coverage is constituted as a “field of struggle,” the analysis considers how advocacy groups negotiate a presentation of homelessness in the press that both resonates with broader cultural notions and assumptions about homelessness, but at the same time, undermines the obfuscation of structural causes of homelessness that typically inform such dominant representations. Work on localized and context specific discourse demonstrates that the social meaning of homelessness, although informed by long standing cultural understandings about poverty, is subject to variance, provided the different contexts of discursive construction and reception.

In an effort to determine whether or not such discursive framings influence public opinion on homelessness, some researchers have specifically conducted audience reception studies. Perhaps most notably, Shanto Iyengar (1991) demonstrated that news coverage largely positioned poverty in terms of either thematic (structural) causes or episodic (individual) causes. Then, he conducted an experiment, in which participants watched news coverage and responded to the coverage by determining the level and agent of responsibility. The study determined that “when poverty was described in thematic terms, individuals assigned responsibility to societal factors” and conversely, “when news coverage of poverty dwelled on particular instances of poor people, individuals were more apt to hold the poor causally responsible” (Iyengar, 1991, p. 22). In a similar experiment, Jo Phelan et al. (1997) found that when the term “homeless” was included in a written vignette that described a man with life long poverty, respondents expressed a higher level of social distance towards the man than when the word

“homeless” was omitted from the vignette. Such studies seem to suggest that audiences are influenced by differences in discursive framings of homelessness and poverty, and that such differences may have an impact on the level of stigma and culpability ascribed to homeless individuals by members of the public.

Although each of these various studies provide insight into how the social meaning of homelessness is constituted and apprehended in public discourse, by and large, the focus of analysis has been limited to textual data. Some studies do acknowledge the role of images (Cresswell, 2001; Entman, 1995; Grzyb, 2007), but only superficially and as supplements to textual data. Other researchers make use of photo voice and elicitation to gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of homeless individuals (Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005) or of how homeless individuals make meaningful sense of urban space (Johnson, May, & Cloke, 2008). Some critics have also used photographs as a mechanism for fostering social awareness and activism (Wang, 2003). Few, however, take images seriously as locations of discursive expression.

Some notable exceptions should be outlined, nevertheless. For example, Cara Finnegan (2003) provides a significant study on the role of images in constructing and circulating public understandings related to poverty. Finnegan provides a critical history of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographic documentation of the depression years. Within her analysis she determines that the images forward three dominant visually discursive themes: 1) a distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor; 2) a marginalization of poverty as the plight of an immoral underclass; and 3) a reaffirmation of normative notions of proper work ethics, morality, and civic duties.

Similarly, Reginald Twigg (1992) considers the various ways in which Jacob Riis' 1890 collection of images, *How the Other Half Lives* (an extended photographic essay documenting the impoverished neighborhoods of New York), serves to naturalize and reinforce particular existent social inequalities. According to Twigg, the images produced by Riis manifest a specific set of discourses that position and control the subjects pictured within, and justify embodied acts of discipline. In this way, photographic documentation aligns with specific regimes of knowledge that both give rise to, and find expression in, practices of surveillance and control.

Some more systematic approaches to images of poverty and homelessness do exist. Robert Entman (1995), as well as Rosellee Clawson and Rakuya Trice (2000), for example, have conducted studies of news images that provide an analysis of such visual data and suggest how these images may shape public understandings about poverty. However, beyond this relatively small selection of studies, very little research has significantly addressed the manner in which homelessness, as a social and discursive construction, is constituted vis-à-vis a consideration of images. Moreover, nearly no study does so with specific regard to the Canadian context (Remillard & Schneider, 2010). Overall, few studies systematically address the trends and frequencies of images of homelessness in the public sphere, and even fewer, if any, consider how images bolster or disrupt larger discourses surrounding the social meaning of homelessness. It is at this precise juncture that the current study is situated.

Such dearth of academic attention is somewhat surprising, considering that images of homelessness pose a particularly interesting case of inquiry. First, in a culture where the vast majority of people are stably domiciled, homelessness is a state of obvious

inequality and difference. An image of a homeless person is easily recognized as a document of disparity between those that have a home and those that do not have one. Second, unlike those who experience hardship as a result of environmental catastrophe, homelessness is attended by a tension between collective responsibility and personal culpability. Whereas the victims of an earthquake cannot easily be blamed for the earthquake, homeless people can be and often are held accountable for their situation. Images of homeless people thereby broach important questions about collective notions of social responsibility specifically in relation to populations viewed (partially) culpable for their inequitable state.

In order to address the complexity and uniqueness of such images, a particular theoretical approach must be adopted. The approach must recognize that images of homelessness are not merely unbiased reflections of an empirical world, but rather gain and transmit meaning within distinct discursive contexts. Furthermore, particular attention must also be paid to the various conventions, or systems of representation, that enable homelessness to be recognized and recognizable through particular images. That is to say, the analysis must also account for both the content and composition of images of homelessness.

Finally, although discourse and convention inevitably shape meaning, images must also be considered as existent within an interactive and performative social field. In other words, images must also be understood as unique communicative utterances that carry a distinctive promise of interlocution. The next chapter outlines in detail these three theoretical tenets and so lays the groundwork for the methodological approach.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY

As a growing interdisciplinary field of inquiry, visual studies considers the manner in which images function as important social and cultural nodes of meaning mobilization and play performative and communicative roles in the public sphere. Towards this end, visual studies theorists often interrogate the easily assumed commensuration between image and reality and hope to reveal how images bolster and/or disrupt longstanding social understandings. In general, these theorists complicate the seemingly “naïve” nature of images (the assumption that images are merely empirical reflections) and tend to reveal the existent social relations bound to the image.

Despite such general theoretical commonalities, visual studies does represent a wide field of inquiry. In order to focus the present discussion and better situate the study in the visual studies literature, a narrowed approach to the visual studies theoretical literature is outlined within this chapter. In particular, three central theoretical tenets that have structured this study are delineated and contextualized within contemporary visual research. Once outlined, the implications of these tenets, in terms of their import for a study of images of homelessness in the public sphere, are discussed.

In short, the three theoretical premises that have guided this research are: 1) the meaning of images are not merely a consequence of indexical depiction, but rather a result of social and discursive construction; 2) although interpretive agency cannot, and should not, be dismissed, particular “ways of seeing” or visual conventions and grammars shape what is and is not, (or can and cannot be), presented (or recognized) in images, and these conventions inevitably carry consequences for subjectivity and social relations; 3)

images can be understood as sites of social exchange and interaction, and have the potential to shape social action and notions about proper civic identities.

Images as social and discursive construction

Despite the seemingly apparent obviousness that photographic images function as excellent media for the communication of explicit proof, writers such as Anthony Enns (2007) and John Tagg (1989) have made clear that the use of photography as scientific and legal evidentiary representation was constructed through distinct discursive practices. Similarly, critics such as Allan Sekula (1982) and Victor Burgin (1982) insist that the meaning of any photograph is not derived from any intrinsic denotative “re-presentation of nature itself” (Sekula, 1982, p. 86). Such studies disrupt naïve notions that images mean what they depict; rather, the meaning of any image is always generated within specific contexts of social relations, and thus implicated in power dynamics.

Several important studies have utilized such theoretical insights to structure their approach to images and consider images as embedded within and constituent of larger discourses (formations of statements and representations that form specific types of knowledge). These analysts are interested in images as exemplar discursive articulations, or statements, locatable in larger histories and institutional practices. Images are not considered inherently meaningful, therefore, but gain meaning from and give meaning to these particular ways of knowing ourselves as subjects and the world around us. Moreover, since discourse structures our knowledge of our self and our social relations, discourse always determinably limits particular actions and enables others. In this way,

discourse is imbued with power. As understood in this context, power is not a force imposed upon subjects through repressive mechanisms, but rather power is embodied through the very ways subjects know themselves and experience their world. As such, the knowledge produced by discourse, as well as, the implicit restrictions such knowledge places on subjectivities and agency, are understandably easily taken for granted, naturalized, and assumed true. Thus, researchers interested in visual discourse, or visuality, tend to question how, when and where particular discursive formations emerge, how visual representations bolster or contest these discourses, and what effects and consequences discourse has on subjectivities and social agency. Researchers interested in criminality (Hall, 2009), pregnancy and race (Tapia, 2005), poverty (Twigg, 1992), global warming (Doyle, 2007), and aboriginality (Phillips, 2004; Margolis, 2004), have employed such analysis to uncover the mechanisms through which visual images are embedded within distinct discourses, thereby bolster or resist particular knowledges, and by extension, structure social actions and subject agency.

Other critics, however, insist that picturing practices are also as much about absence as presence, and in this sense, what is not visually present in images has an equally significant import, especially in relation to dominant understandings of marginal groups. As Robert Asen comments, “this tension between absence and presence in representation critically influences collective imagining by interacting with dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in public spheres to operate on participants and excluded others” (2002, p. 255). In his consideration of negative representations of poverty in the 1980s, he outlines how a specific dominant representation, “the welfare queen,” normalized the public image of poor women as decidedly negative and undeserving, a representation that

in turn justified policies of aid reduction and continued economic marginalization. Furthermore, he shows how this dominant representation served to limit the presentations of alternative subjectivities for poor women, making alternative framings unrecognizable in public and legal discourse. In other words, the visual discourse fixed and normalized the identity of poor women as “welfare queens” and, as such, restricted the capacity to recognize poor women as anything other than “welfare queens”. The regime of representation served both to naturalize and silence.

This capacity of images to fix identities is also of interest to scholars who consider how power is inscribed within the very act of looking. Specifically, Laura Mulvey (1989) and Franz Fanon (2006) each conceptualize the inscription of social power vis-à-vis images through an examination of specific picturing techniques that structure looking practices. These structures transform the ocular act of looking into the ideological act of knowing. Mulvey defines this act in relation to the look of men at women as “the male gaze.” Through the gaze, be it gendered, racist, or classist, the viewer is ascribed agency to possess and know; the viewed is relegated to passive objectified “other.” To modify a phrase from John Berger, one acts, the other appears (1972, p. 47). The gaze thereby reinforces and replicates social asymmetries such as patriarchy or racism, circumscribes identity within ideology, and embodies dominance or subjection through the very act of looking at certain people in certain ways.

Thus informed, a study of images of homelessness cannot take for granted that such images simply document the objective reality of homelessness within Canadian cities. Instead, the images must be situated in a wider discursive context, one that considers how homelessness (and poverty) have been historically understood, and how

homeless and poor individuals have been represented. In short, how have we come to recognize homelessness when we see it, and when we recognize homelessness, what knowledge about the subjectivity of homeless people do we mobilize?

Images as instances of dominant conventions of looking practices

Systems of representation are conventions of presentation and social imagining that reinforce and shape certain “ways of seeing” the world (Berger, 1972). How people, places, and things are typically spoken about, written about, and pictured, produce distinct consequences. For example, as the work of Stuart Hall (1997), Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins (1993), and Dana Cloud (2004) demonstrates, certain conventions of picturing racial “others” often function to naturalize particular dominant notions about race, which in turn, perpetuate and justify existent social inequalities, regimes of exploitation, or mechanisms of violence. Similarly, Michael DeLuca and Teresa Demo (2000), and Martin Berger (2005) have all considered how the canons of landscape photography normalize practices of expansive consumption and private ownership of the environment and environmental resources, and vindicate the colonial marginalization of aboriginal peoples. Likewise, Ruby Tapia (2005) and Lisa Cartwright (1995) show how public images of women bolster dominant notions of femininity, maternity, and the female body.

In this sense, the content and composition of images may also be understood as defined by particular dominant visual grammars (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). In their detailed and thorough book, *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*, Kress and

van Leeuwen (2006) lay out an important approach to understanding visual communication. The authors emphasize that visual representations are informed by a socially formed and culturally specific visual grammar. Visual grammar is defined as regularities in visual elements or compositional structures. These grammatical elements are understood to be socially derived, resultant of particular conventions of imaging, but nonetheless, within delineated social boundaries, clearly and nearly objectively observable. Therefore, and primarily, Kress and van Leeuwen set out to define these key compositional structures (for example, color, line, perspective) and investigate the impact of these structures on the meaning of visual representations. Critics such as Anders Hansen and David Machin (2008), have adopted this method to illuminate how visual representations of the environment, ruled by particular re-emphasized visual grammars, construct a specific sense of nature as enduring and separate from culture.

Dominant “ways of seeing” and picturing marginal groups (or that particular people should look - or be looked at - in particular ways) have a palpable influence on conceptualized subjectivities and social understandings, not just for dominant groups, but for individuals of marginal groups as well. Photo voice (people take pictures of their life) and photo-elicitation (people discuss their images) research, for example, offers insight into how participants make sense of their lived day-to-day contexts through picturing their world. This process aims to expose how individuals make meaningful connections between their “personal identities, local contexts, society, history and culture” (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007, p. 265). Inevitably, photo voice and elicitation illuminates the performative manner in which participants construct meaningful depictions of their own experiences and contexts. The image has meaning only insofar as it functions as an

artifact of dialogical practice, an ongoing effort of self-representation that is embedded in existent social relations.

Although photo voice and elicitation is rooted in a more anthropological and interactionist understanding of meaning making, the method often reveals how dominant systems of representation do influence and shape how people visually relate their own identity and lived environment. For example, in a photo voice and elicitation project conducted in England with homeless individuals (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007), a participant remarked that he had doubted his photos would be of interest to the researchers because they did not demonstrate the over-dramatized presentation of homelessness often depicted in the news and popular media. In other words, as the researchers concluded, “his efforts to represent his own lived experiences necessitated an engagement with the ways in which homeless people are represented by the media” (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007, p. 274). These findings indicate that although the meaning of images cannot, and should not, be considered only as the products of dominant systems of representation, those systems do indeed exist, have historical roots, and act as both restrictions and points of contention for meaning making processes.

A study of images of homelessness, thereby, must also consider to what extent particular conventions exist when picturing homeless people. Is there indeed a dominant grammar in the visual representation of homelessness? If so, what are the implied ramifications of such conventions on public understandings of homelessness and homeless people?

Images as a site of social interaction and civic performance

Other scholars of visual images have questioned the performative role of images in the social construction of both the public sphere and publics (Hariman & Lucaites, 2004; Finnegan & Kang 2004). Conceptualized as such, images are socially reflexive, for they become recognizable only within a particular public culture, and performative, for they express a range of normative and recognizable social action from which real social action is shaped and then embodied.

These more interactional and performative models of the processes of image meaning offer important insights into how images can be considered communicative utterances, and the manner in which such utterances may shape civic duty towards others. This approach to images constitutes the third and final theoretical premise from which the present research is informed, that is, images potentially function as communicative utterances and have the (theoretical) capacity to shape civic actions.

Such articulation, however, should not be confused with a more rhetorical (and ideological) understanding of the role of images in formation of social action. For John Grierson, for example, images in the form of documentary film function as instruments “which would crystallize sentiments in a muddled world and create a will toward civic participation” (Grierson, 1966, p. 18). If the material reality of the world was blurred through the ideological effects of popular media, Grierson argues, documentary film was a means through which that material reality, in what it truly was, could be clearly apprehended again by the public. Grierson outlines the intent of the art, “it was a desire to make a drama from the ordinary to set against the prevailing drama of the extraordinary:

a desire to bring the citizen's eye in from the ends of the earth to the story, his story, of what was happening under his nose" (Grierson, 1966, p. 18). Thus, because documentaries are constructed from the real, they are more real than fictive cinematic films, and because documentary constructs opinion and shapes perception, it can initiate open debate and social action for real change. Although Grierson speaks directly of filmic potential, photojournalism and documentary photography are easily understood to possess a similar capacity. In particular, the 1930s photographic project of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) is a prime example of the use of photojournalism for similarly defined pedagogical purposes (see Finnegan, 2000, Finnegan, 2003; Trachtenberg, 1988).

Similarly, Michael DeLuca and Jennifer Peebles (2003) offer a more contemporary discussion of the potential of images to foment positive social action. They develop the metaphor of the "public screen" as an alternative conceptualization of the public sphere in the age of mass communication, one that opens up the potential of photography to further political and social activism. Undergirded by the work of Jacques Derrida, particularly his criticism of dialogue as a form of logocentrism and his premise of communication as dissemination, the "public screen" re-conceptualizes mass media as a necessary component of the public sphere. In particular, as the term "public screen" implies, DeLuca and Peebles are interested in the use of images as mechanisms of public engagement and political activism.

The theoretical results of such visual activism, however, have been hard to determine. Substantially, the work of David Perlmutter (1998) considers precisely this link between photojournalism, public opinion, and political change. Perlmutter considers

a series of case studies, centered on iconic images of outrage (from the Vietnam War, Chinese Democracy Movement, and Somalia), and disseminated through photojournalism and news media. He questions whether or not such images indeed induced public debate and thus influenced foreign policy. His examination shows that the expected visual determinism to impact social change, as articulated by DeLuca and Peebles, is more discernible as unsubstantiated elite opinion and scholarly theorizing than measurable in historical data. The impact of images on public and policy is ambiguous. At best, images may stimulate public outcry and mobilization, and shape government policy, but only unpredictably so. Indeed, in a more quantitative investigation on reception, the impact of images on public opinion was demonstrated to be more reliant on textual framing than visual content (Domke, Perlmutter, Spratt, 2002). Rather than a consistent mechanism of activism, images are better understood as banal cultural products, embedded within and a result of modern media ecology and the news industry. As Perlmutter concludes, “while it is quite true that often individuals and sometimes governments are spurred to action by an image, it is more common that pictures only serve the machine of news production” (Perlmutter, 1998, p. 29).

Thus, although DeLuca and Peebles explicitly define the public screen as a model of communication and political engagement and believe images have the potential to generate public awareness, deliberation, and action in audiences (as does Grierson), the historical and empirical research of Perlmutter and his colleagues suggests, such assumptions about the visual determinism of images to persuade the public into positive public debate are, at the very least, problematic. In this sense, the “the public screen” offers little more than a hopeful (and seemingly inherently flawed) inversion of the

dominant and longstanding conceptualization of the power of images to influence and manipulate the public (Jay, 1993). In the end, the public screen seems merely a re-expression, albeit in a vocabulary of positive social change, of the presumed rhetorical, and ultimately, ideological impact of images.

Conversely, in an effort to consider the role of images beyond a means of (positive or negative) persuasion within the public sphere, Robert Hariman and John Lucaites (2003; 2007) draw upon a definition of the public as outlined by Michael Warner (2002). Warner seeks to disrupt the bourgeois ideal of an embodied, deliberative, and decisive public sphere by conceptualizing the public in distinctively discursive terms. According to Warner, a public is a discursively organized body of strangers, constituted by the act of being addressed, and maintained in the act of paying attention to that address. Moreover, a public is the "social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse" (Warner, 2002, p. 420). In other words, a public is only formed as an entity by means of the reflexive knowledge that the same texts are available to different people, at different times, and in different locations. Thus, the social interactive relation of the public sphere is not one of dyadic speaker-hearer, but of the enacted imagination of circulation.

Adopting a more discursive definition of the public allows Hariman and Lucaites to focus on how images (as a discourse) address, organize, and maintain the attention of an otherwise congeries of strangers, and thereby functions to constitute a public. How, they ask, do images define "the public through an act of common spectatorship" (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003, p. 36)? To address this central question, the authors outline

several formative theoretical assumptions about (photographic) images and their role in the public sphere.

First, and centrally, the authors define photographs as a unique form of public address. In fact, since any photograph “coordinates a number of different patterns of identification from within the social life of the audience,” photographs are better understood as the simultaneous expression of a variety of public addresses (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003, p. 38). Photographs, through these various discourses they mobilize, thereby have the potential to organize a range of different publics. Second, images, and specifically iconic photographs, attract and hold viewers’ attention because they are aesthetically arresting expressions of abstract forms of civic life, couched in the “vernacular signs of social membership” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 43). In other words, the concept of “patriotism,” for example, is voiced through the representation of the embodied act of raising a flag at Iowa Jima. The signification of the image is not literal, it does not express that this act alone constitutes “patriotism.” Rather, as a public address, it models a particular type of embodied action within a larger discourse of patriotism, and so organizes a patriotic public through that discourse. Third, photojournalist images inherently stimulate a reflexive acknowledgement of circulation within audiences, and consequentially, form the reflexive space needed to constitute a public. Photographs that are publicly disseminated are always of strangers situated in broader social contexts; they are not family photos displayed in private albums. In both their expressed circulation and their publicity of strangers “they provide a basis for the reproduction of and critical reflection on public culture” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 44). Finally, although iconic photojournalist images are held in circulation by media

elites, and are often appropriated for official displays, these ideological implications never completely overwrite the capacity of citizens to pay attention to images in alternative ways and for alternative purposes, or to not pay attention at all. Existent power inequalities are necessarily considered, but not wholly sufficient “for understanding how public address fulfills the interrelated functions of constructing public identity and motivating political behavior” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 48).

By conceptualizing images as a form of public address, and considering publics to be organized by visual discourse, Hariman and Lucaites are able to extrapolate a range of civic identities potentially mobilized and political actions theoretically enabled through the analysis of specific iconic photojournalistic images. Crucially, they do not reduce the role of images to ideological persuasion, although they acknowledge structural constraints on public identities and actions, nor do they eliminate the agency of audiences. Instead, images function as constituent elements of the public sphere, not merely ideological byproducts of structural apparatuses. Audience attention remains, at least in significant part, within the domain of volition, and so, subjectivity retains a degree of agency. Consensus, uncoupled from the regime of embodied statement-and-response, becomes more recognizably about collective imagining than vocalized debate. The organization of publics through reflexive discursive circulation, however, may also have much more restrictive consequences for subjectivities and political action than Hariman and Lucaites willingly concede. For instance, Rachel Hall (2009), in her thorough examination of the history of wanted posters, articulates how images of criminals, disseminated on posters, newspapers, and television news reports, generate a specific mode of spectatorship, one that organizes a public through a discourse of crime

and punishment. This public is constituted by so-called vigilante viewers, a subjectivity that at once concedes to act as an extension of public surveillance and is submissive to police and governmental authority. Further, such discursive organization of vigilante viewers into a distinct public has ancillary effects on individual and collective action: “including her voting record; attitudes regarding police work; ideas about guilt and innocence; imagined geography of safety and danger; and interactions with friends, relatives, and strangers” (Hall, 2009, p. 8). As Hall surmises, these political and social acts serve to reinforce the primacy of private property within society, entrench stricter social and physical separation between economic classes, and extend restrictions on public space and privacy. Hall thereby provides an instructive supplement to the work of Hariman and Lucaites, as her research demonstrates how particularly inequitable regimes of social control can be enabled (in arguably substantial part) through the constitution of publics vis-à-vis visual discourses.

In many ways, the capacity of mass mediated discourses (in this case photojournalistic images) to generate publics relies on a particular relay by which private acts of interpretation coalesce into public acts of civic behavior. In this theoretical frame, audiences, unlike those purported to exist in more ideologically focused investigations of the effects of images, are not predisposed to a limited range of interpretations. Rather, audiences interpret media texts (say, photographs) in specific localized and contextualized civic cultures. These interpretations, catalyzed by mass media, only generate publics through the interactive and performative acts of individuals, who thus publicly enact certain civic identities in the pursuit of certain political aims. As Peter Dahlgren states, “civic agency has an individual dimension, but its fruition is manifested

collectively, where a sense of ‘we’ emerges to form discursive publics and, beyond that, other forms of political participation” (2009, p. 101). In other words, it is in the performative use, not solely the receptive interpretation, of images that enable individual members of an audience to become the collective members of a public.

Moreover, if a congress of strangers becomes recognizable as a public through a reflexive acknowledgement of this shared co-presence, then a fundamental aspect of images of social issues, and marginalized people, is an ethical responsibility engendered by that recognition. Furthermore, “since photographs reflect and organize personal and public structures of concern,” photojournalism stands to play a particularly interesting role in this ethical dynamic (Sliwinski, 2004, p. 150). Not surprisingly, the ethical role of photography within the public sphere has garnered much critical attention. Most of this theorizing centers on images of atrocities (war, famine, disease, genocide). On the one hand, these images (and photojournalism that produces them) have been reviled as ethical anesthetics. In short, this argument maintains, “the shock of photographed atrocities wears off with repeated viewings” (Sontag, 1977, p. 20). On the other hand, photographs of suffering presume the existence of a civil space in which “photographers, photographed subjects, and spectators share a recognition that what they are witnessing is intolerable” (Azoulay, 2008, p. 18).

Regardless of whether or not one agrees that the denotative capacity of images is imbued with ideology, a photographic referent is undeniably “not the optionally real thing an image or a sign refers but the necessarily real thing which has been placed before the lens, without which there would be no photograph” (Barthes, 1981, p. 76). Perhaps this is the only consensual point of any photograph, and it provides photography with its

uniqueness as a communicative medium; a photograph always states “this-was-once.” Yet, at once a testimony to a particular presence, in a particular time, a photograph is also, inevitably, a display of “what is no longer there.” As Ulrich Baer outlines, “the suddenness of the punctuating flashbulb is always coupled with an equally strong emphasis on that instant’s pastness” (Baer, 2002, p. 7). For Barthes, the affective potency of a photograph is precisely the result of its ability to conjure a presence and an absence. A photograph is unfailingly, in some way, “the return of the dead” (Barthes, 1981, p. 9).

For critics such as Susan Sontag (1977; 2003) and John Berger (1980) this unsettling (uncanny) nature of photographs troubles the capacity of images to foment ethical behavior. Neither author denies the initial emotional impact of images of atrocity. For instance, Sontag provides an elucidating account of her own first encounter with such images, “for me, it was photographs of Bergen-Belsen and Dachau ... Nothing I have seen – in photographs or in real life – ever cut me as sharply, deeply, instantaneously” (Sontag, 1977, p. 20). Yet, the recognition of suffering is immediately punctuated by the recognition that this regard does nothing to alleviate. Again, as Sontag writes, “what good was served by seeing them? They were only photographs ... of suffering I could hardly imagine and could do nothing to relieve” (1977, p. 20). Similarly, Berger (1980) outlines that viewing images of suffering results in either one of two responses: despair or indignation. Despair, “takes on the other’s suffering to no purpose. Indignation demands action” (Berger, 1980, p. 28). Yet, as he continues, photographs of suffering forestall indignant action for two reasons. First, a photograph documents something that has already happened; literally no action can intervene. Second, images of agony depoliticize, “the picture becomes evidence of the general condition. It accuses nobody and

everybody” (Berger, 1980, p. 40). If an image of suffering engenders an ethical response, then it seems to do so in a manner that limits ethical action. Once action is frustrated, witnessing photographic suffering easily becomes voyeuristic, and once so cast transfixing and anesthetizing.

The argument that images of suffering merely transfix and anesthetize is deepened by the observable inclination of photojournalistic and news conventions to generate and distribute large quantities of these types of images within the public sphere, not to mention, the apparent public appetite for such images. Placed in our hands by newspapers or in our homes by television, the image of atrocity seems undeniably proximal and vivid. In many ways, these images do make the event appear more tangible to a spectator. Yet, after repeated exposure and hyper-mediation, the depictions inevitably “also become less real” (Sontag, 2003, p. 105). On the one hand, suffering is made less potently real through precisely the incessant spectacle of modern media, in the manner purported by theorists such as Guy Debord (1994). On the other, such suffering is made less real in that it neither occurs to “us,” nor are we implicated in its causes. The mediated presentation of suffering, although sensually proximal, is distanced from the viewer through a privileged position of witness. Enabled by our reflexive distance to atrocity, as facilitated by the image, sympathy insulates us from any ethical response or culpability. As Sontag concludes, “our sympathy proclaims our innocence as well as our impotence” (2003, p. 102).

Moreover, the very conventions of depicting atrocity may indeed lessen contemporary capacities to adequately respond to suffering in an ethical fashion. As Barbie Zelizer (1998) outlines, contemporary photojournalism relies heavily on a long

established atrocity aesthetic, one originally generated by photojournalistic images of the Holocaust. As she writes, “as soon as we see the agonized collectives of survivors and victims, gaunt faces behind barbed wire, vacant stares of the tortured, and accoutrements of torture, we recognize the atrocity aesthetic” (Zelizer, 1998, p. 204). Beyond the “eerie familiarity” this aesthetic lends to contemporary images from Rwanda, Cambodia, and Bosnia, it also marks a particular type of habituation that serves to distance image reception from ethical response.

At the close of World War II, the western press produced an immense amount of visual documentation that recorded the atrocities of the Holocaust. At the time, the images functioned as testimonials to the specific criminal and immoral acts of the Nazis. The horrific images served as evidence and justification for collective acts of retribution and punishment. However, as Zelizer’s historical research demonstrates, over time, the indexical quality of the images came to be replaced by a symbolic one. Further, as a reified set of these original images were remediated and re-circulated, they gained a new function as a collective mnemonic, but lost their original role as evidence of distinct and blameworthy acts of barbarity. In so doing, these images formed a particular cultural aesthetic of atrocity, one that continues to classify and categorize contemporary atrocities. The visual resonance of this convention enables the continued social memory of the Holocaust, but it also simultaneously disables political, legal, and social response to modern atrocities. As Zelizer states, “we may remember earlier atrocities so as to forget the contemporary ones” (1998, p. 27). From these theoretical positions, therefore, an unbreachable doubt exists that photojournalism can facilitate any sort of ethical relationship between self and other.

In an effort to recuperate an ethical potential for photojournalism, Sharon Sliwinski (2004) reconfigures several of these previously outlined assertions. Although she concedes that the current media ecology is one inundated with images of suffering, and that such images do not guarantee that suffering will be alleviated or avoided in the future, she does not consent that these facts produce a “tyranny of non-action” (Sliwinski, 2004, p. 150). Borrowing from Roland Barthes, Sliwinski claims images of suffering force a particular type of mental action, one Barthes labeled a “difficult labor” (Barthes, 1981, p. 65). A spectator of an image of atrocity is obliged to imagine the reality of the suffering depicted, but is constantly frustrated by the inability to do so. The image and the imagination fall short of the reality; “we are asked to look and to imagine their terror, but in this looking, [we] encounter [our] own failure to see” (Sliwinski, 2004, p. 249). Something within these images always defies signification. The failure to be able to fully determine, to fully know, the pain of others has an important reflexive effect on the viewer: it forces recognition of our own subjective position and recasts a gaze out from the image onto us. It is precisely through this recognition of co-presence that a civic space is broached, and the question of responsibility revived. A simple but profound question arises: “Why are they looking at me?”

Indeed, by taking this question seriously, Ariella Azoulay is enabled to rethink the “civic space of the gaze and the interrelations within it” (2008, p. 18). In particular, Azoulay considers images from Israeli and Palestinian intifada, and even more specifically, those images in which the subject of the photograph willingly and knowingly looks into the camera. Her work challenges the analytical focus of many critical visual culture scholars that circumscribe the discussion of photography to

photographers and spectators, and too easily assume the spectator's gaze situates and objectifies those within the photograph as objects (Mulvey, 1989; Sontag, 1977). Attention to the photographed subject, and its gaze out from the image, not only challenges the implicit passivity ascribed to those that have been photographed, but also undermines the conceptualization of an image as a closed event. The gaze of the photographed subject can only be insistent, a call for civic and social interaction, a protest for equality of citizenship within the public sphere. In turn, the spectator is no longer merely a witness of trauma, but an active agent of willful inclusion or exclusion, social acknowledgement or elision. The viewer must act, choosing to look or look away. The photograph is not an artifact, but a performative encounter.

These encounters are not commensurate with living communication, filled with complex and dynamic interrelations, yet that is precisely their import. Photojournalism, at its best, allows us to stare, but ethically so, and we only become "ethical starers by being conscious in the presence of something that compels our intense attention" (Garland-Thomson, 2009, p. 188). What photojournalism provides are these sights and subjectivities that have the "capacity to vivify human empathy" (Garland-Thomson, 2009, p. 188). Photojournalistic portraits take the victim of trauma out of the flux of live encounter, and deliberately stage a form of self-presentation, a visual performance of identity. Photojournalism, in this sense, can be considered as a form of visual activism.

According to Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, this type of visual activism has three distinct steps. First, visual activism utilizes the human compulsion to look at new, disturbing, and unusual things, to captivate the attention of viewers. Second, the subject of the image (and the photographer) reflexively utilizes appearance, situation, injury, loss

or agony, to present a deliberate self-disclosure. Subjectivity becomes a form of civil address for the restoration of justice. Last, the viewer is forced to act: to look is to acknowledge a sense of obligation, “to vote differently, to spend money differently, to build the world differently, to treat people differently, and to look at people differently” (Garland-Thomson, 2009, p. 193); to look away, is an act of collaboration in the perpetuation of injustice. In either case, visual activism punctuates spontaneous face-to-face relations into a deliberate presentation, disseminates a purposeful subjectivity to a mediated public, and forces the viewer to take action (either positive or negative). In both the agency of the subject of the photograph, and the agency of the viewer of the photograph, a civic space exists, one in which the opportunity of ethical action is engendered. Moreover, it is the performative use of the photograph (by the subject, the photographer, and the viewer) that also enables the image to mediate the formation of an ethical public. Images of homelessness, therefore, must also be considered as instances that resist, or at the very least, complicate dominant understandings of who is recognizably homeless.

Conclusion

Not only must discourses and conventions be investigated as important components that shape the meaning of images, but the potential of images to undermine these dominant framings and to act as performative instances of communication must also be analyzed. Each of these components must be accounted for and incorporated into the methodological approach of the current project. To do so, longstanding discourses

that inform contemporary notions of poverty and homelessness must be considered. So too must the trends and frequencies within the data be determined. Much of the analysis, therefore, will consist of quantitative and qualitative constituents. Finally, an image of homelessness, albeit informed by larger historical and institutional discourses, and presented within (or against) determinable visual conventions, must also be approached as a communicative utterance, a site potentially capable of an expansion (or indeed novel formation) of a more inclusive and ethical public, one capable of more just civic action. Images of homelessness may then put at risk understandings of homelessness that may serve to marginalize and isolate homeless individuals.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Taken together, the three theoretical tenets of the study, derived from various contemporary approaches to the investigation of images, demand a tripartite approach to images of homelessness. First, these images must be considered in terms of the larger historical and longstanding notions surrounding homelessness and poverty that inevitably inform how homelessness is visually recognized. Second, conventions of picturing homelessness must be critically considered to illuminate in what ways those grammars serve to inform our “ways of seeing” homelessness. Finally, despite the acknowledged regulative limitations imposed from both discourses and conventions, images of homelessness must also be considered as potential communicative utterances that may have the power to stimulate more inclusive publics and shape more ethical modes of civic action.

In addition, since the analytical focus of the study is the publicly circulated images of homelessness, the “recognizable” nature of these types of images must also be accounted for methodologically. Unlike more iconic studied images, a post-war kiss in Times Square or a depression era mother and her children, for example, which are in-and-of-themselves important cultural and historical assemblages of meaning (see Hariman & Lucaites, 2007; Finnegan, 2003), images of homelessness tend to be rather unremarkable and interchangeable. Not only are images of homeless people not (usually) aesthetically iconic, they are also not controversially noteworthy in the same way as are the specific images of Abu Ghraib (Anden-Papadopoulos, 2008) or Hurricane Katrina (Faux & Kim,

2006), for example. In other words, images of homelessness tend not to be iconic nor are they typically unique articulations of a specific atrocious or catastrophic event.

Yet, images of homelessness remain socially recognizable nonetheless. It is precisely this “seen-one-seen-them-all” quality, the “recognizability” of the images that makes them so valuable and unique to study. Arguably, the very “everydayness” of these images informs us a great deal about how we see or do not see people within marginal groups, about how those ways of seeing may inform our assumptions about social issues, and about how we conceptualize our roles and responsibilities in relation to marginal groups within our society (what we may or may not feel obliged to do about social inequity or what we consider may be a proper response to homelessness).

Thus conceptualized in terms of both theoretic and analytic focus, a methodological approach was developed that consisted of several overlapping processes. First, the types and frequencies of images associated with homelessness in Canadian news media were established through a content analysis of news images selected from *The Vancouver Sun*, *The Calgary Herald*, and *The Toronto Star*. Images were gathered from these publications for the five year period of 2005-2009, using a key-word search of “homeless” and “homelessness.” Second, in addition to general content codes (for example, subject, gender, ethnicity, and image setting), images were also considered in terms of picturing conventions (for example, camera angle and depth-of-field). Both the content and convention codes were developed inductively and employed in an iterative process. In other words, as new codes emerged, previously coded images were reconsidered and recoded in an cyclical procedure. Third, once coded, the data was analyzed through the use of a statistical software package (SPSS) to locate determinable

trends in both content and convention. These trends, in turn, were then thematically assembled and these determined themes contextualized in relation to larger longstanding understandings related to homelessness, as determined through secondary research. Finally, using the same coding schema developed for the news images, images produced by homeless individuals, and published by the charitable organizations Hope in Shadows and the York Region Alliance to End Homelessness, were analyzed. Trends in this data were again determined using SPSS and then compared with those already derived from the news sources data. A comparative analysis of these representational trends was then conducted examining the extent to which alternative picturing practices potentially enabled images of homelessness to better function as inter-subjective utterances and expand both inclusion and citizenship status for homeless people.

An important exemption from analytic focus exists within the above outlined method, no investigation into the productive contexts of the images was conducted. Undoubtedly editorial decisions, selection procedures, and professional expectations limit the range and expression of professional photojournalists (Wright, 2004). Similarly, participants in photo voice projects are also limited by perceived, or imposed, limitations on their photographic expressions (Hodgetts, Chamberlain & Radley, 2007). Despite the existence of such limitations, once produced and disseminated, images gain an undeniable public currency. While productive context is important in the determination of why certain images exist, such investigations say very little about how images forward or disrupt particular longstanding understandings about poverty and homelessness within the public sphere. Thus, while the study does acknowledge the importance of institutional sources of cultural products, such contexts will not be the focus of the current study.

Methodological Precedence

The content and composition of images are the most readily available and obvious locations from which to study images. Much visual research has typically employed a primarily interpretive qualitative method that focuses on the image and tasks the critic to decipher and translate the gestalt of the image into a systematic reading of significant component visual elements. What elements are identified as important and what conclusions are reached are variously defined depending upon the specific theoretical perspective of the critic and their analytical aims.

For example, the content and compositional elements of images may be analyzed as rhetorical expressions and measured in terms of persuasive effectiveness (Foss 1994, Peterson, 2001). In these studies, the researcher considers the manner in which images are synergies of rhetorical components such as enthymeme (Finnegan, 2005) or ideograph (Cloud, 2004). Through delineating these rhetorical components, the critic thereby exposes a particular visual argument. Considered as persuasive arguments, pictures constitute the context in which “politics takes place” (DeLuca & Demo, 2000, p. 242). Thus, images are considered as a form of persuasive address and their content analyzed in terms of rhetorical composition.

Images may also be read as composed of signs and considered to expose larger cultural myths (Barthes, 1973; Barthes, 1977). This semiological approach to images examines how the apparent denotative connection between visual sign and real world referent, gains a larger cultural signification as myth. The method is composed of two

interrelated interpretive steps. The first details the “meaning” of an image: its apparentness and expression of a specific time and location, its indisputable denotation. The second step outlines how this first order “meaning” becomes a second order “form.” As a form, the image loses its specificity of denotation, becomes distanced from its determinable contingency and historicity, and instead stands-in-for or represents an enduring truth, or cultural myth. In this manner, the method exposes how the image naturalizes ideology, as the denotative and natural quality of an image is shown to hide (and sustain) the constructed and cultural qualities of myth.

In a related manner, but more cognizant of the possibility of negotiated meanings by various social agents, the image may be considered expressive of cultural codes and understood as a site of ideological influence and resistance (Hall, 1973). From this perspective, since images are produced within distinct social, institutional, and political settings, they are also thus ordered, imprinted, or encoded with particular meanings that serve to naturalize existent social and economic relations and inequalities. These dominant codes are “forms of social knowledge, derived from the social practices, the knowledge of institutions, the beliefs and the legitimations which exist in a diffused form within a society, and which order that society's apprehension of the world in terms of dominant meaning-patterns” (Hall, 1973, p. 176). In this sense, images are ideological. However, since all codes are also polysemous, social agents may indeed decode, (interpret) images in a manner that undercuts the institutional, socio-economic, or political order imprinted upon them.

Thus, a critic engaged in a critical reading of images often engages in a three-step method of interpretation. The first outlines the dominant reading of the image. The

second exposes the manner in which this preferred reading reinforces existent social relations and inequalities. The third considers the possibility of alternative readings, which serve to undercut the hegemony of the dominant reading. Although Anna Szorenyi, (2006) uses different terminology than Hall, she conducts a critical analyses and close reading of the documentary photograph as a specific code that serves to reinforce dominant notions of the western subject (as capable of action and agency) and the refugee subject (as defined by victimhood and passivity). She also relates how certain images do hold the potential to allow for an alternative reading, for the pictured refugees to gain a voice and speak for themselves, and thus disrupt the logic of voiceless victimhood.

Finally, the image content may be read from the perspective of psychoanalytical symbolism and used to explain the formation of subjectivity and “otherness.” Perhaps most notably, Laura Mulvey (1989) focuses on the visual content and composition of film to outline the gendering and gendered nature of filmic experience. Mulvey outlines how camera position, points of view, the spatial organization and orchestration of looks between actors and actresses, and the identification of the audience (both male and female) with the male actor’s point of view, function to construct a voyeuristic male gaze and a scopic regime that defines men as active subject and relegates women to passive object (see also Berger, 1972).

However, in an effort to avoid methodological reliance on what may seem subjective practice, analysts have adopted more quantitative and systematic approaches to the study of images. These researchers conduct coded content analysis of large number of images, sampled over significant durations of time (see Grady, 2007; Wardle, 2007). This

methodological approach thereby aims at circumventing two common criticisms leveled against more purely interpretive analysis: 1) the reliance on seemingly idiosyncratic, impressionistic, and conveniently small samples, 2) the untested and tautological nature of interpretative conclusions. Instead, content analysis attempts to forward replicable and valid conclusions based on “how an interpretation fares when weighed against a sizeable body of evidence” (Grady, 2007).

Although visual content analysis is reliant on quantitative data that may seem to reduce the richness of images to countable elements, proponents and practitioners of the method often explicitly acknowledge that such research does not preclude nor replace qualitative insights. Rather, content analysis offers to reveal and demonstrate observable trends, conventions, and associations in visual representations that may otherwise go overlooked by research focused to closely on a small selection of images. Furthermore, once coded, tabulated, and analyzed, many content analyses are supplemented with qualitative discussions of sample images and interpretative conclusions that bridge the data to larger social, cultural, and discursive contexts (for example, see Griffin 2004; Faux & Kim, 2006).

Most notably, the work of Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins (1993) is indicative of this type of research. The authors draw on their extensive coding and quantitative analysis of images in the National Geographic to make important interpretive conclusions about Western notions of non-Western people. Considering a range of codes (from the use of color, portraiture, and facial expression, to the pictured use of tools, location, and clothing of featured subjects) Lutz and Collins draw several quantitative and qualitative conclusions. Most notably, non-Western subjects are pictured as exotic, generally happy,

and although industrious, evolutionarily primitive and close to nature. In this way, they conclude, the National Geographic reflects domestic ideologies more than non-Western realities.

More recently, scholars such as Jessica Fishman and Carolyn Marvin (2006) further show how the content analysis of images is fruitfully supplemented by qualitative analysis and conclusions. These authors consider 678 non-captioned front-page photos, randomly selected between 1976 and 1991. Each image was coded for either “violent” or “non-violent” action, and those coded “violent” were further coded according to agent (US national, or non-US national) and according to type of violence (explicit, latent, dramatic). Through such analysis, Fishman and Marvin concluded that non-US agents were more frequently represented committing explicit acts of violence. However, the authors also claim, “there were more subtle gradations within our sample that our content analysis did not capture” (Fishman & Marvin, 2006, p. 36). Thus, through a complementary interpretive discussion of several case study images, the researchers further qualify their observed trend by claiming representations of explicit violence by non-US agents “displayed a drama and intensity rarely matched in images of US agents” (Fishman & Marvin, 2006, p. 37). Again, as with Lutz and Collins, Fishman and Marvin conclude that such images reflect a domestic discourse (in this case of American temperance and restraint), much more than an objective depiction of non-Western peoples.

Thus far, the discussion of content analysis has focused on studies that consider a more holistic apprehension of image content, for example, acts of violence, traditional clothing, gender, age. However, critics also count and analyze visual elements within

images. Researchers such as Philip Bell and Marko Milic (2002), for example, have demonstrated the potential use of grammatical elements defined by theorists such as Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) to provide the basis for empirical content analysis. As Bell and Milic write, “methodologically, this presupposes that visual semiotics concepts can be defined as variables in which discrete values are distinguishable and that these can be operationally defined to allow reliable observations” (Bell & Milic, 2002, p. 212). Indeed, Bell and Milic derive codes from such visual elements as directional gaze, framed distance, and vertical angle, and apply these codes to nearly 700 advertisement images. The distinct advantage of this approach over more general coding categories is the capacity to differentiate subtleties of presentation such as “a seductive model framed in long-shot addresses the viewer differently from the same model with the same expression framed at ‘close-personal’ distance” (Bell & Milic, 2002, p. 220). Thus, the application of more minute coding procedures offers insights into visual trends and meanings that are not determinable through more conventional content counts.

Anders Hansen and David Machin (2008) use a similar method of content analysis to broach a broader consideration of discourse, and implicitly, therefore, power. Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault (1977), Hansen and Machin define discourse in a similar manner as used within this study. Discourse functions as those societal and institutional means through which we come to know ourselves, the world, and our place in the world. Also, since discourse shapes social interaction, discursive meaning is always in some way implicated in power. As Hansen and Machin question, “what kind of world is being created by texts and what kinds of inequalities, interests might this seek to perpetuate, generate or legitimate” (Hansen & Machin, 2008, p. 780)? Accordingly,

Hansen and Machin code the determinable characteristics of 600 image-bank images related to environment and climate change, and link the thematic trends of these codes to longstanding understandings of human-environment interaction. In conclusion, the authors claim that the images serve as bolstering annunciations of an expansionist and consumerist discourse.

Thus drawing on the work of Lutz and Collins (1993) and Fishman and Marvin (2006), as well as, Bell and Milic (2002) and Hansen and Machin (2008), the following study attempts to provide 1) a quantitative analysis of the types and frequencies of images associated with homelessness in the Canadian press, 2) a qualitative analysis that links the determinable thematic trends observed in the data to larger longstanding discourses related to homelessness, and to do so, may discuss the compositional or content specifics of particular images, and 3) a comparative analysis of both a quantitative and qualitative nature that considers whether alternative picturing practices (as documented in activist images of homelessness) may expand the discourses more dominantly associated with homelessness.

Data Sample and Selection

The keywords “homelessness” and “homeless” were used to search news stories of *The Calgary Herald*, *The Toronto Star*, and *The Vancouver Sun* for the time period of 2005-2009. Although a wide variety of media representations of homelessness have received critical attention (Min, 1999), newspaper stories continue to be an important focus for scholars interested in the manner in which homelessness is socially constructed

(Remillard & Schneider, 2010; Ritcher et al., 2010; Schneider, 2012). Moreover, despite a growing expansion of communicative media, newspapers remain a valuable source of information for Canadians. Indeed, according to a leading research agency, newspaper readership in Canada continues to expand, and “15 million adults read a daily newspaper or visited a newspaper website each week” (NADbank, 2010).

The three specific publications under investigation were chosen for several reasons. First, each of the newspapers have the highest circulation with their respective provinces (newspaperscanada.ca). Second, Calgary, Toronto, and Vancouver (arguably) represent three of most economically and politically influential cities in English speaking Canada. Third, although homelessness is recognized as a national issue, responses to homelessness tend to be designed and implemented at a local municipal level. A consideration of local news coverage, in comparison to an analysis of national coverage, enables a more contextualized and comparative approach. Overall, therefore, the study hoped to gain an understanding of homelessness that was both significant and national in scope, but that also did not lose sight of distinctive contextual details and differences.

The time period of 2005-2009 was also chosen strategically. First, as outlined in the methodological section, the non-iconic nature of images of homelessness demands a broader and more objective approach to image selection. Sampling images gathered from an inclusive search, and from an extended period of time, enabled the analysis to be less restricted than if based solely on subjectively selected images, and as a result, better support broader conclusions. Second, in each of the cities, the time period of 2005-2009 was marked by several important developments in terms of homelessness. In Calgary, it was during this period that the Calgary Homeless Foundation partnered with the City and

launched Canada's first 10-year plan to end homelessness. In Toronto, subsequent to the 2004 controversy surrounding the eviction of squatters from under the Bathurst Street Bridge, the City also commenced a new program to address homelessness. The initiative called Street to Homes Program, specifically aimed at eradicating street homelessness in the Toronto metropolitan area. In Vancouver, the time period marked the final few years of municipal preparations for the 2010 Olympics. The Olympics were used as lighting-rod for many anti-poverty groups to highlight economic and social inequality existent within Vancouver. Thus, in each municipal setting, the time period of 2005-2009 was one in which homelessness, and the activist, municipal, and organizational responses to homelessness, made consistent and important news.

From 2005-2009, 1480 newspaper stories (from the selected publications) used the words "homeless" or "homelessness" and also included images. From this complete set of news-stories, two consecutive weeks of each month within the 5-year period were randomly selected for analysis. Through this process, 934 news-stories were sampled. In the process of collection, however, some of the stories were deemed irrelevant or off-topic, perhaps using "homeless" to refer to a touring band or relocated business, for example. Thus, after these stories were removed, a total of 765 images finally composed the data set. Images were saved as electronic files, imported to iPhoto, coded and inputted into SPSS.

Development of Coding Schema

Codes were developed inductively through a process of open coding (Elo & Kyngas, 2007, p. 109). Unlike deductive coding, which employs preconceived categories based on extant knowledge or intended analytical focus, inductive coding relies on the analyst to approach the data with a purposeful and reflexive naïveté. The method operates through an iterative process of open coding, where new codes arise based on variances in the data and are subsequently employed (where applicable) to previously coded material. New codes and variables within codes were developed until saturation was reached – at such time, no new codes were observable despite the consideration of new data. In all, 36 different codes were developed. Care was taken to develop coding variables and values that could be defined in terms of one principle feature of representation. Some codes were relatively unproblematic to delineate. For example, subjects were coded in terms of “posture,” which recorded three different values, whether or not the subject was “sitting,” “standing,” or “lying.” Other codes, however, were subjective in nature, and demanded even more clearly defined definitions and criteria for values. For example, subjects were also coded according to “facial expression,” a classification that determined the expression of a subject as one of three values, “positive,” “neutral,” or “negative.” For the sake of the code, “positive” was defined as explicitly smiling, whereas “negative” was defined as explicitly crying or cringing with pain. Thus, although subtleties of emotion, for example “frustration” or “boredom” were lost because of these restricted definitions, the code did gain a reliable functionality and provided a measure of how many subjects were pictured in extreme emotional states. Importantly, the code, thus

defined, was also able to be applied with a minimum of interpretive judgment on the part of the coder.

In addition to codes such as “posture” or “expression” that related more to the explicit content of the images, codes were also developed that regarded the visual grammar of the images. These codes included aspects of the image such as “camera angle,” “level of focus,” “exposure,” “depth of field,” and “fields of vision.” Again, as with the content derived codes, an attempt was also made with the visual grammar codes to delineate each element in terms of definable values that were both isolatable and mutually exclusive of each other. In so doing, the coding schema was developed so that it could be applied in both a reliable and replicable manner. Toward this end, both intra and inter-coder reliability tests were also conducted. Working with a second coder, agreement was measured to be between 90-95%. Similarly, when working alone, intra-coder reliability was measured week-over-week to have a similarly high level of agreement.

From Content to Discourse

Certainly, content analysis alone reveals very little about how meaning is ascribed to images by audiences. Predictions about how audiences may be influenced by texts (visual or linguistic) are thereby difficult to support through the employment of content analysis. However, content analysis does provide an important insight into what types of images, subjects, and settings are visually salient in relation to a particular issue such as homelessness. In this sense, the statistical analysis of the data used for this study was

largely descriptive. This type of content analysis determines the existence of measurable visual associations, or trends of representation, that are observably manifest in the data.

For example, content analysis can illuminate how often particular subjects are pictured in particular ways and in particular places. These assemblages, for example, that homeless subjects are more likely than non-homeless subjects to be pictured alone, or that homeless subjects are more likely than non-homeless subjects to be pictured receiving donated goods, should not be, and cannot be, interpreted to reflect a material reality: that homeless people are more alone, or that they do receive more donated goods. Nor can such observations be used to determine, with generalizable certainty, how unique viewers understand or value what is pictured. In other words, content analysis cannot be used as a tool to measure the meaning of such visual associations for any distinct viewer.

On the other hand, when these visual associations are contextualized within broader discourses related to homelessness (or, phrased differently, systems of knowing what homelessness is, who homeless people are, and what should be done about homelessness), valuable insight is gained into the extent to which images of homelessness serve to bolster or disrupt socially prevalent meanings related to homelessness. As assemblages of social knowledge, and not mere empirical reflections of reality, the visual associations manifest in images of homelessness, and measured by content analysis, reveal how more (macro) discursive formations do indeed find expression through distinct (micro) textual instances. Moreover, since discourses (systems of knowledge) shape social relations, subjectivities, and institutional processes, content analysis will always express a relevance beyond the mere quantification of what is descriptively manifest in the images studied. Content analysis has the potential to

reveal the prevalence of distinct systems of representation, systems which may serve to normalize or challenge existent power relations.

To do so, however, an analytic segue from content to discourse must be facilitated through interpretive work. Thus, in terms of the methodic practice of this study, the metrics of the content analysis of images of homelessness are consistently linked and embedded to larger histories and cultural contexts that inform how homelessness is socially known in contemporary Canada. To assist this analytic segue, a qualitative analysis of specific and exemplary images was also conducted. Such analysis, guided by a similar employment of qualitative work performed by researchers such as Lutz and Collins (1993), for example, serves to demonstrate with more specificity and subtlety how particular social meanings find expression vis-à-vis distinctive image modalities.

From Structures to Agency and Alternation

Finally, so as not to over-cast the influence of discursive and conventional structures on the formation of social meaning, part of the analysis looks to understand how individual agents engage with these larger structural resources as they picture the circumstantial realities of their own individual lived contexts. Toward this analytic goal, a supplementary data set was created. 123 images were gathered from photo voice projects coordinated by two charitable organizations, the York Region Alliance to End Homelessness (York Alliance) in York, Ontario, and Hope in Shadows, in Vancouver, British Columbia. These projects were both conducted within the same 5-year time

period as the newspaper data and both used images taken by homeless people (or in some instances, taken of homeless people by individuals of low income communities).

As a methodology, “photo voice” research was first pioneered by documentary ethnographers to enable researched subjects the opportunity to document their identities (Ziller, 1990). Subsequent employment of photo voice research has broadened to include investigations into how individuals understand and interpret their lived-contexts (Dodman, 2003). Largely motivated by an acknowledgement that the language research often structures and guides participant responses. Theoretically, photo voice provides a methodology that blurs the line between research and researched and thus enables the research to be guided more by the agenda of the participant than the researcher.

Although neither the Hope in Shadows nor the York Region Alliance to End Homelessness projects were, in this sense, photo voice research, each intended to broaden the public understanding of homelessness through the provision of a platform for personal expression that would otherwise be less available for the participants. In this sense, the subject-generated images of each of the projects shared a fundamental theoretical underpinning with photo voice methodology: “photographs act as tangible resources helping research participants tell a narrative about themselves that retains a concrete sense of social and personal context” (Johnsen, May & Cloke, 2008, p. 195). Thus, although “subject-generated” is perhaps a more accurate description of the Hope in Shadows and York Alliance images, the term “photo voice” will be used throughout the thesis as it captures the connection between photography and agency that is central to the motivation of both projects.

Unlike the newspaper data, the supplementary photo voice data was coded both deductively, using the previously established codes developed for the newspaper data, and inductively, as distinctive picturing practices were noted in the new data set. These new codes were then applied to a numerically comparable subset of the previously coded newspaper data to enable a relative analysis of the distinctions and similarities between the data.

Although seemingly supplementary, the photo voice data did provide an essential expansion to the study. The comparative analysis broadened the theoretic purview of the study in two ways. Not only did the comparison question in what ways homeless individuals act with agency over their own representational subjectivity, but it also opened a discussion about the capacity of images to function as communicative utterances that may shape more inclusive and equitable communities. In this manner, as Jacques Derrida articulates, “the supplement [found] itself in the privileged position of providing a re-appropriated presence, it exists in order to create a new whole” (Derrida, 1976, p. 145). Phrased more social scientifically, the comparative analysis provided an observable metric from which consider a central communicative dynamic about agency and meaning making, that is, “while practice is ineluctably local, it is selectively fed by and selectively draws from what is immediately and more broadly available” (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, p. 122).

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the methodological approach provides a depth of analytical rigor and triangulation. Each of the analysis chapters commence with a discursive contextualization related to a specific longstanding societal conceptualization of poverty and homelessness. Next, findings from the content analysis are investigated in relation to this outlined discursive context. Throughout, qualitative and interpretive insights are used to punctuate, broaden, and deepen the integration of discursive contextualization and content analysis through the consideration of indicative or exemplary images. Finally, the last analysis chapter expands upon the findings of the first two investigative chapters and provides insight into how images of homelessness can function as performative and communicative utterances. To begin, however, the next chapter explores one of the most longstanding discourses associated with poverty, the dichotomy of “deserving” and “undeserving” poor.

CHAPTER 5: DESERVING AND UNDESERVING POOR

This chapter considers to what extent, and in what ways, the visual representation of homelessness in contemporary newspapers manifests a more or less “deserving” or “undeserving” image of homelessness. Overall, several representational trends detected in the data indicate that the prevalent visual presentation of homelessness in newspaper images aligns homelessness with the “undeserving” poor. In so doing, homelessness is reconfigured as a consequence of personal choice or deficiency rather than of structural limitations or factors. Interestingly, unlike the images of homelessness discussed in Chapter 6, the representations of homelessness as either “deserving” or “undeserving” varied noticeably from publication to publication. Therefore, to highlight both the consistencies and differences in these representations, the following analysis compares the trends of each of the three newspapers.

The association of homelessness with personal character and not economic marginalization carries distinct consequences for homeless individuals, some of which include heightened stigmatization and further marginalization. Moreover, as will be outlined in Chapter 6, the reification of homelessness from a systemic issue into one of personal incapacity has a particularly important impact on social responses to the issue. Namely, the more homelessness is considered a consequence of personal and individual causes, the more responses are designed to provide corrective or punitive solutions.

Leonard Feldman (2004) articulates that homelessness tends to be socially understood along two axes. On one axis, homelessness is positioned in terms of a spectrum ranging from the profane to the sacred. On the other axis, homelessness is

positioned in terms of choice, between those that seemingly choose homelessness as a lifestyle, and those that are homeless due to circumstances beyond their control. Stephen Pimpare similarly phrases this cultural trend in terms of a historical distinction between the “honest” and “dishonest” poor: those who suffer poverty as a submission to God, and those that are poor as punishment for a moral failing (Pimpare, 2008, p. 8). Although their expressions of the categories are slightly different, both the findings of Feldman and Pimpare exemplify the existence of a longstanding social distinction between the “deserving” and “undeserving” poor, between those that are willfully poor and those that are poor due to no fault of their own. The dichotomy shapes collective understandings of and responses to poverty, and by extension, homelessness.

Although research has demonstrated how contemporary news practices replicate the division between the “deserving” and “undeserving” poor, such research tends to be focused on textual representations (Klowdasky et al., 2001; Schneider et al., 2010). In complement to these studies and working with inductively developed and employed codes, the following analysis determines several basic observable representational trends in the visual presentation of homelessness in each of the three targeted newspapers. First, the analysis focuses on the demographic statistics within the visual data and questions how these trends serve to emphasize or silence particular demographics when picturing homeless people. Several conjectures are offered about how the detected demographic biases may shape the picture of homeless people as more or less deserving. Next, the analysis again draws upon perceptible trends in the practices of picturing homeless people in each of the newspapers and determines several distinctive representational conventions. Arguably, these conventions function as a visual label that denotes, or

makes visually recognizable, a “homeless” subject. Drawing upon social scientific research on public opinion about homelessness, stigma, and social distance, the analysis again questions whether or not the conventions of news photographs that serve to visually label a “homeless” subject can be considered to forward a “deserving” or “undeserving” image of homeless people. Prior to such discussion, however, a more detailed overview of the discursive lineage of the categories of “deserving” and “undeserving” poor is delineated.

The Discursive Context: The “Deserving” and “Undeserving” Poor

From the early 1980s onwards, as a new type of poverty became more and more prevalent in North America, and as the number of people without stable and affordable housing grew, the term “homeless” began to gain discursive resonance. Originally, as Celine-Marie Pascale points out, the term “homeless” was used by both journalists and politicians to distinguish between the stereotypically white, alcoholic vagrant of skid row and the newly de-housed poor. These new “homeless” people were largely characterized as victims of structural and policy changes - families and otherwise hard-working individuals temporarily displaced by forces beyond their control. As Michael Katz surmised, the homeless of the early 1980s were discursively constructed as the new “deserving” poor (Katz, 1989, p. 192).

If the term “homeless” had originally referred to a class of poor people deserving of support, such distinction was short lived. As the decade progressed, homelessness became decreasingly communicated as a result of structural causes, and increasingly

presented as a result of personal deficiency. Indeed, as Pascale concludes, “shortly after the new homeless had emerged in public discourse, they became relegated to the ranks of the old poor—people held personally responsible for their poverty” (Pasale, 2005, p. 256). How was such a discursive shift from “deserving” to “undeserving” poor achieved, and how was the cause of homelessness so easily reframed from structural to personal factors?

In part, the shift was a result of pronouncements from civic, state, and national politicians who began in the late 1980s to consistently describe homelessness in the explicit terms of personal deficiency – be it, addiction, mental illness, or lack of personal motivation. Mainstream media also played an important role, as reportage on homelessness frequently reinforced a personal deficiency rationale for those labeled homeless (Bogard, 2003). However, beyond the declarations of politicians and media commentary, the tendency to blame homeless people for their plight has a much deeper and longstanding discursive lineage.

Indeed, although the term “homeless” was a novel discursive manifestation, the categorization of poor people into “deserving” and “undeserving” has been amazingly resilient. For example, according to Tom Nichols (2007), in fifteenth century visual representations of poverty, the poor were considered central components of the sacred fabric of society. Representations of the poor were often integrated into the architecture of doorways, church porches and vestibules, bridges, and archways of the urban environment. Framed in the morality and symbolism of Christianity, the poor were necessary components of society; they deserved assistance and, although relegated to a lowly social position, were afforded a degree of respect and dignity as nominally sacred

figures. However, in the sixteenth century, accelerated proto-capitalist processes (namely private land enclosures and shifts in agricultural practices) generated a new type of poverty. Unlike the genuine, sturdy, local poor, who were traditionally depicted through sanctifying association, the new, transient, and disingenuous poor were imaged in parodic fashion. In other words, between the fifteenth and sixteenth century, a representational shift occurred, one that clearly divided the deserving from the undeserving poor, and substituted a measure of economic resources with a measure of character.

Similarly, during the rise of industrialization and the subsequent growth of cities during eighteenth century America, an increasing number of agricultural workers were dislodged from traditional communities and employment. By the 1870s, safeguards against unemployment associated with pre-industrial labor and ways of life had all but disappeared in the northern states, where the majority of the population “were now wage earners who did not own productive property and who encountered their employers in relations of the market rather than paternalist authority” (Despastino, 2003. p. 10). Furthermore, the dissolution of civil war armies, the development of a comprehensive rail-system, the precarious and unreliable nature of stable industrial wage labor, and the promise and existence of various seasonal jobs in different regional locations, created and sustained a highly mobile, largely male, migrant workforce. The so-called tramp had been born. However, as Tim Cresswell points out, since social definitions and categories shape ways of acting on those who are being defined, “being a tramp meant far more than simply being called one” (2001, p. 86).

Indeed, despite the distinct structural changes that generated an impoverished, seasonally employed, sporadically housed, and highly transient class, tramps were neither

defined in terms of economic status nor unemployment. Rather, tramps often represented a deviant alternative to ordered modernizing industrial labor. The tramp stood as proof that “living and labor are not interchangeable terms” (Hopper, 1993, p. 116). As a force of unruly labor, tramps empirically embodied an undeniable failure of modern industrial and economic structures to incorporate all able bodies into the work force. As Despastino claims, “tramps stood at the center of a swirling vortex of concerns about the new corporate industrial order coming into being after the Civil War” (2003, p. 4). Nevertheless, such empiricism was ideologically difficult to reconcile and highly unsettling, especially in the burgeoning industrial economy. If tramps were recognized as a symptom of a systemic failure of capitalism to provide financial security for all, then what protected others from the same fate? It was against this backdrop of deep ambiguity and trepidation about the newly forming industrial system, and the insecurity it generated for all members of the working class, that the tramp was recast as a dissenter, idler, and dropout. The difference between tramps and the working classes was then easily definable; it was clearly a division between the willfully unemployed and the willfully employed.

Thus framed as idle and unmotivated laborers, tramps clearly were defined as undeserving poor. Consequentially, these homeless, unemployed, and transient individuals were subjected to various forms of control and discipline. As media scholar Susan Moeller concludes, turn of the century acts of representing and defining the poor as deserving or undeserving were themselves inherently “attempts by the dominant power groups to impose order and control on the ‘other half’” (Moeller, 2004, p. 12). More overt forms of discipline, however, were carried out under the auspices of individual

reform and social protection. Through these measures, being able-bodied and homeless was increasingly defined as explicitly criminal.

Furthermore, as the academic discipline of sociology formalized, a growing number of inquiries into urbanization began to produce and entrench a particular type of poverty knowledge. Premised on objectivist methods and naturalistic models of modernization, such research explained poverty as an inevitable by-product of industrialization. Poverty was thus integrated into the social and industrial fabric, the social ecology, of contemporary urban society. This poverty knowledge left unexamined a central assumption about the inevitability and tautology of industrial progress and social modernization, and so, recast questions of economic disparity in terms of social disorganization, personal culpability, and cultural lag.

Social scientific research after World War II complimented the notion that the poor could be understood in terms of identity and culture by drawing attention to the psychological effects and consequences of poverty. These studies, “wanted to separate the poor into groups defined by their psychology and behavior” (Katz, 1989, p. 31). Research focused on the internalized and particularly debilitating psychological and cultural habits of the poor, and hypothesized that these habits, as reproduced through individual actions, were transmitted within families and communities. Even in the 1960s, as social scientific research became more quantitative and focused on economic modeling, theories of human capital continued to investigate and document the specific deficiencies in human capital that made the poor, poor. Thus, in the 1980s when “the homeless” made its discursive debut, nearly a century of knowledge had been generated

that conceptualized poverty in terms of personal pathology and that distanced the relevance of economic conditions as possible constituent factors.

The existence and circulation of this type poverty knowledge has undoubtedly received contemporary critical attention. Critics have considered how the dichotomy, between “deserving” and “undeserving” poor, supports an ideological assumption about capitalism: that the system is inherently fair and merit based (see also Klodawsky et al., 2001). Others have demonstrated that the categorization is supported and bolstered by prevalent media conventions, which typically reduce the complexity of homelessness to personal narratives (Greenberg, May, Elliot, 2006). Reliance on these individual narratives of homelessness reinforce a personal culpability model of poverty, link homeless people to long established notions related to the “undeserving” poor, and displace questions of social justice and equality for regimes of rehabilitation and punitiveness. Still other media research has demonstrated that news narratives that depend on individual stories of homelessness, often translated or told by charity representatives or health professionals, easily transform “social ills into personal troubles” and serve to lessen social solidarity between audiences and homeless people (Hodgetts, Cullen, Radley, 2005, p. 45). Such research is supported by audience studies that show that the more a homeless person is presented as personally responsible for his or her plight, the less “deserving” of assistance such individual is considered to be by audiences (Iyengar, 1990; Phelan et al., 1997).

However, despite the importance and insight provided by such research, very little work has specifically considered visual data. Thus contextualized within the longstanding discursive tendency to frame poverty in terms of the “deserving” and “undeserving,” an

important question arises about contemporary practices of picturing homelessness. To what extent, and in what ways, can the visual representation of homelessness be considered to present a more or less “deserving” image of homelessness?

Who is homeless?

The undeniable indexical nature of photographs offers a specificity that often eludes lexical representations. Unlike the word “homeless,” an image of a homeless person provides observable details about the individual pictured. Thus, although trite to claim, an image of homelessness inevitably does put a face to the social issue. However, from an analytic point of view, although each image of a different homeless person offers a slightly different representation of the issue, discernible trends in the types of faces most often associated with homelessness can be observed. What are these trends and what discursive consequences do they imply and mobilize?

Out of the 1220 subjects pictured in the data set, 408 were coded as homeless subjects. Subjects were coded as “homeless” if they were remarked as such in the caption or newspaper article. Subjects were also coded as “homeless” if they were pictured engaged in non-normative subsistence activities such as bottle collection or sleeping in public places. As well, subjects that were pictured using shelter space or services as clients were coded as “homeless.” In those cases where context, caption, or textual reference were ambiguous, the subject was not coded as “homeless.”

The Calgary Herald contained the most representations of homeless individuals and pictured 207 homeless subjects, a number that constituted slightly over 50 percent of

total images of homeless subjects in the data. Both *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Toronto Star* respectively pictured 98 and 103 subjects, and thus separately constituted about 25 percent of the images of homeless people.

Each subject was coded for basic demographic information: gender, age, ethnicity, and so forth. Subjects were also coded in terms of whether or not they were pictured alone, in a group, or with other family members. In the following discussion, the demographic trends for each newspaper are compared, as well as, contextualized in relation to the most recent homeless counts conducted in each city. To be sure, the comparison of the ratios of gender, age, and ethnicity, in the image data to the enumerated ratios of the homeless counts is not presented to determine how accurate the newspaper depictions are against a presumed empirical reality. Nor are the comparisons made with a naïve understanding of the inherent flaws of homeless counts (see Cloke, 2001) and of how such counts typically do not account for various types of “invisible” homelessness that may impact various groups in different ways (for a discussion on gender, for example, see Whitzman, 2006; Kłodawsky, 2006). Rather, the comparison is intended to draw attention to the various, at times conflicting, discourses that shape both public policy and opinion on homelessness. Undoubtedly, numerical information is a critical determiner for policy makers. Yet, against the backdrop of these enumerations, publics certainly gain valuable information about social issues through media representations. The consonance and dissonance between these discursive frames therefore are analytically fruitful, for they indicate interstices where public opinion and policy may differ.

Moreover, although demographic information is perhaps the most apparent and clearly observable of all the representational attributes coded for in this study, what is apparent is that there were clear representational biases in the depiction of homeless people in the news images, and that these biases were different according to publication. Thus, unlike the analysis in subsequent chapters, the following discussion delineates the differences of representation apparent between the three publications.

Gender

Historically, vagrancy was most associated with single men (Cresswell, 2001). Contemporaneously, researchers have determined a similar gender bias in public understandings and media representations of homelessness (Whitzman, 2006; Widdowfield, 2001). Predictably, the same trend is discernable in the visual data, see Table 1. Men constituted 57 percent of homeless subjects in *The Calgary Herald* images, 61 percent in *The Vancouver Sun* images, and 75 percent in *The Toronto Star* images. On the other hand, women were pictured in 34 percent of *The Calgary Herald* images, 20 percent of *The Vancouver Sun* images, and 18 percent of *The Toronto Star* images. In some cases, the gender was not determinable, in all three newspapers, these “undetermined” cases make up the remainder of images not otherwise accounted for in the previously stated percentages.

Men made up the majority of the homeless subjects pictured within each of the newspaper image sets. Nevertheless, according to the most recent homeless count for each city (Calgary: “Biennial Count,” 2008; Vancouver: “Vancouver Homeless,” 2010;

Toronto: “Street Needs”, 2009), the gender ratio pictured differed in each publication than those recorded by the city homeless counts. In Calgary, for example, the 2008 count recorded 78 percent of homeless persons were male and 22 percent were female (“Biennial Count,” 2008). In Vancouver, the most recent homeless count recorded that 72 percent of the homeless population were male and 27 percent were female (“Vancouver Homeless,” 2010). In Toronto, 69 percent of the homeless population were recorded as male and 30 percent were female (“Street Needs,” 2009). In summation, *The Calgary Herald* depicted proportionally less men and more women as homeless than determined by the most recent homeless count. Conversely, both *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Toronto Star* depicted proportionally more men and less women as homeless than determined by each of the city’s most recent homeless count.

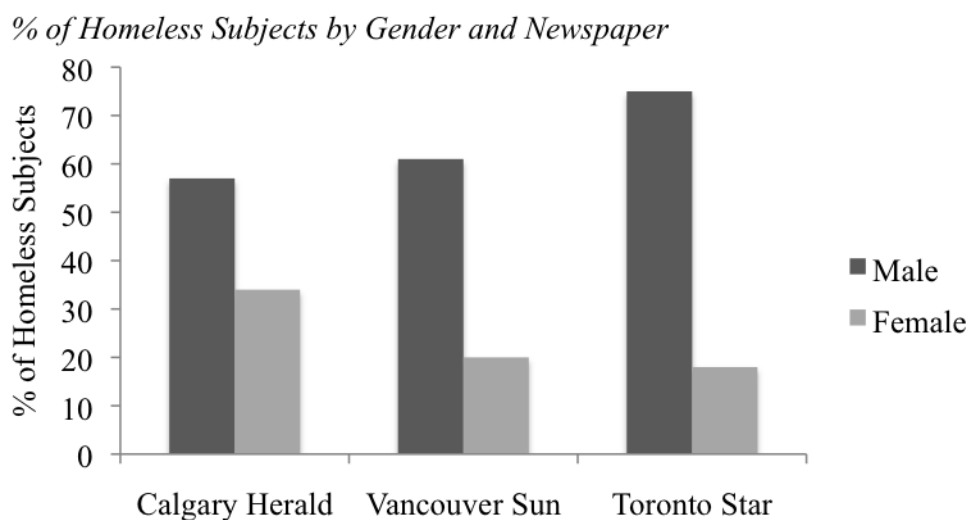


Table 1 - % of Homeless Subjects by Gender and Newspaper

Age

The specific age of any pictured subject was difficult to determine from the visual data alone, so observable age ranges for subjects were remarked. The code “age” thereby had several values indicating whether the subject was approximately an infant (0-3 years), a child (4-12), a teen (12-20), an adult (20-65), or a senior (over 65). Since adults constituted the largest range of years, it is not surprising that adults were pictured in a majority of images in all three publications. For instance, adults accounted for 75 percent of homeless subjects of *The Calgary Herald* images, 97 percent of *The Vancouver Sun* images, and 89 percent of *The Toronto Star* images. Collectively, teens, children, and infants were pictured in 21 percent of *The Calgary Herald* images, 2 percent of *The Vancouver Sun* images, and 8 percent of *The Toronto Star* images (see Table 2). Seniors were pictured in only .5 percent of the images of *The Calgary Herald* and 3 percent of the images of *The Toronto Star*. There were no recorded images of homeless seniors in *The Vancouver Sun*.

The age ratio depicted for *The Toronto Star* was remarkably consonant with the 2009 homeless count (the homeless count recorded 90 percent of the homeless population to be adult and 8 percent to be child or teen). For both *The Calgary Herald* and *The Vancouver Sun* the age ratios depicted were quite dissimilar to those recorded during their respective counts. In Calgary, an estimated 82 percent of the homeless population was adult and 11 percent teen or child. In Vancouver, 85 percent of the homeless population was adult, and 6 percent teen or child. For all three cities, the pictured

proportion of homeless seniors was significantly less than the enumeration determined in the homeless counts. Seniors accounted for 2 percent of the Calgary homeless count, 3 percent of the Vancouver count, and 2.8 percent of the Toronto count.

In general, *The Calgary Herald* depicted proportionally more children and less adults than recorded during the city's most recent count, and *The Vancouver Sun* depicted proportionally less children and more adults than observed during the city's most recent homeless count. *The Toronto Star* depicted a similar ratio of children to adults as was recorded in the most recent homeless count. In each publication, however, senior homelessness was nearly visually absent.

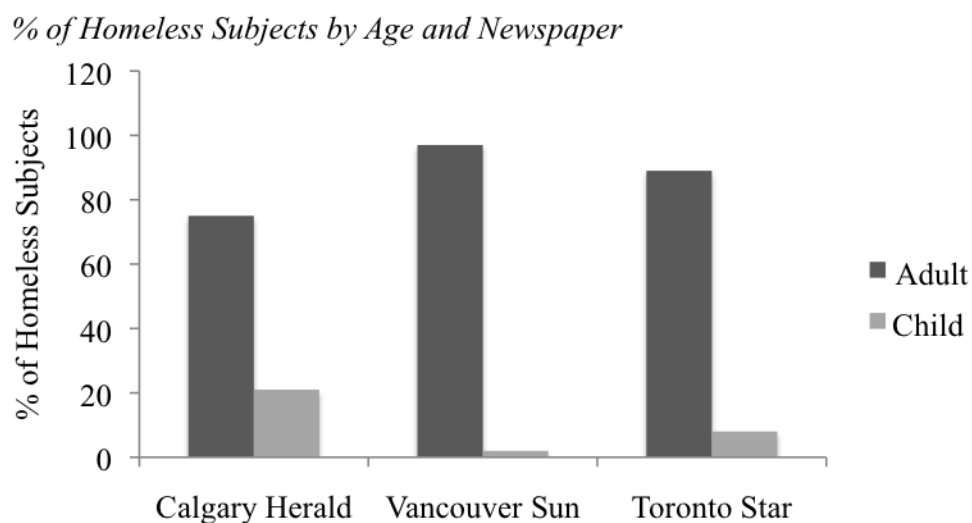


Table 2 - % of Homeless Subjects by Age and Newspaper

Social or Familial Group

Single men do constitute the largest demographic of homeless individuals in Canada, but family homelessness is a significant and growing concern (Gardiner & Cairns, 2003; Kraus & Dowling, 2003; Schiff, 2007). Ethnographic research has also determined that homeless people do form community and peer groups, and that the stereotype of an isolated and socially excluded homeless individual is not necessarily a normative condition (Snow & Anderson, 1993). Despite the existence of both social and familial groups amongst homeless populations, in both *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Toronto Star*, homeless subjects were pictured alone in 47 percent of all images. In *The Calgary Herald*, the percentage was slightly lower, as only about 40 percent of images featured a solitary homeless subject.

Although only a slight difference was detected between the publications in terms of picturing homeless individuals alone, there was a significant difference in the rates in which each of the publications pictured homeless families. In *The Calgary Herald*, homeless families composed 21 percent of the homeless subjects pictured. Comparatively, *The Vancouver Sun* only pictured homeless families in 1 percent of its entire data set, and *The Toronto Star* in 7 percent of its data.

Even more specifically, homeless adult women were far more likely to be pictured as parents than homeless adult men. In *The Calgary Herald*, 34 percent of adult women and 7 percent of adult men were pictured with families. Comparatively, *The Vancouver Sun* had no adult women pictured in families, and only one adult man pictured

in a family; *The Toronto Star* had no adult men pictured in a family; and only 14 percent of adult women pictured in a family.

Implications

Studies have demonstrated that the demographic particulars of a homeless person shape the public attitudes towards that person (Kane et al., 2010). In other words, people interact differently with homeless men than they do with homeless women. Also, public opinions about why someone has become homeless differ according to the demographic particulars of the homeless person. For example, homeless men are more likely to be assumed to be substance abusers than homeless women (Kane et al., 2010, p. 273).

Similarly, public opinions about who is to blame for homelessness change according to the demographic particulars of the homeless person. For example, Shanto Iyengar has demonstrated that people tend not to hold children responsible for their economic state (Iyengar, 1990, p. 26). The demographic particulars of a homeless person also impact opinions about whether or not they can be trusted to make responsible choices. For example, people tend to assume that men are more likely than women to use donated money to purchase drugs or alcohol (Kane et al., 2010, p. 273).

Furthermore, as Pascale has documented, when the term “homeless” first was employed, it marked a differentiation between the old poor, the “drifters, vagrants, and bums,” that were personally accountable for their poverty, and the new poor, mostly families who “lost their homes because of structural economic changes and were deserving of some new level of attention” (Pascale, 2005, p. 254). In other words, the

original use of the term “homeless” was employed to refer to de-housed families, who were victims of economic factors beyond their control, more than it was to refer to single vagrant men, de-housed by choice or as a consequence of lifestyle or addiction. Although Pascale traces how the original meaning of “homeless” changed over time and eventually became synonymous with vagrancy, what is noteworthy, is that within the visual data, an echo of that original distinction was determinable. Family homelessness remained strongly associated with structural causes. For example, when a cause of homelessness was mentioned in the caption of the image, 55 percent of the cases stated the cause of a single subject’s homelessness was drug addiction, whereas no images of families were associated with drug use or addiction in relation to their homelessness. On the other hand, 67 percent of the cases that mentioned a cause of a family’s homelessness mentioned the economic recession, whereas, only 9 percent of single homeless subjects were visually associated with the economic downturn.

Finally, an image of a mother and child arguably produces two important rhetorical effects. The first is a visual enthymeme that bolsters the easily assumed conclusion that those families pictured are single-mother families. Cara Finnegan (2005) demonstrates that images have the capacity to function as rhetorical statements. She considers visual enthymemes and their implicit persuasive power. In traditional rhetoric, an enthymeme functions through an elision that stimulates an implied conclusion on the part of an audience. An enthymeme is classically illustrated through the example: “Socrates is human. All humans are mortal.” From these statements, the audience can easily conclude, “Socrates is mortal.” A visual enthymeme functions in a similar way. For example, in images that picture a woman with a child, the very lack of a pictured

father functions to stimulate a logical response from the audience, there is (literally and figuratively) no father in the picture. Certainly, current data supports such conclusions (Fischer, 2000). However, other studies suggest that both the methods and focus of homeless enumeration underestimate the numbers of whole family homelessness, and that when “men and adolescent children are allowed to be sheltered together with female partners and minor children, the family portrait takes on different characteristics” (Schiff, 2007).

A second rhetorical consequence of picturing family homelessness predominantly through images of single-mother family homelessness is suggested by Robert Hariman and John Lucaites (2007). Hariman and Lucaites point out, an image of an impoverished woman with children “evokes not just sympathy but compassion, an impulse to help the crosses social boundaries” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 56). Although their analysis is based on a rhetorical reading of Dorothea Lange’s iconic portrait of the “Migrant Mother,” they make an important point about the how images of impoverished mothers function to structure relationships between those in the picture and the public audience. These images function to interpellate the member of the viewing public into “the position of the absent father” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 58). Importantly, since the viewer is also aware of the public nature of both the image and the audience, the role is not understood as simply individual action. Instead, “the public is cast in the traditional role of family provider, while the viewer becomes capable of potentially great power as part of a collective response” (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007, p. 58).

Thus, the previously outlined research suggests that homeless women would be considered more deserving than homeless men, children more deserving than adults, and

families more deserving than singles. Taken together, these three demographic trends demarcate an observable difference in the coverage of homelessness in the visual data of each newspaper. Proportionally, of the homeless subjects displayed in *The Calgary Herald*, and comparatively, to the homeless subjects displayed in *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Toronto Star*, *The Calgary Herald* published more images of women, children, and families. Such demographic bias suggests that *The Calgary Herald* presented a more sympathetic, or deserving, image of homelessness than the other publications.

The “homeless” label

Research has demonstrated that “identifying a person as being homeless, rather than eliciting compassion or reducing blame, engenders a degree of stigma over and above that attached to poverty” (Phelan et al., 1997, p. 332). To a large measure, in other words, being labeled “homeless” castigates one as a member of the “undeserving” poor. In research that considers the textual or linguistic label of homelessness, the attribution of homelessness to a subject is relatively apparent - literally one is labeled as homeless or one is not. However, in social interaction, as in images, such recognition is often not as clearly determinable and is more a matter of social deduction. What then are the visual cues that make homelessness recognizable?

In a study conducted in New York, respondents were asked how they recognized a homeless person as homeless. The following reasons were most often offered: “the person was sleeping in public (21.6%), the person's appearance suggested homelessness (17.9%), and the person had his or her belongings in bags (15.1%)” (Benedict, Shaw, &

Rivlin, 1992, p. 72). The recognition of homelessness is as much about the use of space and social performance as it is economic status. Indeed, ethnographic and qualitative interview research has demonstrated that homeless individuals are as equally aware of the spatial and visual cues that identify homelessness, and often employ such conventions to their advantage or to purposely construct a particular subjectivity for themselves (Lakenau, 1999; Snow & Anderson, 1993).

Homeless Spaces

In their photo voice and elicitation research, Alan Radley, Darrin Hodgetts, and Andrea Cullen (2007), encounter an important dichotomy expressed in the images taken by homeless participants. On the one hand, subjects pictured public space to document how that space may have been used previously, or may be used potentially, for strategic purposes. An image may depict a “good place” to sleep or panhandle, for example. These images not only serve an explicative function, showing the agency and ingenuity of homeless people to survive in difficult urban environments, but also an associative one. Radley et al. (2007) illustrate the finding through the following interchange:

Interviewer: So if you were to pick the ones that best represented homelessness to you, which ones would you pick?

Michael: Well, the ones under the bridges.... these would be places where I could sleep or put my sleeping bag down or something. Radley et al., 2007, p. 289

The observation that homelessness is associated with particular spaces and non-normative use of those spaces has also been observed by academics. Geographers (Takahashi, 1997; Mitchell, 2003) have also concluded that particular spaces, and the use and habitation of such spaces, inherently label, marginalize, and stigmatize. Other social scientific research has demonstrated that socio-spatial dynamics carry serious consequences for homeless people, as the value and use of urban space changes and becomes variously contested (Snow & Mulcahy, 2001). What each of these insights indicate, albeit from different perspectives, is that space serves much more than a utilitarian role in society: space and the use of space also communicates important social meanings. In relation to visual data, therefore, when a subject is pictured in a particular place, or pictured using space in a particular way, these picturing practices plausibly function as a visual label, and demarcate that subject as homeless.

In the visual data, actions were coded. An image may feature a subject “walking” or “sitting” in public. These types of actions were coded as “day-to-day public” actions. An image may also feature a subject “sleeping” or “doing laundry” These types of actions were coded as “day-to-day private” actions. Actions were also coded as “ordered” or “disordered.” Actions were considered “ordered” if they were conducted in a normative space (for that type of activity) and in a normative manner. Actions were considered “disordered” if they were conducted in a non-normative space (for that activity) or in a non-normative manner. For example, a subject may be pictured sleeping on their bed in a single-occupancy room. In which case, the action would be coded “day-to-day private” and “ordered.” However, a subject may also be pictured sleeping on a park bench, in which case, the action would be coded “day-to-day private” and “disordered.” Similarly,

a subject may be pictured walking across the street, and such action would be coded “day-to-day public” and “ordered.” Alternatively, a subject may be pictured walking across the street pushing a shopping cart of personal possessions, in this case, the image would be coded “day-to-day public” and “disordered.” When cross-tabulated these two distinct codes provide an interesting measure of the frequency of a “homeless” visual label related to the use and occupation of space. Another code was used to remark whether or not a subject was pictured conducting “marginal work,” such as binning, bottle collecting, or panhandling. These actions would therefore also be considered to indicate a visual label of “homeless.”

The prevalent visual grammar of all three newspapers served to visually label a significant proportion of homeless subjects as “homeless” in terms of their use and occupation of public space. In *The Calgary Herald*, 47 percent of homeless subjects were pictured occupying or using public space in a manner that visually labeled them as “homeless.” In *The Vancouver Sun*, the figure was even higher, as 63 percent of homeless subjects were pictured in a manner that visually labeled them as homeless. Although lower than the other two publications, *The Toronto Star* still pictured 34 percent of homeless subjects in a way concordant with the visual label “homeless”.

On the other hand, returning to the research of Radley et al., homeless participants also demonstrated, in the types of pictures they took and their explanations of those images, a desire and capacity to use and occupy space in a normative manner. In so doing, homeless people can make use of the anonymity of the city to “pass as people who lead legitimate lives beyond public space” (Radley et al., 2007, p. 285). Indeed, “ordered” public and private actions, or images of homeless people engaged in

“normalized” work environments, did exist with a relatively high frequency within the data. In *The Calgary Herald*, such actions were imaged in 25 percent of the data, in *The Vancouver Sun* in 17 percent, and in *The Toronto Star* in 44 percent. However, such figures warrant further attention.

In the research of Radley et al., amongst the photographs taken by a participant named Robert, one shows Robert on “the Embankment with the Thames and Houses of Parliament as a backdrop” (Radley et al., 2007, p. 285). The image is interpreted by the researchers to document a desire to exercise the “gaze of the tourist,” an “aspiration to be like the majority of people,” and to be “treated with the respect that the domiciled can command” (Radley et al., 2007, p. 285). Towards this end, the image is a self-portrait, taken by a passer-by and if not included in a research paper on homelessness, would easily be considered just another snapshot of a famous landmark. The image, in other words, bears no visual label associated with homelessness, regardless of its inherent link to homelessness.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man and woman embrace looking at the camera. Behind them is an alley with dumpsters]

Figure 1 – *I’m very surprised to be alive*, (Gradon, 2006).

Conversely, some of the images of homeless subjects pictured conducting “ordered” public and private actions in the newspaper data remain nevertheless associated with non-valued space, but in a way perhaps too subtle to be recognized in a strictly content based analysis. For example, in Figure 1 (Gradon, 2006), two subjects

pose and look at the camera. Like Robert, the subjects acknowledge that photographic act and pose appropriately for it. Like Robert, neither of the subjects is overtly occupying space in a non-normative way. However, unlike the setting of Robert's image, the setting of this particular image is not a valued public space, but rather a marginal, generic, and non-valued one, as the image is set in an urban alleyway. This visual convention is a dominant one within the data, as 44 percent of homeless subjects were pictured in non-specific exterior locations (comparatively, only 16 percent of politicians and 11 percent of experts were pictured in similar locations). The visual association of homeless subjects with marginal space potentially carries important consequences. Research into community "nimbyism," for example, has demonstrated that commonly held public associations between homeless people and non-valued space serves to deepen the stigma that homeless people are as unproductive as the space they stereotypically occupy (Takahashi, 1997, p. 910). Accordingly, the very presence of homeless people in domiciled places is commonly viewed as a threat to the value of that space (see Snow & Mulcahy, 2001). This alignment of subjectivity and geography inevitably leads to further social abjection for homeless people, since "the stigmatization of persons and places are... mutually constitutive of community rejection" (Takahashi, 1997, p. 904). Thus, although in many images neither the occupation of space, nor the use of space, is remarkably non-normative, the very tendency to picture homeless people in marginalized, and non-valued space, may function as a visual label.

Homeless Faces

In his ethnographic study of panhandlers, Stephen Lankenau investigates the performative nature of homelessness. One strategy employed by panhandlers, Lankenau finds, is to adopt an appearance that coincides with dominant visual stereotypes of homelessness. As one panhandler explains to Lankenau:

When I first started panhandling, I couldn't understand why people weren't giving me money. I looked too clean. So I grew this ratty beard and figured so that's the trick of the trade. As long as I was looking presentable, like I was doing a 9-to-5 job... I wasn't getting a dime... Now I'm a roughneck beat-up guy. They know I'm a scavenger or a homeless panhandling guy. He looks like one, he's dressed like one, you know... They don't have no problem identifying me. Lankenau, 1999, p. 307

As critics Susan Schweik (2009) and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (2009) have demonstrated, personal appearance and hygiene stand as important sources of both identification and exclusion, in that individuals with non-normative appearances tend to be stigmatized. Thus, such performances of homelessness are not without complications, for as homeless people engage with stereotypes in an active and purposeful manner, the impact of this engagement may foster social distance and estrangement. However, such research also indicates that personal appearance functions as a visual label for homelessness.

In terms of the visual data, images were coded to consider whether or not the subject had acknowledged the photographic act. In other words, images that depicted

subjects that had “posed” for their picture were remarked. This subset of data constituted of 388 subjects out of the entire data set. Subjects were also coded in terms of their personal appearance. Subjects that were unkempt, lacked socially normative levels of hygiene, or wore dirty or disheveled clothing were coded as “personally disordered.” Conversely, subjects that were normatively hygienic and wore clean and tidy clothing were considered “personally ordered.”

Not surprisingly, in each of the three publications, nearly all domiciled subjects were pictured as “personally ordered;” in *The Calgary Herald*, 100 percent of domiciled subjects were coded “personally ordered.” In *The Vancouver Sun* and *Toronto Sun*, 94 and 96 percent (respectively) of domiciled subjects were coded “personally ordered.” Remarkably, however, in *The Calgary Herald*, there was not a significant difference in the percentage of homeless subjects that were pictured as “personally ordered.” In fact, only 4 percent of the homeless subjects were coded as “personally disordered.” In both *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Toronto Star* a substantial difference did exist. In *The Vancouver Sun*, 48 percent of homeless subjects were pictured as “personally disordered,” and in the *The Toronto Star*, 25 percent of homeless subjects were pictured as “personally disordered.”

Despite this inconsistency of presentation amongst the publications, all three newspapers did share two other conventions in terms of portraiture. In each of the newspapers, the vast majority of domiciled subjects posed looking directly at the camera. In *The Calgary Herald*, 94 percent of domiciled subjects looked at the camera when pictured, in *The Vancouver Sun*, 92 percent, and in the *The Toronto Star*, 85 percent. In Figure 2, for example, a volunteer and philanthropist poses for her picture. However, that

percentage of direct gaze at the camera was much lower for homeless subjects. For instance, Figure 3 demonstrates a common pose for many homeless subjects. Indeed, in *The Calgary Herald*, only 77 percent of homeless subjects looked directly at the camera when pictured; in *The Vancouver Sun*, 64 percent of homeless subjects did so; in *The Toronto Star*, a mere 47 percent of homeless subjects were pictured looking directly at the camera.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Woman in business attire looks directly at camera.]

Figure 2 – Volunteers like business owner Catharine Fennell, (Jones, 2006).

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Bearded man with hat looks away from camera. Behind him make-shift housing under a bridge.]

Figure 3 – Highway shanty knocked down, (Zimmerman, 2006).

Finally, in each of the publications, a significant disparity between homeless subjects and domiciled subjects existed in terms “expression.” “Expression” categorized the expressed emotion of subjects as “positive,” “neutral,” or “negative.” As outlined in the method chapter, “positive” in terms of the code only was employed if the subject was explicitly laughing or smiling. Similarly, “negative” was only coded if the subject was expressing explicit anguish, crying or cringing. In *The Calgary Herald*, homeless subjects were recorded as “positive” in 32 percent of the cases and “negative” in 4 percent of the cases. Whereas, domiciled subjects were considered “positive” in 66 percent of the cases,

and negative in only 2 percent of the cases. In *The Vancouver Sun*, homeless subjects were categorized as “positive” in 18 percent of the images, and “negative” in 14 percent of the images. Conversely, domiciled subjects were categorized as “positive” in 53 percent of the images, and negative in 8 percent of the images. In *The Toronto Star*, 21 percent of homeless subjects were coded as “positive,” and 5 percent as “negative.” In the same publication, 57 percent of domiciled subjects were coded as “positive,” and 4 percent as “negative.” Figure 4 and Figure 5 demonstrate this common difference between the portraits of homeless subjects (for example, Figure 4) and those of domiciled subjects (for example, Figure 5).

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man with hand on chin looks down.]

Figure 4 – *Part of what keeps you going*, (De Neve, 2006)

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Woman with short hair looks at camera.]

Figure 5 – *Habitat For Humanity...* (Calgary Herald Archive, 2005).

Thus, a visual label of “homeless” seems explicitly determinable in terms of personal hygiene and appearance in both *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Toronto Star*, since both publications pictured homeless subjects as “personally disordered” at a significantly higher rate than domiciled subjects. However, a more subtle visual label of “homeless” can also be considered existent in terms of two other picturing conventions. As outlined,

in each publication, homeless subjects tend to be pictured looking away from the camera and expressing less positive emotions than domiciled subjects.

Homeless Things

As outlined earlier, the use and possession of particular artifacts can function as a visual label for “homeless” (Benedict, Shaw, & Rivlin, 1992). Indeed, in Radley et al., a participant in the photo-elicitation explains how personal belongings can be used to purposely communicate homelessness:

Interviewer: So what do you have in there? You’ve got a sleeping bag?

Keith: Nothing. Just a sleeping bag. It just looks good.

[...]

Interviewer: So for an effect, having the two bags makes it look as if, what sort of effect does it...?

Keith: Well, homeless isn’t it? I mean, they associate homeless people – if you are homeless then where is all your stuff? Walking about with nothing, just your clothes on, you must have somewhere to live, you know what I mean? Radley et al., 2005, p. 284.

The possession and display of homeless paraphernalia exists as a prominent visual label of homelessness within the data. Homeless “paraphernalia” was considered to include items such as bags of bottles, shopping carts, multiple bags of personal possessions. In *The Calgary Herald*, one quarter of homeless subjects were pictured with homeless

paraphernalia. In *The Vancouver Sun*, 41 percent of homeless subjects were pictured with such items, and in *The Toronto Star*, 31 percent were. If images where no artifacts (items such as donated goods, official documents, protest signs) were excluded from consideration, these proportions increase significantly. 66 percent of homeless subjects that were pictured with an artifact, were pictured with homeless paraphernalia in *The Calgary Herald*, 77 percent in *The Vancouver Sun*, and 64 percent in *The Toronto Star*.

Importantly, homeless subjects were almost never pictured with artifacts associated with “normalized work” (items such as shovels, computers, culinary utensils). Indeed, Figure 6 represents one of the only images that presented a homeless subject in a “normalized” work environment. In fact, less than 1 percent of the homeless subjects in the entire *Calgary Herald*, only 3 percent in *The Vancouver Sun*, and 6 percent in *The Toronto Star* were pictured with such items. Thus, to no small extent, the possession of homeless “paraphernalia” serves as a visual label of “homeless” within the data, and conversely, the possession of “normalized work” items is nearly never visually associated with homeless subjects.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man in work clothes digs with shovel.]

Figure 6 – Terry Weaymouth works as a general laborer, (Jacob, 2006).

Implications

Publicly circulated images of homeless people may strike a chord of sympathy with viewers, act as a visual encounter with a marginalized other, and have the potential power to stand as an “index of the inequitable relations of power and privilege which are made manifest in [such an] encounter” (McRobbie, 2006, p. 83). Indeed, research has demonstrated that increased contact between individuals of in-groups and out-groups positively change in-group attitudes towards the out-group. As one study concluded, such benefits occur regardless of whether the contact is through social interaction or media representation, and that the type of representational practices fail “to dampen or reverse the beneficial influence of contact” (Lee, Farrell, & Link, 2004, p. 58).

Despite the purported benefits of the contact hypothesis, other studies have documented how the label “homeless” functions to generate social distance between domiciled and non-domiciled people (Phelan et al., 1997). Similarly, research has articulated how stigma associated with the label “homeless” negatively impacts both the psychological (Kidd, 2009) and the physical health (Wen et al., 2007) of homeless people. Although the majority of images of homeless subjects in each of the newspapers were not labeled in their captions by the word “homeless,” (the label was used 28 percent of the time in *The Calgary Herald*, 33 percent of the time in *The Vancouver Sun*, and 36 percent of the time in *The Toronto Star*), several visual equivalents to the lexical label “homeless” were observed.

As outlined, these representational practices tended to reinforce an association between homelessness and non-valued urban spaces, non-acceptable public behaviors,

and non-normative physical appearances. As such, the visual label of “homeless” in the data functioned to make homeless subjects recognizably different than domiciled subjects in important ways. The visual grammar pictured homeless people as unhygienic, unproductive, and spatially disruptive. So, instead of ameliorating social distance between the homeless person and a domiciled member of the public, the visual label “homeless” makes homelessness recognizable in a manner that casts the homeless subject as the “undeserving” other. Indeed, through this visual grammar, the normalized domiciled self remained observably unique from the abhorrent non-domiciled other. As such, these visual conventions (which make homelessness visually recognizable in restrictive ways) may reinforce a social tendency to want to remove “such people from the streets and public transport, and see an end to these violent threats of otherness” (McRobbie, 2006, p. 83). Instead of an elevated level of tolerance for homeless people, therefore, images that reinforce a recognizable, and a stereotypical, visual label of “homeless,” may cultivate an undeserving image of homelessness, and in turn, serve to deepen the social marginalization experienced by homeless people.

Moreover, homeless people were pictured differently than domiciled people in terms of both their gaze at the camera and their photographed expression. In their seminal work on the National Geographic, Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins found a similar visual convention. Lutz and Collins discovered that “those who are culturally weak – women, children, people of color, the poor, the tribal rather than the modern, those without technology – are more likely to face the camera, the more powerful to be represented looking elsewhere” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 1999). The researchers theorize that to look at the camera is to offer oneself up to inspection. In support, they draw upon the work of

John Tagg (1988), who argues that a significant social and institutional convention exists that associates a full frontal posture with social inferiority. As Tagg concludes, facing the camera, “signified the bluntness and ‘naturalness’ of a culturally unsophisticated class” (Tagg, 1988, p. 36). These findings seem hardly applicable to the findings articulated in this study, which determined precisely the opposite relationship – those who are culturally weak are more likely not to face the camera.

If not directly commensurate, the findings of Lutz and Collins, as well as those of Tagg, do offer an important ancillary insight into the data, since both studies acknowledge that a frontal gaze can “establish the illusion of intimacy and communication” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 198). Indeed, that the domiciled subjects not only acknowledge the camera with their gaze, but also do so whilst displaying the customarily expected positive expression associated with snapshots, suggests that these portraits communicate a high level of intimacy, collegiality and community between the pictured subjects and the photographer, and by extension, the viewer. Conversely, the lack of direct gaze, and negative expression, exhibited in many images of homeless subjects, may denote the same lack of accessibility and intimacy observed by Tagg, albeit in the case of homelessness, such limited accessibility and intimacy may be more a consequence of a perpetuated stigmatizing social distance and not the result of a privileged social status. Nevertheless, regardless of the motivation, the lack of a direct gaze seems to imply a lack of acknowledged social equivalence between the viewer and the viewed, for both the upper class and the lower class.

Discussion

In summation, *The Calgary Herald* presented (proportionally) more children and families as homeless and fewer representations of homelessness that associated homeless people with stigmatizing spaces, behaviors, and appearances than both *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Toronto Star*. *The Vancouver Sun*, on the other hand, presented the smallest percentage of images of homeless children and families and the most frequent stigmatizing associations between homelessness and personally “disordered” appearance. In short, and comparatively, *The Calgary Herald* presented a relatively “deserving” representation of homelessness, and *The Vancouver Sun*, a relatively “undeserving” representation. Consistently, *The Toronto Star* presented a representation of homelessness that shifted between, but never eclipsed, those two dichotomous portrayals.

One possible explanation for the difference in coverage between these publications is the historical and political context of each of the cities during the sampled time period. In Calgary, for example, in response to the relatively rapid increase in homelessness the city experienced during the first part of the new millennium, the municipality became the first in Canada to create a 10-year plan to end homelessness. The implementation of the plan began in 2008 and was mandated to the Calgary Homeless Foundation. Later the same year, as part of a provincial plan, the Alberta Secretariat for Action on Homelessness was created, and the Alberta Government released its own 10-year plan to end homelessness.

Conversely, in Vancouver, the same time period marked a dramatic lead-up to the 2010 Winter Olympics. For many anti-poverty and social justice organizations, the 2010

Winter Olympics was used as an opportunity to highlight the social and economic disparity existent in Vancouver. The time period was thus marked by marches, protests, and occupations of buildings in the Downtown Eastside. During the same period, neither the municipality nor the Province introduced a similarly forward looking and long-term plan to end homelessness, as Calgary and Alberta had done. Moreover, in 2008, the City of Vancouver introduced the controversial “Assistance to Shelter Act.” The act enabled police to force homeless individuals to report to a shelter during extreme weather. The ordinance was enacted despite protests by civil liberty organizations that claimed it was designed as a tool to restrict the access of homeless individuals to specific high tourist areas during the upcoming Olympics.

Toronto, unlike Calgary, did not develop an innovative solution to homelessness, although important initiatives were implemented during the studied time period (most notably the Streets to Homes Program). As well, Toronto, unlike Vancouver, did not experience a particularly polarizing set of events related to homelessness, although events such as the eviction of squatters from under the Bathurst Street Bridge did cause consequent public debate. In many ways, and concurrent with the analyzed data, Toronto offers a normalized image of homelessness, one less influenced by city pride in a unique civic policy, and one less marred by a polarized public debate on poverty and social inequality.

These results reflect findings determined by a recent study of the textual presentation of homelessness in four Canadian newspapers. A content analysis of news stories of homelessness in *The Calgary Herald*, *The Vancouver Sun*, *The Vancouver Province*, and *The Globe & Mail*, determined that “the Calgary Herald presented both the

highest number and the highest proportion of deserving representations,” and that *The Vancouver Sun* “contained a much larger number of references to addictions and mental illness (55% of items referred to addictions, 39% referred to mental illness, compared to averages of 29% and 20% in the other newspapers)” (Schneider et al, 2010, p. 157). Such parallel findings lend support to the conclusion that homelessness is much more sympathetically covered in *The Calgary Herald* than in *The Vancouver Sun*.

Interestingly, Schneider et al. also found that although 80% of news stories studied did contain negative associations related to homelessness, a majority of news stories (85.2%) also presented positive or neutral portrayals of homelessness, (Schneider et al, 2010, p. 159). This figure corresponds closely to another content analysis of Albertan newspapers that determined that homelessness was portrayed in a positive or neutral manner in all but 9.7 percent of articles (Richter et al, 2010, p. 131). However, when the visual data is considered in terms of the presentation of homeless subjects as either “ordered” or “disordered,” a distinction that determines whether or not the subject is using space in a normative manner, or is normatively dressed and hygienic, a different ratio is determined. *The Calgary Herald* presented 62.9 percent of subjects as “orderly,” *The Toronto Star* presented 64.1 percent of subjects as “orderly,” and *The Vancouver Sun* only presented 35.7 percent of subjects as “orderly.” Although the distinction of “disorderly” subject does not necessarily equate to a negative portrayal, it most definitely represents homeless people as either occupying space or having a personal appearance (or both) that reinforces one particular way of seeing homeless people.

As Robert Asen comments, “this tension between absence and presence in representation critically influences collective imagining by interacting with dynamics of

inclusion and exclusion in public spheres to operate on participants and excluded others" (2002, p. 255). In his consideration of negative representations of poverty in the 1980s, he outlines how a specific representation, "the welfare queen," normalized the public image of poor women as decidedly undeserving poor, a representation that justified policies of aid reduction and continued economic marginalization. Furthermore, he shows how this dominant representation made alternative subjectivities unrecognizable in public and legal discourse. In other words, the representation fixed and normalized the identity of poor women as "welfare queens" and restricted the publicity of alternative identities.

The current data suggests a similar elision, since, on average, nearly half of all cases display a strong visual association between disorder (albeit personal or spatial) and homelessness. Although such an association certainly does not delimit homeless subjectivity completely, nor does it suggest that audiences would necessarily adopt negative viewpoints about homeless people because of such representational practices, there certainly is a discernable visual convention that frames homeless subjects vis-à-vis disorderly conduct or appearance. In other words, and in no small way, "disorder" functions as a visual label, and serves to make the homeless subject recognizable in a high number of images. In as much as these visual representations reinforce a particular image of homeless subjects as embodiments of "disorder," the prevalence of the "disorderly" frame calls into question whether or not news articles function to present as much of a positive/neutral presentation of homelessness as the textual content analysis suggests. Indeed, at the very least, the visual representation of homeless people as "disordered" serves to silence alternative framings of homeless people that more closely align with normative notions of civic identity and public activity. Strikingly, for example,

in only 5 percent of cases in the data are homeless people pictured in “normal” work contexts.

Thus, although the data does demonstrate that *The Calgary Herald* presents a comparatively more “deserving” image of homelessness than the other studied newspapers, it remains questionable that the overall presentation of homelessness in any of the newspapers can be considered “positive” or “neutral” as suggested by other studies. The strong correlation between non-normative uses of space and personal appearances that are prevalent in all three of the newspapers makes it difficult to conclude that homelessness is “recognizable” beyond such stereotypical, stigmatizing, and marginalizing depictions. In short, although varying in degree, the prevalent visual representation of homelessness within the newspaper data is one that aligns homeless individuals with the “undeserving” poor. Indeed, as the analysis in the subsequent chapters illuminates, beyond the relative difference between presentations related to “deserving” and “undeserving” portrayals of poverty, as outlined, a strikingly normative (and stigmatizing) visual discourse exists within Canadian newspaper presentations of homelessness.

Conclusion

Although research exists that documents the association of homelessness with the “undeserving” poor (Pascale, 2005; Schneider et al. 2010), few studies have systematically considered how visual data may function to bolster this type of poverty knowledge. Within the data, homelessness is visually represented through metonymic

images that focus on the seemingly personal and individual nature of homelessness and less on the systemic economic and social factors that generate homelessness. The presentation of homelessness through a visual label defined by personal appearance, use of space, and display of distinct possessions emphasizes homelessness as an individuated phenomenon, and neglects the systemic or structural forces that cause homelessness. Within this visual discourse, as within the larger discourse related to the “undeserving” poor, homelessness seems less a symptom of inequality, and more a symptom of a non-normative character.

Undoubtedly, more or less “deserving” images of homelessness do exist within the data, and certain publications do present a more sympathetic image of homelessness than others. However, overall, a significant dearth of images exist that explicitly reference structural causes of homelessness. Rather, even in those “deserving” images of homelessness, newspapers tend to display person-by-person narratives of homelessness, and as such, leave unopened larger questions related to the economic system and housing policy of Canada.

Perhaps images lack the capacity to communicate the complexities of structural causes. Perhaps the lack of these images is a result of photojournalistic convention. Regardless, the conceptualization of homelessness as a personal pathology does have distinct and serious consequences for homeless individuals. One such consequence is to structure social responses to homelessness in terms of personal recovery and rehabilitation. Interestingly, as is discussed in the following chapter, such institutional responses, and the spatial control of homelessness they facilitate, is another dominant visual trend detectable in the data.

CHAPTER 6: HOMELESSNESS IN DISORDERLY AND ORDERLY SPACE

As outlined in the previous chapter, a dominant visual framing of homelessness exists within the data that deemphasizes the social, political, and economic forces that cause homelessness. When homelessness is considered as a personal pathology and matter of character, and not a symptom of structural causes, the existence of homeless individuals in public space, and their use of that space, is often conceptualized within a framework of deviance and contagion. As a result, homelessness has long been addressed through the control and exclusion of homeless individuals out of public space and into correctional institutions. The current chapter questions to what extent newspaper images of homeless individuals replicate longer standing discourses that frame homelessness as a threat to orderly space, and by extension, civic order. In the end, a strong correlation between spatial disorder and homelessness is detected, as is an emphasis on institutional responses to homelessness that tend to quarantine homeless individuals outside of public space and place them in regimes of personal rehabilitation.

Three interrelated questions guide the current analysis of newspaper images and qualitative discussion of the prevalent societal notions about homeless persons use and occupation of public space. First, does a visual association between homelessness and disorderly space cast homeless individuals as a form of spatial contagion? In other words, are there collateral consequences to a visual label that associates homelessness with disorderly space? Second, does a visual discourse exist that silences the specifics of subjectivity for homeless people, and in so doing, presents homeless individuals in terms of a dehumanized corporeality? In other words, when a homeless individual becomes

recognizable as a sign of spatial disorder, does that association negate, or silence, important markers of subjectivity? Does the homeless person, differentiated as a subject with his or her own lived history, become the "homeless body," recognizable primarily through its disorderly use and occupation of space.

Third, since the legitimate use of public space serves to define (in part) who constitutes the legitimate public, the material management of public space can serve as an ideological management of social order and civic identity. As critical geographers purport, in the name of order (both social and spatial), homeless individuals are often separated from this "legitimate" public, and contained within specific institutional locations (the shelter, the prison) (Feldman, 2004). Does the visual representation of homelessness within the studied data remark this management? Prior to addressing these areas of inquiry, the discussion is contextualized within an overview of how disruptions in urban space and homelessness have become discursively coincident.

The Discursive Context: Orderly and Disorderly Space

Homelessness is a problem of space. Denied adequate and sustainable access to private space, homeless individuals are forced to live the majority of their lives within the public realm. Since homeless individuals are quite literally "out of place," they must perform some actions in the "wrong place." Homelessness forces one to defecate, urinate, and sleep in the public purview, for example. Beyond the physical, emotional, and psychological toll of such publicity, the public nature of homelessness also generates a

significant discursive byproduct: homelessness signifies spatial, and by extension, social disorder (Amster, 2008; Mitchell, 2003).

Since the value, use, and function of space is not inherent, but socially constructed, the use and occupation of space by homeless individuals always functions to frame their identity and social subjectivity. How space is socially understood and used has a direct impact on how homelessness is socially apprehended. The consequences of this dynamic between social notions of space and the use and occupation of space by homeless persons are twofold. First, the use of space by homeless people often serves to generate and justify measures aimed to control and marginalize them both physically and socially. Second, and related, legal and social definitions of space often serve to negate homeless people of functional citizenship.

Significantly, and beyond the limited contexts of lived experiences, most people witness the actions of homeless individuals through media representations (Bogard, 2003). Yet, despite a significant literature on the trends and impacts of media coverage of homelessness that exists (Buck, Toro, & Ramos, 2004; Bunis et al., 1996; May, 2003; Shields, 2001; Widdowfield, 2001), very few studies specifically consider how homeless individuals are pictured in urban space (Snow & Mulchay, 2001). Even less research considers to what extent media images of homeless individuals may position homelessness as an emblem of spatial and social disorder.

One mechanism in which space is ordered and understood is according to the everyday routines that shape internal maps of lived environments. Certain spaces are perceived to serve certain purposes, and these uses derive specific values. Furthermore, when people use space in particular ways, they not only reinforce this value, but also

perform a particular subjectivity. For instance, “domiciled people on their ways to work (for example, walking or driving by homeless persons standing in line at a local mission) are reinforced in their perceptions of the value of domiciled places and practices, and the non-acceptability of homeless persons and the environments in which homeless persons interact and congregate” (Takahashi, 1997, p. 910). In other words, as domiciled and homeless individuals concurrently use the same space for distinctly different purposes, these uses serve to 1) reinforce a social division between particular subjectivities (either domiciled or homeless), and 2) value or devalue particular spaces. As Lois Takahashi states, “places inherit the stigma of persons, but persons become stigmatized through their interactions with places” (1997, p. 910).

This mutually constitutive process of social and spatial stigmatization has an important consequence: once homeless people are considered agents of spatial devaluation and disorder, homelessness becomes explicitly a problem of spatial containment. Consequently, in what has become known as the “Broken Window Theory,” efforts that restrict the marginal from accessing and using valued urban spaces are justified in terms of the necessary maintenance of the value and order of those spaces (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). As David Snow and Michael Mulcahy state: “it is not so much the existence of homelessness per se that is troubling, but the spread of the homeless into the spatial domains of the domiciled and the intersection of their daily routines with those of the homeless” (2001, p. 155). Understood in terms of containment, homelessness can legitimately be policed. Under the auspices of order and protection of property value, policy responses to homelessness thereby enact disciplinary measures such as increased surveillance, stricter enforcement of ordinances that limit interaction between the

homeless and domiciled populations, and tactics aimed at disrupting the daily routine of homeless people (the eradication of public washrooms, the securing of dumpsters, and the redesign of public benches). Such efforts normalize the acceptable use of valued space and serve to physically marginalize homeless people (who must use space for alternative purposes and in alternative ways) to devalued spaces.

Such restrictions on behavior do not make homelessness illegal, as did historical vagrancy laws. Indeed, in 1972 the status-offence nature of vagrancy was called into question by both Canadian and American legal systems. However, the criminalization of the conduct of homeless people does have important consequences beyond their physical marginalization and discipline. By defining certain conduct as illegal, these laws hold homeless people accountable for their actions. A homeless person chooses to conform or violate the behavioral norms of public space, and it is this enacted choice that determines his or her criminality. For instance, a homeless person becomes a criminal only by choosing to urinate in public, to sleep in public, or to panhandle. The homeless person is thus constructed as a subject capable of choice and agency. When so conceived, homelessness itself seems reductively a matter of choice. Leonard Feldman cogently outlines the logic and consequence of such discursive framing on the constructed identity of the homeless subject: it produces “a version of the responsible, choosing self one who is held responsible for choosing bare life ... and is thereby consigned to a subordinate and political status: the outlaw-citizen” (2004, p. 50). Criminalizing the subsistence and residential activities of homeless people thereby not only fails to recognize the structural causes that generate such behavior in the first place, but through an inherent liberal

assumption about subjectivity, it also makes the homeless individual explicitly responsible for their transgressive behavior.

What such legislation also reveals is a shift in dominant conceptions of the public sphere and proper civic action. With the emergence of post-industrial consumer societies, the definition of proper civic action changed from production to consumption, and so too changed the social framing of that age-old doppelganger of the normative civic identity -- the undeserving poor. Again, as Feldman succinctly states, “what the postindustrial spaces of American consumer society require is not the elimination of idleness but rather the disappearance of abject poverty” (2004, p. 36). Feldman uses disappearance in this context to mean the eradication of poverty as a visible and physical impediment to the functioning of a consumptive public sphere. The regulatory legal discourse of prohibited homeless conduct not only serves to limit any actions that threaten public space as an orderly space of consumption, it also defines access to public space in terms of economic capacity. In this discourse of commerce and consumption, homeless people (sitting on sidewalks, panhandling in front of ATMs or cafes) represent a blockage of legitimate exchange and an abject subjectivity outside normative notions of citizenship. Thus locked out of private space through structural mechanisms of economic marginalization, and excluded from public space by the definition of that space as a consumptive realm, homeless people face a genuine crisis of citizenship. As Don Mitchell concludes: “by redefining what is acceptable behavior in public space, by in effect annihilating the spaces in which homeless people must live, these laws seek to annihilate homeless people themselves, all in the name of re-creating the city as a playground of ... capital” (2003, p. 167). Once civic identity is defined in terms of economic capacity, and the public sphere

circumscribed and policed to exclude those that do not meet a new civic ideal of consumer-citizen, the conduct of homeless people not only defines them as criminal, it precludes their civic identity.

Homelessness is thus defined by a disturbing irony. Homeless people reside in the public realm, but in their use of that space, they “are precariously positioned in the ongoing battle over who belongs to the public [and] who has access to public space” (Kawash, 1998, p. 320). This inherent irony is no more apparent than when space, and what constitutes the rightful use of space, is contested. Inevitably in these contestations, public space is redefined in proprietary terms, that is, public space rightfully belongs to the public, and the definition of the public takes on a particularly exclusive and normative definition, that is, the public is assumed as essentially distinct from the homeless. In fact, far too often, the conceptual image of the public is “secured by materially blocking the bodies of those deemed undesirable and illegitimate” (Kawash, 1998, p. 323). In other words, public spaces should be actively protected against homeless usurpers, whose illegitimate use and occupation ultimately undermines the public nature of the space.

Disorderly Space: From label to contagion

As outlined in the previous chapter, a strong visual association exists within the data between non-normative use of space and homeless subjects, and in this sense, the “disorderly” use of space functions (in part) as a visual label for homelessness. Taken as a whole, the entire data set supports this conclusion - of the 273 subjects who were coded as “disordered,” 62 percent were homeless subjects. Remarkably, however, the only other

subjects that each individually constituted over 5 percent of the total “disordered” code were “Law Enforcement” (7 percent, or 20 individual cases) and “Activists” (9.5 percent or 26 cases). These images were typically of the excessive use of force (in the case of police officers) or the occupation of space during protests. All of the other 20 coded subjects each had no more than 10 cases (see Table 4). In other words, in comparison to any other subject type visually associated with homelessness within the data set, homeless subjects were (on average) 34 times more likely to be pictured as “disorderly.”

% of Subjects Coded as "Disorderly"

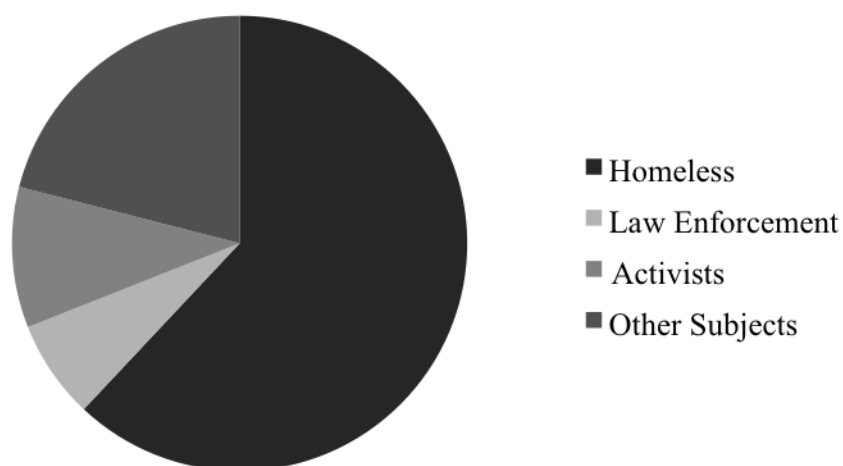


Table 4 – % of Subjects Coded as “Disorderly”

Effectively, the only subjects that were pictured as “disordered” at any significant rate were homeless subjects. The power of this visual convention, or label, is apparent in one particularly unique image within the data set. Figure 7, for instance, displays two seemingly homeless individuals. They are wrapped in sleeping bags and are pictured sleeping outside in an urban setting. Arguably, these subjects would easily be identified to be homeless, because of their disordered personal appearance and their non-normative

use of space. This is the import of the visual label. However, as stated in the caption of the image, the subjects were politicians who had participated in a fundraiser for homelessness in which domiciled people slept “rough” for a night. The overwhelming predominance of the association within the data between particular uses of space and homelessness clearly provides the homeless subject a unique (and unsettling) form visibility: it is not that every homeless subject is a disorderly subject, but rather, it is that every disorderly subject is recognized as a homeless subject.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man and woman sleep on street with blankets.]

Figure 7 – *A number of politicians...spent a night on the street, (Perrin, 2007).*

Although the association between the “disorderly” use of space and homelessness thus functions as a powerful visual label, one capable of masking subjectivity, it also serves to cast homeless subjects as agents whose presence makes space disorderly. For example, in both Figure 8 and Figure 9, the normative use of space by domiciled subjects is juxtaposed to the non-normative use of the same space by homeless subjects. On the one hand, the use of space in each of these images obviously functions to label those subjects who are homeless and those who are domiciled. On the other, the presence of homeless subjects, and their non-normative use of space, functions to document the extent of the homeless problem as it spreads into valued space. These images document a disruption of space, as the day-to-day routine of the pictured domiciled subjects is (literally) obstructed by the presence of the homeless subject. In this way, the association

between homelessness and spatial disorder carries consequences beyond one of mere identification. In these images, the homeless subject thus functions as a spatial contagion, an element whose disorderly presence threatens the spatial, and by extension civic, order.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man jogs past a group of youth sitting under bridge.]

Figure 8 – As a jogger runs past, a group of people huddle, (Black, 2006).

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man and woman embrace looking at the camera. Behind them is an alley with dumpsters]

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Woman lies in street while three men walk past.]

Figure 9 – Pedestrians walk around a homeless woman lying, (Cooper, 2007).

This visual discursive reduction echoes the logic of the “Broken Window Theory.” In this account, as George Kelling and James Wilson famously assert, “the ill-smelling drunk [or] the unchecked panhandler is, in effect, the first broken window” (Kelling & Wilson, 1982, p. 34). According to this theory, the consequences of any marker of spatial disorder is the germination of social disorder; a sentiment that Robert Ellickson succinctly asserts: “a regular beggar is like an unrepaired broken window - a sign of the absence of effective social-control mechanisms in that public space” (Ellickson, 1996, p. 1182). Arguably the visual link between the homeless subject and

spatial disorder detected in the data fortifies a “view of the homeless as a ‘moral pestilence’ and ‘threat to the social order’” (Amster, 2008, p. 86).

Perhaps most disquieting is the persistence and longevity of the discursive link between homeless (or impoverished subject) as a contagion to spatial order and, by extension, social order. Indeed, in the sixteenth century, as changes in the economic structure forced a growing number of people into the ranks of abject poverty, popular understandings and representations of the poor grew increasingly negative. The poor were no longer pictured as individuals of supplication and quiet genuine suffering, patiently waiting charity at the door of churches, as they had been in the fifteenth century. Instead, a new image of the poor emerged that emphasized an intrusive and unsettling persona for poverty. These transient “new beggars” disrupted the daily routine of urban life, impeding the mobility of citizens by crowding public spaces, disrupting worship by congregating in churches, threatening safety by spreading disease. In short, the new poor of the sixteenth century represented a force of urban and social disorder.

Accordingly, images of the poor in woodcuts and early printed books of the sixteenth century inverted the earlier tradition of picturing beggars as positive emblems of civic and social order. Once released from the sanctity of religious definition, the poor, instead of an emblem of the stability of established hierarchies within society, became an emblem of transience and social ambiguity. Moreover, as these new poor flooded the public sphere, they “were increasingly experienced as physically invasive, as threatening, rather than supporting, the social life of the city, and as disturbing or destroying its established patterns” (Nichols, 2007, p. 29). In the sixteenth century, the poor thus came to represent an unsettling opposition to previously defined civic identities and social

relations. Their embodied presence within the public sphere was symbolic of increased social and urban disorder. Targets of abjection and fear, the new poor were subjected to an increase in surveillance and control, and the first half of the sixteenth century witnessed an expansion in new anti-begging legislation.

Similarly, during the late nineteenth century, which witnessed massive socio-economic change that created a rise in unemployment and homelessness, a parallel process of abjection occurred. In contrast to the ordered and productive laborer, the tramp came to represent a force of unruly and transient labor, and was therefore subjected to physical and legal discipline. However, the tramp also represented a threat to contemporary domestic and gender ideals. At the turn of the twentieth century, dominant social notions conceptualized the home as the locus of upstanding moral citizens and societal order. The tramp, and the tramping lifestyle, contrasted these ideals with a seemingly rootless and wandering existence. As such, tramps symbolized the disintegration of familial and paternal responsibility and homely morality, and were considered an explicit force of immorality and disorder.

Thus, in each of these historic cases, and in the contemporary “Broken Window Theory,” the presence of the transgressive homeless subject within public (or domestic) space comes to embody an explicit threat to social order. In response, the management of homelessness becomes most primarily a matter of disciplining the homeless body and cleansing public space. The consequences of such disciplinary practices extend much further than the physical limitations they impose on homeless people. Clearly, if a particular conduct, disorderly use of public space, is discursively attached to a specific subject, and that conduct is criminalized, in effect, the subject is criminalized. As Don

Mitchell neatly concludes, “if homeless people can only live in public, and if the things one must do to live are not allowed in public space, then homelessness is not just criminalized; life for homeless people is made impossible” (Mitchell, 1998, p. 10). Moreover, as Jeremy Waldron points out, the norms of order that deem panhandling, sleeping in public and sidewalk sitting as “disorderly” conduct, are “norms of order for a society in which it is envisaged that everyone has a home to go to... not the norms of order based on an honest grasp of economic reality in an unequal society” (Waldron, 2000, p. 387). A result of regarding homelessness through a lens of disorderly actions and bodies is often a simplification of the material and historic conditions that lead to homelessness in the first place. Indeed, research has demonstrated that citizens who reside in neighborhoods that have high populations of homeless individuals are less likely to regard homeless populations as a threat - despite the fact that these citizens are exposed to more disorderly actions of homeless people than citizens in neighborhoods with less of a homeless population (Farrell, 2005, p. 1050). As Chad Farrell explains, people who share their neighborhoods with homeless persons “are likely to have a more well-rounded set of experiences” and understandings of homelessness, and thereby do not simply equate the actions of homeless individuals as indications of disorderly social deviance (Farrell, 2005, p. 1045). It seems doubtful that the nearly exclusive visual association of spatial disorder with homeless subjects detected in the data forwards such a rounded appreciation of the complexities of homelessness. More likely is that those depictions foster a connection between homeless persons and social disorder.

Perhaps one of the most erudite and litigious elaborations of this sort of reasoning is provided by Robert Ellickson in his article, *Controlling Chronic Misconduct in City*

Spaces: Of Panhandlers, Skid Rows, and Public Space Zoning. As Ellickson writes, “to be truly public a space must be orderly enough to invite the entry of a large majority of those who come to it. Just as disruptive forces at a town meeting may lower citizen attendance, chronic panhandlers, bench squatters and other disorderly people may deter some citizens from gathering in the agora” (1996, p. 1174). Rosalyn Deutsche succinctly articulates the ultimate conclusion of this reasoning, “protecting public space is equated with evicting homeless people” (1996, p. 276). However, Ellickson’s argument relates another pertinent discursive imbrication: Not only are the homeless defined in opposition to an idealized conception of who composes the legitimate public, but the homeless body is also positioned at the nexus where spatial order and social order discursively align, and so, becomes a simultaneous contaminant to both.

Losing Subjectivity and Inter-Subjectivity

Denied an identity within the idealized public, homeless subjectivity reduces to a distinct form of corporeality, what Samira Kawash defines as “the homeless body.” The homeless body, as a specific mode of embodiment, “is not an identity but an emergent and contingent condition that traverses and occludes identity” (Kawash, 1998, p. 324). Whereas membership to the public enables an expressive subjective agency, as a legitimate member of the public enters public space to engage in rightful (and orderly) social interaction within the public sphere, the metonymic reduction of homelessness into the homeless body denudes homeless people of any subjectivity, strategic agency and dignity, and instead repositions homelessness as a generic corporeal sign of spatial and

social impropriety. Moreover, in the loss of subjectivity, the capacity of the homeless body to engage in social interaction is restricted, and in this sense, the homeless body also loses an important inter-subjective capacity.

The Homeless Body

The discursive process by which a homeless individual (a person with a unique individuated history and lived experience of homelessness) becomes a homeless body (an embodied marker of spatial disorder) is a process that reduces subjectivity to corporeality. This process serves to efface typical markers of identity, such as name, gender, and ethnicity. Remarkably, the data demonstrated precisely this effacement. In general, when a homeless person was pictured using or occupying space in a disordered fashion, the traditional markers of subjectivity tended to be silenced. In other words, in images that were coded “disordered,” homeless individuals were represented more often as objectified and generic homeless bodies than in images that were coded “ordered.” This trend can be identified in several codes that would typically demarcate “subjectivity.”

As outlined in the previous chapter, subjects within the data were coded for certain indicators of subjectivity: “ethnicity,” “gender,” “name,” and “age.” For each of these four codes, a category of “undetermined” was utilized when the demographic specifics of the subject could not be ascertained by either the image itself or the caption. Generally, for each of these codes the undetermined category was more frequently apparent for homeless subjects that were represented using or occupying space in a

disorderly way. For example, the ethnicity of homeless subjects that were coded as “ordered” was only “undetermined” 12 percent of the time. Conversely, the ethnicity of homeless subjects that were coded as “disordered” was “undetermined” 56 percent of the time. Similarly, the gender of “ordered” homeless subjects was “undetermined” in 1 percent of the cases; whereas, the gender of “disordered” homeless subjects was “undetermined” in 23 percent of the cases. “Ordered” homeless subjects were named in 79 percent of the data, whilst the inverse was true for “disordered” homeless subjects, who were unnamed in 76 percent of the data. Finally, although there were very few subjects whose age could not be determined, all of these “undetermined” cases were within the “disordered” homeless subject category. In short, in those instances when a homeless individual is pictured as a marker of social disorder, the demographic particularities most often associated with identity (ethnicity, gender, age, and name) were often elided. As Kawash summarizes, “in public space, the homeless do not appear as individuals with distinctive identities” (Kawash, 1998, p. 324).

The homeless gaze

Beyond the particulars of this demographic coding, the capacity of the photographed subject’s gaze to meet the viewer’s gaze – albeit in a mediated way – is central to certain theoretical understandings related to the ethics of looking. Borrowing from Roland Barthes, Sharon Sliwinski claims images of suffering force a particular type of mental action, one Barthes labeled a “difficult labor” (Barthes, 1981, p. 65). A spectator of an image of atrocity is obliged to imagine the reality of the suffering

depicted, but is constantly frustrated by the inability to do so. The image and the imagination fall short of the reality; “we are asked to look and to imagine their terror, but in this looking, [we] encounter [our] own failure to see” (Sliwinski, 2004, p. 249). Something within these images always defies signification. The failure to be able to fully determine, to fully know, the pain of others has an important reflexive effect on the viewer: it forces recognition of our own subjective position and recasts a gaze out from the image to us. It is precisely through this recognition of co-presence that a civic space is broached, and the question of responsibility revived.

Thus conceptualized, when subjects are pictured without a willing and knowing acknowledgement of the camera and an outward gaze to an anticipated viewer, not only is there a loss of subjectivity for that subject, but there is also a loss in terms of potential ethical engagement on the part of the viewer. The consideration of how homeless persons’ subjectivity is elided within a more embodied and generic representation of the homeless body thereby extends beyond a consideration of the erasure of distinguishing demographic information. The manner in which homeless subjects are pictured, and how they are oriented to or away from the camera, is also an important consideration. In the previous chapter, a consideration of images in which the subject acknowledged the camera determined that there was a difference in terms of how homeless subjects and domiciled subjects faced and emoted on camera. Since within the entire data set, subjects were not always pictured in a manner that acknowledged the photographic act, a slightly more complicated and detailed investigation of the data is warranted to determine whether or not the aforementioned trend was observable.

In general, subjects were coded in terms of how they were pictured. Three codes address the orientation of the subject's face within the image. The code "Profile" determined whether or not the subject's face was visible, and if so, observed with what profile was the subject pictured. For example, was the face fully "frontal" to the camera, pictured from the "side," or "hidden or obscured." The code "Angle" determined the head angle of the subject, and discerned whether or not the subject was pictured with their head angled "up," "down," or "level" to the camera. This code also recorded whether the head angle was "undeterminable" or if the subject was pictured in a "prone" position. Lastly, the code "Eyes" recorded whether or not the eyes of the pictured subject were looking "at the camera," "away from the camera," or "hidden or closed."

A general designation of "Facing" or "Not Facing" was determined as a condition set by these three codes. If the subject was pictured with their "Profile" coded as "frontal" or "three-quarters," their "Angle" as "up" or "level," and their "Eyes" as "at the camera," then that subject was deemed "Facing" the camera. Conversely, if the subject was pictured with their "Profile" coded as "hidden" or "back," their "Angle" as "down," "hidden," or "prone," and their "Eyes" "away from the camera," or "hidden or closed," then that subject was deemed "Not Facing" the camera. Overall, 74 percent of "ordered" homeless subjects were pictured "Facing" the camera, whereas, only 44 percent of "disordered" homeless subjects were pictured "Facing" the camera. More specifically, when homeless subjects were pictured as "ordered" there was only a 12 percent occurrence of "back" designations. However, when homeless subjects were pictured as "disordered" there was a 36 percent occurrence of "back" designations. Similarly, "ordered" homeless subjects were pictured with a "prone" angle to the camera only 7

percent of the time; conversely, “disordered” homeless subjects were pictured with a “prone” angle to the camera 35 percent of the time (see Table 5). Finally, and overall, while only 11 percent of “ordered” homeless subjects had their eyes “hidden” from the camera in some way (pictured from the back, covered with hands), 47 percent of “disordered” homeless subjects had their eyes hidden from the camera.

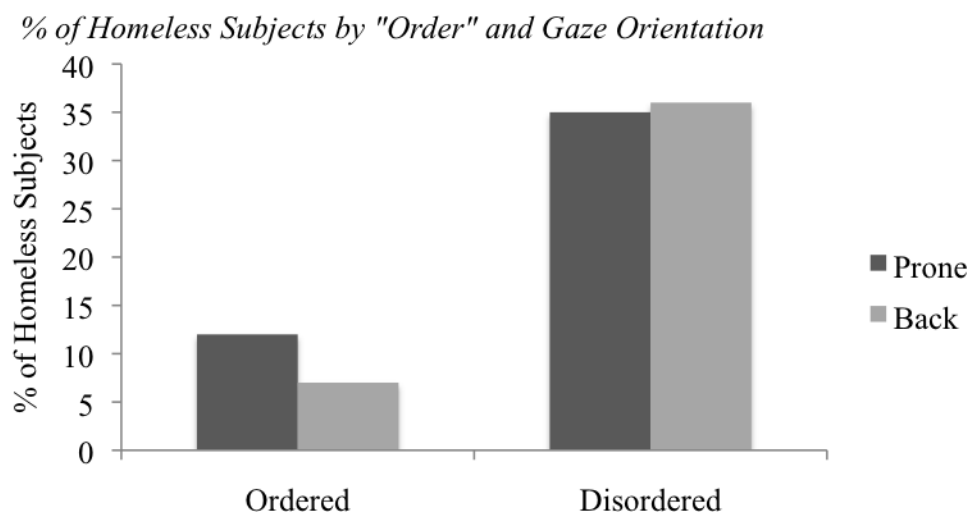


Table 5 – % of Homeless Subjects by “Order” and Gaze Orientation

Implications

As documented, a recognizable trend exists within the data that limits or effaces subjectivity for homeless persons that are pictured as disorderly within public space. This trend aligns with a theoretical observation that “by being out of place, by doing private things in public space, homeless people threaten not just the space itself, but also the very ideals upon which we have constructed our rather fragile notions of legitimate citizenship” (Mitchell, 1997, p. 321). The involuntary nature of homeless people’s use of

public space, the fact that they do not have private space, implies that “homeless people are not really citizens in the sense of free agents with sovereignty over their own actions” (Mitchell, 1997, p. 321). Inherent in a homeless person’s forced (and perceived disorderly) use of public space is a discursive (and ideological) elision of personal agency, subjectivity, and by ultimate extension, civic identity. When considered in relation to the gaze of disordered homeless subjects, this loss of subjectivity extends beyond simply an observed loss of demographic specificity for “disordered” homeless subjects, and impacts the capacity of images to function as a mediated form of inter-subjectivity.

Attention to the photographed subject, and their gaze out from the image, not only challenges the implicit passivity ascribed to those that have been photographed, but also undermines the conceptualization of an image as a closed event. The gaze of the photographed subject can only be insistent, a call for civic and social interaction, a protest for equality of citizenship within the public sphere. In turn, the spectator is no longer merely a witness of trauma, but an active agent of willful inclusion or exclusion, social acknowledgement or elision. The viewer must act, choosing to look or look away. The photograph no longer remains an artifact, but becomes a performative encounter.

These encounters are not commensurate with living communication, filled with complex and dynamic interrelations, yet that is precisely their import. Images allow us to stare, but with the promise that we do so ethically. In this sense, images can foster a form of visual activism. According to Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (2009), in this type visual activism, the subject of the image reflexively utilizes appearance, situation, injury, loss or agony, to present a deliberate self-disclosure. Such expressed subjectivity becomes a form of civil

address, and for the marginal, an address that beckons for the restoration of justice. Confronted as such, the viewer is forced to act: to look is to acknowledge a sense of obligation, “to vote differently, to spend money differently, to build the world differently, to treat people differently, and to look at people differently” (Garland-Thomson, 2009, p. 193); to look away, is an act of collaboration in the perpetuation of injustice. In either case, visual activism punctuates spontaneous face-to-face relations into a deliberate presentation, disseminates a purposeful subjectivity to a mediated public, and forces the viewer to take action (either positive or negative). In both the agency of the subject of the photograph, and the agency of the viewer of the photograph, a civic space exists, one in which the opportunity of ethical action is engendered. However, when both the subjectivity and the gaze of the pictured subject is silenced, and the theoretical capacity of images to foster such a civic space of ethical engagement and agency seems all but stymied.

The Control of Space

As many critics have argued, the discursive link between spatial disorder and social disorder, a link bolstered by the rhetoric of the “Broken Window Theory,” justifies the control and discipline of public space. The regulation of public space often causes homeless people to suffer processes of exclusion and isolation. Under the veil of Anatole France’s impartiality, “that the rich have no more right to sleep under bridges than do the poor,” revanchist policies that criminalize particular uses of public space inevitably lead to a de facto criminalization of homelessness (DeVerteuil, May, & von Mahas, 2009).

However, the validity of such impartiality (that punishes conduct and not status) can only be maintained “if we somehow also agree, in the “impartial” manner of the law, that the poor have no greater need to sleep under bridges – or defecate in alleys, panhandle on streets, or sit for a length of time on park benches” (Mitchell, 1997, p. 305). Blind to the irony of such “impartiality” the policing of public space, and the punishment of disorderly conduct within public space, effectively shifts homelessness from a question of systemic social and economic inequity to one of personal culpability and deviance. Although manifest in a contemporary trend of ordinances against the specific “disorderly” uses of public space, homelessness as a personal defect (and in need of reform and management) has a distinct and lengthy legacy (see Katz, 1989; O’Connor, 2001). Regardless of its origin, both in terms of the containment of disorderly bodies and the reform of individual deficiencies, such discourse tends to conceptualize the cure for homelessness in terms of “incarceration in institutional systems of control – shelters and prisons” (Amster, 2008, p. 83).

Contagion and Containment

This management of homelessness, as a social and economic issue, through the management and recovery of homeless individuals is uniquely demonstrated in the visual data currently under review. Although no images of incarceration were present within the data, there was a strong visual correlation between “homelessness” and “shelters,” as 24 percent of the total data set was pictured either inside or outside homeless shelters. Considering that only 4 percent of the data depicted proposed or existent affordable

housing, and only 5 percent of homeless subjects were pictured in a normalized work environment, the data supports observations that homelessness has become largely framed in terms of institutionalized responses, namely those maintained by shelter and recovery agencies (Lyon-Callo, 2004; Hulchanski, 2009).

Congruently, 54 percent of all “ordered” homeless subjects were pictured either inside or outside a shelter. The shelter is also the context in which 72 percent of all interaction between homeless subjects and domiciled persons was pictured. Indeed, an “ordered” homeless subjectivity is almost a definitive prerequisite for social interaction, for 96 percent of all recorded interaction between homeless subjects and domiciled subjects occurred between “ordered” homeless subjects and domiciled subjects. In other words, within the (visual) discourse of the data, the homeless shelter is the location where homeless subjects reform disorderly deficiencies and thus regain a recognizable ordered civic identity and sociability.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Elderly woman in wheelchair embraces another woman, standing.]

Figure 10 – Dr. Janette Hurley, on-site physician, (Rhodes, 2009).

Consider, for example, Figure 10 in comparison to both Figure 8 and Figure 9. In Figure 8 and 9, the presence of homeless subjects outside the shelter is largely (if not completely) unacknowledged by the other (domiciled) subjects of the image. Not only are the homeless subjects unremarked, their presence, as discussed, is objectified, and they are presented as “homeless bodies,” an environmental element that threatens the orderly

urban landscape. Conversely, in Figure 10, the homeless subject is pictured within a shelter. Once removed from the public space, the homeless subject within this new contextualization regains a subjectivity. The homeless subject is acknowledged as an individual by the domiciled subject, and both are pictured in a moment of engaged intersubjective exchange. Indeed, the level of connection between domiciled and homeless subject in this image is nearly unique within the data set, as it records a physical embrace between a domiciled and homeless individual; only one other image records a similar physical embrace.

The frequency in which a homeless subject is pictured alone or in a group is another measure that indicates an increased level of sociability for homeless subjects that are pictured within shelters. While 53 percent of homeless subjects that are pictured in non-descript exterior locations are pictured alone, only 28 percent of homeless subjects that are pictured within shelters are pictured alone. Moreover, 40 percent of all interactions between homeless and domiciled subjects are pictured within shelters. If the homeless subject regains a level of subjectivity in the context of the shelter, then that subjectivity is one that remains restrained in terms of agency. All subjects were coded to determine whether or not the actions documented within the image were “active” or “passive.” For example, a subject counting donations, or distributing donated goods, would be coded as “active,” so would a subject actively collecting bottles. However, subjects that were pictured “receiving” goods, or simply sitting, would be considered “passive.” Within this metric, a clear division exists between homeless subjects and domiciled subjects. Within the shelter, 50 percent of homeless subjects were pictured as engaged in “active” actions; domiciled subjects (for example, politicians,

volunteers, shelter staff) were pictured as engaged in “active” actions (at minimum) 81 percent of the time. Moreover, and not surprisingly, 32 percent of homeless subjects pictured in shelters with domiciled subjects were categorized as “receiving” and 38 percent of domiciled subjects in the same scenario were categorized as “giving.”

Implications

Once conceptualized as a problem of space, and not socio-economic inequality, the management of space becomes a means through which to manage homelessness. Within the visual data, such discursive slight-of-hand is manifest in two distinct ways. First, homeless subjects are shown to be “disorderly” at a much lower rate within shelter settings. Second, homeless subjects gain a higher measure of acknowledged subjectivity by domiciled subjects within those institutional spaces. These two visual conventions forward a particularly commonsensical conclusion: as homeless individuals move from the streets and into shelters, they no longer threaten spatial order and they regain sociability.

The reliance on shelters to address homelessness, as David Hulchanski outlines, “reflects the institutionalization of a problem,” since “we now have a huge social service, health, mental health, and research sector focused on homeless or dehouseed people” (2009, p. 6). In other words, homelessness as a distinct form of poverty knowledge daily manifests itself in the very brick and mortar of homeless shelters and the lived interactions between individuals. As such, this knowledge is not so easily shucked off or tucked away, for it is inculcated in doctrine and data and grounded in buildings and

people. Homelessness, and the poverty knowledge that supports it, has itself become an institution invested with valuable resources.

Vincent Lyon-Callo provides an important insight into the ramifications of such institutionalization on the lived reality of homeless people within homeless shelters. In particular, Lyon-Callo posits that current responses to homelessness are premised on the “hypothesis of individualized deviance” (Lyon-Callo, 2004, p. 13), and that this emphasis on personal deviance as the cause of homelessness implicitly sets the task of shelters to ‘normalize’ homeless people. Moreover, provided these structuring assumptions about the cause and cure of homelessness, material day-to-day practices of the shelter industry can only recognize (and thus perpetually construct) homeless subjectivities in terms of individual deviance, dysfunction, and disease. Thus, shelters seem less “concerned with the problem of homelessness per se,” and more concerned with “homeless individuals and the problems they are perceived as having, be they physiological, psychological, characterological, or spiritual in origin” (Snow & Anderson, 1993, p. 87).

Shelter industry practices produce expert knowledge about particular types of homeless people, categorize and keep records about these types, and design and manage programs of reform for these subjects. Embedded in a medical lexicon, these regimes of “healing” also function as regimes of control. As Callo-Lyon reflects: “the goal is to train the homeless person through very structured set of strictly enforced rules so they engage in self-reform” (Lyon-Callo, 2004, p. 66). Importantly, in the focused efforts of retraining, reforming, or caring for individual homeless subjects, the logic of the shelter fails to recognize larger exploitative socio-economic relations, policies, and processes. Thus, not only do the institutional and discursive practices of shelters create a particular

homeless subject who is disciplined through an individualized regime of recovery, these practices also reinforce dominant notions that homelessness is a matter of individual, not systemic, dysfunction.

The findings from the visual data support the assertions of Callo-Lyon in three particularly telling ways. First, that nearly a quarter of all images related to homelessness featured a shelter, or were pictured within shelters, and that less than 5 percent of the images explicitly addressed homelessness as a problem addressed through housing, visually reaffirms the all-too-easy separation of homelessness from structural socio-economic factors. Second, the level of agency of homeless subjects within the visual data is noticeably limited. In particular, homeless subjects are pictured as more “passive” than domiciled subjects and forwards an image of homeless people as incapable of productive action. This visual narrative neglects to consider the capacity of homeless individuals to develop and employ a “repertoire of survival strategies” (Snow & Anderson, 1993, p. 21). The day-to-day capability of homeless people to survive a difficult urban environment with little or no material resources is all but silenced within the visual data. Tellingly, 90 percent of “formerly homeless” subjects, individuals that had at one time been homeless but were no longer homeless, were pictured in “active” activities. Thus, once successfully “cured,” formerly homeless subjects are pictured at the same rate of active behavior as domiciled subjects. Finally, the higher rate of social interaction, and the lower rate of solitary homeless subjects pictured in shelters forwards a sense that shelters are a means through which homeless individuals regain sociability and are reintegrated into community. However, such “reintegration” is granted at a price, as the interaction between domiciled and homeless subjects is significantly limited. Indeed, the

interaction featured in one third of the images is an exchange of donated goods, as homeless subjects are pictured “receiving” and domiciled subjects are pictured “giving.” Such visual trends reinforce the type of institutional subjectivity detected by Callo-Lyon, as they seemingly document a homeless subjectivity that is largely dependent on institutional guidance, devoid of personal agency, and reliant on philanthropy for survival.

Conclusion

Unlike most studies that consider homelessness in terms of space, the analysis of images of homelessness provides an excellent illumination of how particular discursive associations find expression in cultural texts. In particular, three distinct visual trends exist within the newspaper data. First, homeless subjects are strongly associated with the disorderly use and occupation of space. As with an association of homelessness with the “undeserving poor,” the visual association of homelessness with disorderly space silences systemic and structural causes of homelessness and reframes the non-normative public actions of homeless individuals in terms of deviance.

Second, within the visual discourse, a “disordered” homeless subject loses important apparent and theoretical capacities of identity. Homeless individuals are reimaged as homeless bodies, and in that representation, lose agency and capability. A homeless individual becomes, within the visual discourse, a metonymic stand-in for homelessness in general. Once homelessness is considered 1) in terms of a deficiency and

deviance, and 2) as a symbol of civic disorder, a response to homelessness grounded in control and reform seems more justifiable.

Indeed, within the visual data a correlation between “ordered” homeless subjects and institutions of control and reform is apparent. This third trend affirms the primacy of an individual-by-individual response to homelessness that relies on institutional discipline and personal reform. Overlooked in such discourse is the need for more systemic and structural changes.

Despite the prevalence of representations that forward an “undeserving” image of homelessness, an association of homelessness with civic disorder, and a response to homelessness premised on personal pathology, alternate images of homelessness do exist. In these images, agency, community, and individuality are reaffirmed and asserted. Although, as will be discussed in the next chapter, even within the alternative representations of homelessness, structural causes and cures remain largely silenced within the visual presentation of homelessness.

CHAPTER 7: AGENCY, SUBJECTIVITY, AND CAPABILITY

This chapter uses a comparative analysis of images from two photo voice projects (in which homeless individuals pictured themselves and their day-to-day experiences) and a commensurate number of front-page news images, to investigate three distinct questions. First, in what ways do the photo voice images alternatively picture homelessness in relation to front-page news images? Second, do such images better showcase agency and subjectivity for the pictured homeless subjects, and if so, how? Finally, do the photo voice images create opportunity for a more complicated and diverse conception of homelessness to be fostered, one that better asserts the civic identity of homeless individuals within the public? The investigation reveals that images of homelessness can stand as a record of an individual and not simply a type, and so alternate images of homelessness do engender an opportunity for heightened social recognition, mediated interaction, and expanded community inclusivity. Despite the unsettling nature of these alternative images, in terms of the previously outlined dominant visual discourse, the structural and systemic causes of homelessness continue to be silenced within the visual representation of homelessness.

To delineate the dichotomy more clearly, and provide structure to the comparison between the two data sets, the chapter draws upon several of the previously outlined associative trends from Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 that frame homelessness in terms of the deserving and undeserving poor, construct a visual label of homelessness in terms of recognizable appearances, places, and artifacts, and situate homelessness as a metric of disorderly space.

Images have long served to document homelessness as a social issue, and so, have held an important historical function within a larger normative system of poverty classification, categorization, and knowledge. But, images of homelessness have inevitably also pictured specific homeless individuals within distinct lived contexts. On the one hand, these images stand as documents of the existence of a social issue and picture homelessness in a recognizable and generalizable manner, and so, reduce or delimit the subjectivity and personal agency of the pictured subject. On the other hand, such images also remark the specificity of an individual who engages with his own poverty and the photographic act in reflexive and performative ways. Such actions reanimate the photograph as a lived event of social interaction, and so, help reaffirm the subjectivity and personal agency of the pictured subject. Images of homelessness thus capture an inherent dichotomy.

In the end, the photo voice data is determined to construct an alternative image of homelessness, one that is more centered on subjectivity, agency, and capability. In so doing, the photo voice data forces a recognition of homelessness subjectivities within the civic public sphere. Moreover, in expanding the definition of homeless community, the photo voice data also overcomes a silence within the newspaper data – Aboriginality and homelessness. The recognition of Aboriginality as a unique component of Canadian homelessness raises an important question about the consequences of normative conceptualizations related to the causes and cures of contemporary homelessness.

Data Sample

Although theoretically discernible in any number of images of homelessness, the assertion of agency and alternate subjectivity for pictured subject, and the suggested consequences of that assertion on civic identity and community, are perhaps better facilitated through an analysis of images of homelessness that have been produced by homeless individuals. In these images the purposeful and strategic use of photographs to pronounce identity and lived experience is explicit. Furthermore, unlike the images produced by photojournalists, these images make few claims to objectively document, but rather unabashedly record highly subjective, personal, and lived experiences, relationships, and contexts. So, these images conjure the lived photographic event, make the materiality of that event apparent, and so, broach an important civic space for viewer and viewed to reflexively encounter each other.

In 2003, Vancouver based charity, Hope in Shadows, began a photography contest for the low-income community members of the Vancouver Downtown Eastside. Each year, from the hundreds of photographs submitted, a selection are published both as a calendar and online via flickr.com. Each image is accompanied by a description of the person who took the image, and if appropriate, the person pictured in the photograph. Images from the online site were collected from Hope in Shadows for the same time period as was sampled for the newspaper images. Images were also collected from a photo voice project conducted by the York Region Alliance to End Homelessness in 2007. In a similar manner to Hope in Shadows, the York initiative, Hidden in Plain Sight, produced a visual campaign from images taken by homeless individuals and posted these

images online. From both *Hope in Shadows* and *Hidden in Plain Site*, a selection of 123 images were gathered for analysis.

For comparison purposes, 127 front-page images were sampled out of the larger newspaper data set. Both sets of data were analyzed according to the previously outlined coding schema. However, when new codes were detected, these codes were then applied to both the photo voice and front-page data.

Picturing the other; Picturing the self

In 1876, famed Scottish adventurer and photographer John Thomson turned his lens away from the foreign “exotics” of China and Cambodia, and embarked on a new project to picture the outcasts of London. Although novel in its photographic approach, the two-year endeavor was in many ways an extension of an established impulse to define and catalogue the urban poor. Earlier surveys and purviews of the poor by social reformers such as Edwin Chadwick and Henry Mayhew, for example, had certainly mapped, described, and counted the underclass of London before. However, Thomson promised to add a new form of empiricism, photographic documentation. Indeed, as social inquiry became more formalized, specialized, and scientific in its approach and apprehension during the nineteenth century, photographic documentation became an increasingly important tool in the employ of social investigation.

On the one hand, the unbiased nature of photography, its capacity for authentication, as well as the reproducibility of photography, its capacity for mass distribution, seemed to potentially serve the reformist agenda. As John Grierson

articulated, documentary film was one instrument “which would crystallize sentiments in a muddled world and create a will toward civic participation” (Grierson, 1966, p. 18).

Arguably, documentary film and photography were a means through which the material reality could be clearly shown to the public. Grierson outlines this transformative intent of filmic documentary: “it was a desire to make a drama from the ordinary to set against the prevailing drama of the extraordinary: a desire to bring the citizen’s eye in from the ends of the earth to the story, his story, of what was happening under his nose” (Grierson, 1966, p. 18). Thus, because documentary film (and photography) was real and unbiased, it seemed capable to initiate open debate and social action.

Yet, on the other hand, this ostensible capacity of photography to create an objective, mechanical, and analogical representation, is perhaps also its most ideological trait. As critics such as Anthony Enns (2007) and John Tagg (1989) have made clear, the use of photography as scientific and legal evidentiary representation was not originally and naturally understood by audiences, but rather, constructed through distinct discursive practices. Similarly, critics such as Allan Sekula (1982) and Victor Burgin (1982) insist that the meaning of any photograph is not derived from any intrinsic denotative “re-presentation of nature itself” (Sekula, 1982, p. 86). Rather, the meaning of any photographic image is always generated within specific contexts of relations. The meaning of an image is socially contingent and ultimately ideological because “the fact of its contingency is suppressed” (Burgin, 1982, p. 47). Photographs thus become the perfect mechanism to naturalize unequal systems of relations, taking that which is socially constructed and maintained through economic and political institutions, and documenting it as apparently unbiased and neutral representations.

For the upper and middle-class viewer of the late 19th and early 20th century, then, photographic documentation of impoverished subjects undoubtedly delivered an unprecedented image of poverty, vivid in its empiricism. As Tim Cresswell states, “while readers may have doubted textual descriptions of outcast London they could not deny the unquestioned accuracy of photographs” (Cresswell, 2001, p. 175). At the same time, however, those images naturalized the palpable otherness of those pictured in a manner that made invisible the systemic causes of their poverty. The unquestioned evidentiary irrefutability of the images thus also produced a particularly powerful type of knowledge about poverty and the poor. As John Tagg outlines, “the slum dwellers registered their difference in ways only too clear to those who deliberated their fate, and these latter in turn fashioned their own phantastic or scientific images of those who lived beyond the pale” (Tagg, 1988, p. 135). In those images of the unruliness of slums, the upper and middle class viewer recognized the frightening consequences of the lack of spatial order and the implicit need for the surveillance and sanitation of space. In the images of idle, unhealthy, and unhygienic subjects, those same upper and middle class viewers recognized the consequences of a lack of personal discipline and productiveness. In this sense, the photographic documentation of poverty inevitably reinforced an observable social distance between viewer and viewed and in so doing entrenched particular inequitable systems of surveillance, control, and power.

Beyond these two dichotomous functions of photographic documentation, to bugle the need for social reform and, paradoxically and simultaneously, to bolster regimes of control and power, images of poverty also served as meaningful sites of performative agency, albeit in a less explicit manner. For example, in 1887, Jacob Riis

produced an image entitled *Tramp in Mulberry Street* (Figure 11). The image shows a bearded man, disheveled in appearance, who sits on the bottom rung of a ladder. The ladder is propped against a dilapidated shanty, sloppily constructed against the side of a larger brick building. The subject, labeled as “tramp” leans forward, hands on his knees, and despite the shadow of his misshapen hat, his eyes visibly stare directly at the camera, his lips closed and tight, pressed against a drooping pipe.

Riis, as Thomson, took the image as part of a project that aimed at the documentation of poverty in New York City and also claimed a philanthropic agenda. Entitled *How The Other Half Lives* (1890), the project would later go on to become one of the most iconic records of poverty in American photographic history. As with many of the images in *How The Other Half Lives*, *Tramp* functions to document a particular representative example of a particular type of person, the “tramp.” In this sense, the image also epitomizes precisely the kind of evidentiary knowledge capable of fortifying social distance. In its metonymic capacity, the subjectivity of the pictured subject is all but elided within an generic objectification and classification. The evidentiary nature of the image, and its seemingly unbiased reflection of reality, produces a distinctive knowledge, one that reduces the lived particularity of the pictured man to a knowable typology of poverty. The image thus both documents and delimits.

Yet, the image also marks a particular social encounter. In lectures Riis delivered on his photographs, he referred to the man in the image as both “a tramp and a thief” (Cresswell, 2001, p. 177). Apparently, when Riis first saw the man, he offered him ten cents to take his picture. The man withdrew his pipe from his mouth, and responded that he would pose, but only for a fee of twenty-five cents. Riis conceded, took the picture,

and hence forth referred to the request as thievery. In light of this anecdote, the totalizing effect of the image to objectify and classify its subject is importantly undermined. From the vantage of the subject, sitting on the ladder with a negotiated fee in his pocket, the image documents an instance of both agency and capacity. The meaning of the image hence extends beyond what it documents and the form of that documentation. The story of inception burgeons a third location of meaning for the image, one that includes the ways in which the image is used by social agents for different functions. The “tramp” and his reflexive performance of his own lived poverty affirm a powerful subjective agency, and importantly, the image stands as a record of that agency.

Whereas the image of the “tramp and the thief” evidences the agency of the photographic subject as enacted in the photographic event, another image, taken in the same time period and of a similar subject provides a different example of expressed subjective agency. The image was commissioned by a self-fashioned social researcher named John McCook (Figure 12). McCook was fascinated with the burgeoning sociological phenomena of “tramping.” His research ranged from the history of legislation against tramps, the liquor consumed by tramps, and the classification and categorization of various different types of tramps.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man sits on ladder in front of make-shift housing structure.]

Figure 11 – *Tramp in Mulberry Street*, (Riis, 1887).

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man in bowler hat poses for picture.]

Figure 12 – *Roving Bill*, (*Roving Bill*, 1893).

In support of his research, McCook commissioned over a 100 photographs of “tramps” between 1893 and 1895. Most of the photographs were posed studio portraits taken by professional photographers. Against the prevalent convention of portraiture at the time, the subjects were pictured from head-to-toe, and not merely from the mid-section up. As such, the images resemble images of biological documentation and are often labeled as such, for example, one image is titled, “A Common Shovel Bum.” As Cresswell remarks, “the completeness of the tramps underlines their status as specimens rather than as historical actors – as subjects of knowledge rather than masters of it” (Cresswell, 2001, p. 185).

One of the photographed subjects of the McCook collection was a man named William Aspinwall or “Roving Bill.” Although McCook and Aspinwall did not physically meet, they corresponded regularly, and McCook used Aspinwall as an important resource and informant. In 1893, McCook commissioned a portrait of Aspinwall, and instructed him that before his portrait, “there must be no fixing up, no shaving or polishing, but that everything must be taken as if on the road.” (quoted in Despastino, 2003, p. 55). The image is tellingly stereotypical: Roving Bill looks out from under his bowler hat, pipe in mouth, his face unshaven, and an umbrella under his arm. Although the image is clearly staged, McCook still elaborates on its interpretive value:

The photograph reveals the garments as being fairly neat and tidy. And this shows that “Roving Bill” is not a vulgar shovel or city bum. They are prone to be very ragged and slatternly – tho even they never look like the comic newspaper type. It also exhibits the parts as belonging to the same original suit. This is fair evidence that the owner has been reasonably sober and well to do during his immediate past. Otherwise the pawn shop would have introduced variety. Quoted in Cresswell, 2001, p. 193.

In his analysis, McCook does afford Roving Bill degree of respectability; he is not as vulgar as a “shovel or city bum,” he is drunk or broke. Nevertheless, the respectability is ultimately qualified, tentative, and ephemeral; Roving Bill’s economic liquidity is immediately recent, his sobriety only reasonable. McCook thereby offers a telling mix of forensic description and judgmental moralizing; his comments demonstrate the power of classification to fix subjectivity within an existent system of knowledge, a system that inevitably stigmatizes the poor and aligns poverty with morality.

McCook shares with Riis an ironic obsession with authenticity. Both researchers base their legitimacy as researchers on the apparent unbiased empiricism of photographs, whilst both do so with a willful forgetfulness of their own role in the purposeful orchestration of their photographic evidence. However, in both sets of data, a subjective agency of the photographed manages to be affirmed. As outlined, the subjective agency of the “tramp” in the Riis image is manifest through an acknowledged interchange between photographer and photographed prior to the photographic event. In the McCook image, the subjective agency of Roving Bill is apparent in a similar reflexive performance of poverty, but is more apparent through the existence of another orchestrated photographic event; after Aspinwall had posed for the first photograph, and

did so according to the stipulations requested by McCook, he then posed for a second photograph, which he paid for himself. In the second photograph, Aspinwall changed his clothes and his appearance; he is clean shaven and wears a new straw hat and a tailored suit.

Unfortunately, the photograph has deteriorated and is no longer available to view, but a record of it exists in the letters of both Aspinwall and McCook. Aspinwall plainly states that the image was an attempt “to show the public that there is one man that is a first-class tinker and mechanic that can go through their cities, towns, and country that is honest and decent and can keep sober and does” (quoted in DesPastino, p. 54, 2003). For him, it stands as an affirmation of his personal dignity, regardless of his economic status. In response to the self-fashioned image of Aspinwall, McCook writes that Aspinwall “takes almost too much pains to vindicate the dignity of his condition” (quoted in DePastino, p. 55, 2003). McCook further discounts the image as fraudulent, claiming that the “sturdy feeling of self-respect” it shows is undermined by the earlier admissions of Aspinwall that he drinks and gambles too much (quoted in Despastino, p. 55, 2003).

The second image clearly complicates and contests the first, but the implications extend much further than merely those recorded differences in appearance and dress. Even though the second image is no longer present to view, its acknowledged existence haunts the first in the same way as the story of “the tramp and the thief” haunts the Riis image. The first photograph of Roving Bill can no longer assert an easy documentation of a determinable type of tramp (“not as vulgar as the common shovel or city bum”); something important escapes the previously assumed totalizing gaze of empiricism, documentation, and classification. When Aspinwall commissioned and paid for the

second photograph, he engaged in an act of willful and purposeful personal representation. Just as the story of “the tramp and the thief” reaffirmed the agency and strategic capacity of the pictured subject, so too does the second image resurrect the lost subjectivity and agency imposed on Aspinwall by the first image. The reflexive use of the photographic event by “the tramp and the thief” for personal financial gain and the reflexive use of photography to construct an alternative personal subjectivity by Aspinwall initiate a more reflexive acknowledgement by the viewer that the subject’s gaze out of the photograph is purposeful and strategic. The image thus becomes less a moment of objectification and more a moment of inter-subjective exchange. In this capacity, the image gains an important functionality, as it expands the boundaries of civic identity and community. The acknowledged materiality of the photographic event, and the subjectivity and inter-subjectivity that composed that event, force a recognition by the viewer that the image is not just a document of a static objective reality, but rather a shared civic space populated by co-present subjects.

Reframing homelessness and the “homeless” label

In Chapter 5, distinct visual associations were detected in the newspaper data that arguably function as a visual label for homelessness. Namely, particular appearances, places, and artefacts were correlated to homelessness, and in general, such associations presented an image of homeless individuals that was undeserving and disorderly. Within the photo voice data, visual associations are also determinable. However, in comparison to those found in the front-page newspaper data set, the photo voice associations present

an image of homelessness that is grounded in day-to-day lived experience and personal strategies for managing life without stable shelter.

People, places, and things

An important point of comparison between the two different image sets is the difference in who and what is pictured in association to homelessness. In the front-page data set, 34 percent of subjects pictured were homeless, 5 percent were experts, 4 percent were activists, 7 percent were politicians, 10 percent were domiciled, and 9 percent were volunteers or shelter staff. In the photo voice data, 67 percent of the subjects pictured were homeless, 3 percent were domiciled, and 1 percent were volunteers or shelter staff. No experts, activists or politicians were pictured in the photo voice data (Table 6).

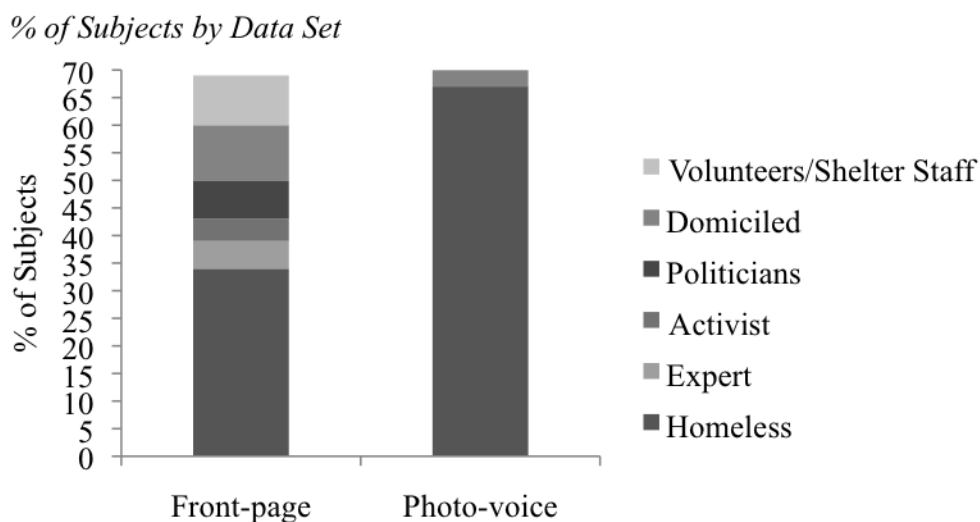


Table 6 - % of Subjects by Data Set

Also, in the front-page data, buildings, street scenes, and artifacts compose only 7 percent of the images. In the photo voice data, those three categories make up 25 percent of the images. Within those categories, other distinctions are noticeable. For example, in images that featured a building or street scene, 37 percent of the spaces pictured on the front-page of newspapers showed a homeless shelter; only 6 percent of the photo voice images pictured a shelter. Conversely, in the photo voice data, 17 percent of the images that featured a building or street scene showed spaces of “alternative shelter,” and 20 percent showed spaces within single occupancy residencies. Neither of these spaces were pictured on the front page of newspapers.

A unique category of images was also determined within the photo voice data: “environmental” images. These images documented urban space in a purposefully artistic or reflective manner. Images, for example, of birds flying, shadows off buildings, or statues and parks all were included within this code. These “environmental” images composed 40 percent of the images that specifically documented space in the photo voice data; no images in the front-page newspaper data were coded as “environmental.”

Finally, each data set associated distinctively different artifacts with homelessness. In those images that prominently featured an artifact, within the front-page data set, 28 percent of the artifacts pictured were donated goods, this category only composed 2 percent of the photo voice data. The inverse relationship was true for images which featured items coded as “strategic.” Although undoubtedly “functional” or “utilitarian,” these objects were coded as “strategic” because were put to alternative uses for the purpose of ameliorating conditions associated with living on the street. These items, thereby, demonstrated a degree of ingenuity that supersedes mere utility. For

example, a camping cook stove affixed to a bicycle or a makeshift clothes line were considered “strategic” artifacts. Often these items were pictured in use, or were described in the captions of the images in a “how-to” manner. Unlike the more static category of images, “homeless paraphernalia” that document items simply out of place, “strategic” artifacts were either pictured or described in a manner that emphasized their alternate utility. Of all the images pictured in the photo voice data, these “strategic” items were the most prevalent, composing 37 percent of the images. Front-page newspaper images only showed such items in 1 percent of the data.

Implications

A distinctively different set of visual associations for homelessness is created by the photo voice images in comparison to the front-page images. First, the diversity of subjects associated with homelessness is clearly limited in the photo voice data. The majority of images in that data set feature homeless subjects. Such emphasis on homeless subjectivity is not surprising, provided the commonsensical obstacles for homeless individuals to have the same access to experts and politicians. However, this distinction between the two data sets should not be so easily dismissed.

The front-page data, as does the newspaper data as a whole, tends to document homelessness in terms of its existence and prevalence as a social problem, and also, in terms of the various social mechanisms that function to address the issue. Within the front-page visual discourse, the homeless subject is emblematic of the larger social issue; the politicians and activists, experts and shelter staff, and volunteers and concerned

citizens, symbolically embody the various political, institutional, and philanthropic responses to homelessness. On the other hand, the near silencing of all other subjectivities, save that of the homeless subject, in the photo voice data recalibrates this dominant visual narrative; homelessness is presented not so much as a social problem, but as a lived reality. From this vantage, the visual narrative of the photo voice data presents homelessness less as a classified, quantified, and objectified social problem, separate from (and disruptive of) normative day-to-day life, but rather, repositions homelessness within day-to-day praxis. Homelessness is taken out of the visual grammar of shelters and donated goods, and repositioned within one of single-occupancy residential units and purposefully refashioned quotidian items. Homeless subjectivity is thus invigorated with a capacity, agency, and independence often lost (or silenced) in the newspaper images.

A comparative analysis of two representative photographs serves to emphasize this difference. As discussed in the previous chapter, images such as Figure 13, featured on the front page of *The Toronto Star*, reduce homelessness to a visual marker of social and spatial disorder. In these images, the homeless body stands as a potential obstacle or threat to the day-to-day practice of domiciled individuals. The homeless body, as a spatial contagion, visibly communicates the extent to which the social issue of homelessness has spread into the normative domain of public space, and so, beckons for a restorative response from appropriate agents and agencies. Lost in the image is the subjective nature of homelessness as a lived praxis. Moreover, the uniqueness of the pictured woman as an individual with a lived history is less important than her capacity to be visibly recognized

as a metonymic stand-in for homelessness. In this sense, her identity is divested of anything beyond that which makes her visibly homeless.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Woman sleeps in street while three men walk past.]

Figure 13 – Pedestrians walk around a homeless woman lying, (Cooper, 2007).

Alternatively, in an image such as Figure 14 from the photo voice data, the homeless subject is pictured in an act of recreation – he is captured playing a game of horseshoes. Indeed, 23 percent of homeless subjects in the photo voice data (versus 11 percent of the front-page data) were pictured in acts of recreation. The identity of this subject, although communicated to be homeless in the caption, is not a result of a visual metonym; he is a homeless man who plays horseshoes, but by no means does playing horseshoes make him a homeless man. Unlike the image of the woman sleeping in the street, whose public action identifies and categorizes her as homeless, and so reduces her to a marker of the spatial disorder often associated with homelessness in general and thus subjects her to various systems of control, the picture of the man playing horseshoes (whose name is Red) reasserts a subjectivity beyond the totalizing label of “homeless.” As the second image of Roving Bill haunts the first, because it calls into question the validity of a reductive system of classification, so does the image of Red playing horseshoes haunt the image of the woman sleeping in the street, because it also calls into question the reductive and naturalized imbrication between a material consequence of

abject poverty (sleeping in the street) and personal identity. In the image of the Red playing horseshoes, homelessness becomes recognizable as it should be, as no more than a material consequence of an economic state, and not as the origin of a delimited identity. Red may be homeless, but his homelessness goes unrecognized, and so, his identity exists beyond those actions that otherwise makes homelessness perceptible. It is not that Red hides his homelessness, just as Roving Bill does not hide his homelessness in his second image; it is that the image acknowledges an existent subjectivity beyond the reductive “homeless” designation.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man with beard plays horseshoes.]

Figure 14 – *King of the horseshoe pit*, (Bunting, 2009).

This disruption of a dominant visual convention that often functions to delimit the identities of homeless subjects within newspaper images, is also evident in a distinctive type of image found in the photo voice data. So coded “environmental” images are the exclusive domain of the photo voice data, and include images of birds, statues, puddle reflections, parks and landmarks. Such images clearly transmit no distinct associative connection with homelessness, and hence carry very little news value. Yet, it is precisely the unconventionality (and unnewsworthiness) of these images that makes them all the more significant.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Pigeon walks down sidewalk.]

Figure 15 – *Pigeon walking*, (Lesnick, 2007).

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Light post reflected in rain puddle.]

Figure 16 – *Reflection*, (Bolduc, 2008).

For example, neither Figure 15 *Pigeon walking* nor Figure 16 *Reflection* document anything explicitly related to homelessness. Without the information of the captions provided for each image, which inform the viewer that both were taken by homeless men, neither image could be substantively associated with homelessness in any other way. Figure 8 is literally an image of a pigeon walking on a downtown sidewalk and Figure 9 is an image of a tree reflected in a rain puddle. Neither the content nor the aesthetic quality of these images, however, is very significant to the present discussion. The import of these images, and the others so categorized within the data, is alternatively twofold.

First, each “environmental” image expresses a distinct form of subjectivity. The images document an individual and unique appreciation for the day-to-day urban environment as experienced by a homeless subject. Beyond what the image explicitly shows, each image thereby also implicitly documents what was considered meaningful or beautiful for the person taking the picture and expresses an overtly subjective point of view. Moreover, in the execution of the photographic act, each of the (homeless)

individuals who took the photo also recorded a moment of his or her own agency and choice. The homeless subject positioned behind the lens of a camera thus documents what is often lost in many news images of homeless subjects positioned in-front of the camera – unique subjectivity and agency.

Second, “environmental” images also establish an alternative association between homelessness and public space. When the homeless photographer uses public space for an aesthetic or symbolic purpose, and draws upon the conventional practices of photography to do so (such as angle, negative space, and contrast), he inherently complicates a dominant visual convention that simply associates homeless subjectivity with the non-normative use and occupation of space. Moreover, since the image is infused with communicative intent – it cannot help but demonstrate a subjective point of view – an “environmental” image also reestablishes a possible space for inter-subjective interaction. When the photograph is considered beyond the content of what it documents and is instead explored in terms of an inherent subjective intent, a reflexive acknowledgement of the subjectivity of the photographer is broached. In short, in the act of photography, the homeless subject makes public space subjectively meaningful in a recognizably normative manner; in so doing, the homeless photographer engages with public space as other citizens do. Since he recognizably uses space in a legitimate manner, the homeless photographer also resituates himself as a rightful member of the public. In turn, the purview of the image by other members of the public reflexively generates a recognition of this legitimate subjectivity. In other words, the import of such “environmental” images is not so much that they provide insight into how homeless

subjects see public space, but rather, that they enable a more inclusive acknowledgement of homeless subjects within public space.

Finally, the photo voice data demonstrated a strong disassociation between homeless subjectivity and donated goods. Instead, strategic artifacts were emphasized in the photo voice data. The distinction between these two different types of objects visually associated with homelessness is significant, for one implies a level of passivity and need on the part of the homeless subject, while the other suggests capacity and agency on the part of the homeless subject.

In those newspaper images that feature donated goods, the homeless subject is often pictured as a passive and grateful recipient. A particular logic is forwarded through such a visual association: homeless individuals need the generosity of social and philanthropic agents to survive. In such images, agency and ability are often associated with the volunteer, who, more often than not, takes center focus of the image and is the subject pictured “doing something.” For example, in Figure 17, a volunteer stands between two seated homeless men. She carries a hot plate of food and is pictured in the act of placing that food in front of one of the men. The homeless subjects are largely passive, while one quietly eats, the other looks cheerfully at his soon to be placed food. In the background of the image, several other men wait or eat, and so, the entire scene serves to emphasize not only the extent of the homeless problem, but also the seemingly passive nature of homeless subjects to wait, graciously, for domiciled subjects to provide for them.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Woman serves food to two men.]

Figure 17 – Pat Hatzistamatis serves Harold Fredrikson, (Rhodes, 2008).

To no small extent, the visual narrative of these types of images serves to reinforce a particular type of subjectivity. As Lyon-Callo articulates, within the shelter industry, “homelessness and the homeless subject are produced in such a way as to support caring for and reforming deviant individual subjects at the exclusion of other possible efforts” (Lyon-Callo, 2004, p. 106). Within this discourse, the homeless subject is viewed less as a symptom of systemic economic inequality, and rather a subject in need of reform; homelessness becomes an illness of the individual, and not recognized as an illness of the system. Devoid of the ability to adequately care for themselves, homeless subjects are viewed (and pictured) as dependent upon the efforts of others for their day-to-day survival. Within this discourse, personal agency is defined for the homeless subject – agency is only recognized through the wiliness to unquestionably acquiesce to the various regimes of reform and rehabilitation offered within the institution. Again, as Lyon-Callo succinctly writes, “homeless people are rewarded with extended stays and increased staff 'help' for cooperating with these practices. This leads to concrete practices by which concerned people respond to homelessness and marginalize other possible understandings” (Lyon-Callo, 2004, p. 72).

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man and woman embrace looking at the camera. Behind them is an alley with dumpsters]

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man stands behind bicycle with barbeque attachment.]

Figure 18 – *Barbeque bike*, (Buda, 2007).

Conversely, images such as Figure 18, shows “The Rev” with his makeshift “Barbeque Bike.” The image features a particularly ingenious solution to a logical consequence of living without a permanent residence, an inability to prepare cooked food. The pictured solution, however, also highlights an alternative subjectivity for homeless individuals not captured in those images of donated and received goods. As outlined previously the “truncated, decontextualized, and overpathologized picture of the homeless,” as promulgated by a visual emphasis on the shelter industry, and the ancillary symbols of that industry such as donated goods and volunteerism, speaks very “little about life on the streets as it is actually lived and experienced and that glosses over the highly adaptive, resourceful, and creative character of many of the homeless” (Snow, Anderson, & Koegel, 1994, p. 469). It is precisely the adaptive, resourceful, and creative character of homeless individuals that is captured in images such as “Barbeque Bike,” and in the presentation of these refashioned or strategically used items, the homeless subject is pictured with a clear ability and agency to subsist from day-to-day in the urban environment.

Such capacity is evident in the final point of comparison between the two different visual data sets. As outlined earlier, in the front-page data that featured an identifiable place, 37 percent of such images pictured homeless shelters; comparatively, in the photo voice data, 37 percent of the data featured either alternative shelters, for

example, tents or shanties, or single-resident occupancy units. Again, as with the different types of objects featured in the two data sets, the front-page images tended to feature an institutionalized response to homelessness, one that largely delimits the agency and capacity of homeless subjects; whereas, the photo voice data emphasizes the ingenuity and survivability of homeless subjects to find alternative shelter.

In general, several key variations exist between the front-page data and the photo voice data in how each set emphasizes different people, places and things associated with homelessness. As outlined, front-page data tended to emphasize homelessness as a social problem more than a lived reality. Moreover, the front-page data also reinforced a limited notion of homeless subjectivity, as it reinforced a connection between homelessness and spatial disorder. Finally, the front-page data also delimited the range of homeless subjectivity through an emphasis on an institutionalized response to homelessness, a response that tends to address homelessness as a matter of personal deviance and incapability.

Conversely, the images of the photo voice data revealed the lived reality of homelessness to a higher degree, and in so doing, showed an expanded identity for homeless subjects. Furthermore, through an emphasis on alternative strategies of survival and shelter, the photo voice data also reinvigorated the homeless subject with a powerful agency and capability. Finally, through an acknowledgement of the ways in which homeless subjects use public space in normalized ways, the photo voice data also served to reposition homeless subjects as legitimate members of the public, and thus, initiated a reflexively expanded and more inclusively constituted sense of community.

Reimagining Homelessness

Another important distinction between the front-page and photo voice data exists in the demographics, use of space, and orientation to the camera of subjects pictured. In some respects, the front-page data presents a more sympathetic image of homelessness than the photo voice data, especially through the presentation of more families and children. However, when a more holistic consideration of the data is undertaken, the photo voice data clearly provides a more complex and less objectifying presentation of homelessness than the front-page data.

Demographics

Although both the front-page data and the photo voice data displayed approximately the same proportion of male and female homeless subjects, there was still an important difference between the data in terms of gender. While 61 percent of homeless subjects in the front-page data were men, and 23 percent female, for 17 percent of the subjects, gender could not be determined. In comparison, in the photo voice data, 64 percent of the subjects were male, 26 percent were female, and only 10 percent were undetermined.

A more pronounced difference existed between the two data sets in terms of the age of homeless subjects pictured. In the front-page data set, 77 percent of the homeless subjects pictured were adults, 3 percent were seniors, 13 percent were children or teens, and 8 percent were undetermined. Conversely, 99 percent of the photo voice data

pictured adults, 1 percent featured children, and there were no subjects whose age could not be determined.

In the front-page data, homeless subjects were pictured alone 42 percent of the time, whereas in the photo voice data, homeless subjects were pictured alone 60 percent of the time. Homeless subjects were also more likely in front-page images to be pictured in a family (12 percent) or group setting (44 percent) than in the photo voice data, which pictured families in only 3 percent of the images, and groups in 37 percent.

Deserving and Undeserving

In the front-page data, 47 percent of homeless subjects were pictured using or occupying space in a disorderly manner. Only 33 percent of homeless subjects in the photo voice data were pictured similarly. Moreover, 8 percent of homeless subjects in the front-page data were pictured in a portrait that recorded their appearance as disorderly. Conversely, in the photo voice data, close-ups of personally disordered homeless subjects composed only 2 percent of the data. Finally, whereas only 6 percent of homeless subjects of the front-page data were pictured as personally ordered in close-ups, 18 percent of subjects in the photo voice data were pictured as personally ordered in close-up shots.

Secondly, the front-page data also pictured homeless subjects with “homeless paraphernalia” (ie. Shopping carts, bags of bottles, pan-handling signs) at a higher rate than the photo voice data. In the front-page data, 39 percent of homeless subjects were

pictured with items coded as “homeless paraphernalia.” In the photo voice data, only 23 percent of subjects were pictured with similar items.

Gaze and Expression

A marked difference exists between the two data sets in the extent to which homeless subjects acknowledge the photographic event. In 46 percent of the images in the front-page data, the homeless subject was pictured with her or her gaze “away” from the camera. Indeed, only 26 percent of the subjects in the front-page data were pictured looking directly into the camera. In the photo voice data, nearly the inverse ratio was observed. 58 percent of homeless subjects in the photo voice data looked directly at the camera when pictured, and only 20 percent were pictured with their eyes averted from the camera. Finally, although 21 percent of the subjects in the photo voice data were pictured with their eyes hidden from the camera, this proportion was still less than the 29 percent of homeless subjects in the front-page data who were pictured with their eyes hidden from the camera.

Finally, another significant difference between the two data sets was observed in the remarked expression of homeless subjects pictured. In the front-page data set, less than ten percent of homeless subjects were pictured with an explicitly positive expression. 30 percent of the subjects of the front-page data were pictured with a neutral expression, and 5 percent with a negative expression. In the photo voice data, however, 25 percent of the subjects were pictured with a positive expression, 43 percent were

pictured with a neutral expression, and no subjects were pictured with a negative expression.

Implications

On the one hand, because the front-page data presented both a higher number of families and children, arguably, as outlined in the Chapter 5, that data presented a more “deserving” image of homelessness than the photo voice data, which nearly exclusively presented single adult homelessness. However, on the other hand, the front-page data presented more subjects for whom gender, age, and ethnicity was not determinable. The photo voice images thus presented a higher proportion of subjects in a way that more fully recognized important aspects of subjectivity. On their own, these findings are therefore somewhat inconclusive. However, when considered in relation to the other noted metrics within the data, a more complete comparison is garnered. When ordered and non-ordered use of space and personal appearance are comparatively viewed, as well as, the proportion of subjects in each data set that face and positively acknowledge the camera, the photo voice data clearly and more consistently presents homeless subjects in a manner that more fully acknowledges their individual subjectivity, and overall, presents a more complex image of homelessness than does the front-page data.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man with cardboard sign stands in traffic.]

Figure 19 – A man asks motorists for money, (Calgary Herald Archive, 2007)

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man panhandles on corner.]

Figure 20 – Emergency shelters stay closed, (Vancouver Sun Archive, 2005).

For example, Figure 19 and Figure 20 of the front-page data show homeless men panhandling. In Figure 19, the man stands amongst passing vehicles, he holds a sign as a silent proposition for money from the passing motorists. His gaze is towards the camera, but his jacket hood shades his eyes, and so he does not directly make eye contact with the viewer. Similarly, in Figure 20, a man stands on a sidewalk, hat in hand, and so too makes a silent plea for money. He looks towards the camera, but his eyes fall on a passerby. In both images, the men are shown to be engaged in non-normative work, albeit passively, both occupy space in a disorderly manner, therefore, and both display a neutral facial expression. Furthermore, the juxtaposition between the normative use of space by the motorists and the passerby, reaffirms the “out-of-place” nature of both of the homeless men.

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man and woman embrace looking at the camera. Behind them is an alley with dumpsters]

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Man smiles and gestures “hang-loose”.]

Figure 21 – Greetings, (Bolton, 2005).

[Image not reproduced due to lack of copyright permissions. Description: Two men and one woman sit on park bench. Men smile and look at the camera.]

Figure 22 – Oppenheimer Park, (Georges, 2006).

In Figure 21 and Figure 22, however, a different visual presentation of homelessness is clearly discernible. In Figure 21, a man stands squarely to the camera and as he smiles and playfully gestures, his eyes meet the gaze of the viewer. His occupation and use of space is normative and so, unlike Figure 19 and Figure 20, without clarification from the caption, neither his appearance nor his setting functions to visibly label him as “homeless.” Similarly, Figure 22 pictures three homeless individuals on a park bench, two of which acknowledge the photographic act, the third looks out of frame. The two men that do turn to face the camera both display a positive expression, and because of the composition of the shot – one man peeks into the bottom corner of the frame - a sense of jovialness is also expressed in the image. Although pictured in public space, the occupation of that space is not disorderly, as the three subjects are not engaged in non-normative behavior.

Do these photographic practices affirm a more “deserving” representation of homelessness in the photo voice data? Perhaps in the separation of homeless subjectivity from disorderly space and non-normative behavior, yes. However, beyond the

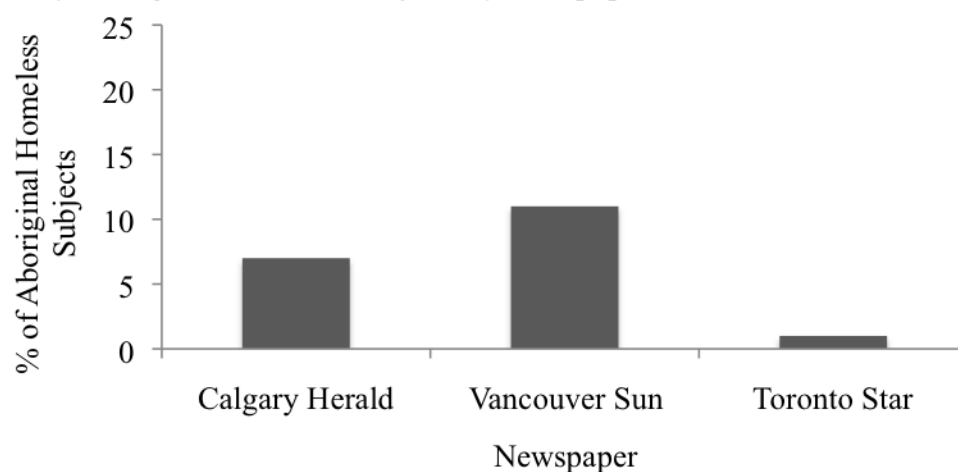
classification of subjects into deserving and undeserving, another important consequence is born out of the present comparison. In those images discussed from the front-page data set, and those that they indicatively represent, a longstanding impulse of photography is affirmed, the image endeavors to document an empirical reality through an elision of the photographic act. This same sort of empiricism is evident in both the Riis image and the first image of Roving Bill. The social interaction that precipitates the image act is not reflexively acknowledged in the rhetoric and composition of the image. What was particular is seamlessly transformed into the general, and in the transformation, those subjects pictured are too seamlessly repositioned as types. What becomes recognizable is not the social agent, but the social problem, and because that social issue is visually associated with disorderly space, the recognition (as outlined in previous chapters) reaffirms particular regimes of discipline and control.

Yet, as both the twenty-five cent coin and the second image complicate the totalizing compulsion of the objectifying discourses of Riis and McCook, so do the images of the photo voice data undermine the same compulsion present in the front-page data. In the open acknowledgement of the camera, and the overt reflexive performance for the camera, in that the subjects pose, the photographic event as a social interaction is asserted. In this assertion, the apparentness of subjectivity, and the particularities of personality, are also affirmed. These images thus capture the subject in his or her uniqueness, and so, resist generalization. Importantly, the pictured subject remains a social agent, and is not recognized as a symptom of a social problem.

Redefining community: Images of Aboriginality and Homelessness

In Canada, Aboriginal people are disproportionately impacted by homelessness. Research has determined that Aboriginal people are ten times more likely to become homeless than non-Aboriginal people (Hwang, 2004, p. 170). Similarly, in 2006, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) reported that 20.4% of Aboriginal peoples in Canada were in core housing need, which is a figure nearly double the national average (CMHC, 2006). Although Aboriginal people only compose 2 percent of the population in both Calgary and Vancouver, and half of one percent of the population of Toronto, Aboriginal people compose 15 percent of both Calgary's and Toronto's homeless population, and 24% of Vancouver's homeless population (Mccallum & Isaac, 2011, p. 13).

Despite the disproportional prevalence of Aboriginal people in the homeless populations of the three different cities, in each of the newspapers studied, there exists an understatement of Aboriginality in the visual presentation of homelessness. As Table 7 displays, in *The Calgary Herald*, Aboriginal homeless subjects constituted only 7 percent of total homeless subjects, in *The Vancouver Sun*, only 11 percent, and in *The Toronto Star*, only 1 percent. In terms of the present comparison, the presentation of Aboriginal homelessness is another distinct difference between the front-page data and the photo voice data. In the front-page images, 8 percent of subjects were coded as Aboriginal. Conversely, in the photo voice data, 29 percent of homeless subjects were coded as Aboriginal.

% of Aboriginal Homeless Subjects by Newspaper**Table 7 - % of Aboriginal Homeless Subjects by Newspaper***Implications*

Catherine Kingfisher has discerned a similar discursive trend in her research on Aboriginal homelessness. In her study of deliberations surrounding the construction of a new homeless shelter in an Albertan community, Kingfisher detected a near silencing of racial reference. Although she found that the term “homeless” was referred to 780 times in public deliberations about homelessness in the municipality, “aboriginal,” “Indian,” and “Native,” were only employed 14 times, despite that a large proportion of the homeless population in the community were Aboriginal. She concluded that such discursive silencing was not a silence at all, but rather a form of substitution. Through a close reading of the implied associations of the term “homeless,” she asserts that within the town deliberations “homeless and drunk have become stand-ins for Native, which no

longer requires explicit specification. Such usage allows speakers to make racial references without doing so overtly” (Kingfisher, 2007, p. 99).

However, unlike her textual data, visual data functions through an undeniable indexicality. The visual representation of homelessness through primarily white subjects thereby seems unlikely to perform the same sort of discursive elision as Kingfisher detected. Regardless of the interpretive context, an image of a white homeless subject seems not to function as easily as a substitute for Aboriginal homelessness in the same way as the textual referent “homeless” may do so.

Certainly, the near non-existence of Aboriginal homeless subjects in both the front-page data, and the newspaper data as a whole, must carry important consequences, albeit not in the same way as a textual substitution does. The fact that within Canada prevalent stereotypes continue to surround Aboriginality, in itself, may offer an explanation for the visual silence: underlying racism may impede newspaper editors from picturing the problem in terms of race out of concern that the publication would be accused of racism. However, such conjecture would need further research to substantiate. Regardless of the motivation, silencing the extent of Aboriginal homelessness within the public sphere does function as a form of normalization. In disregarding the difference between various lived homeless experiences, subjectivities, histories, and cultures, such representational practices implicitly forward a “one-size fits all” image of homelessness.

To leave Aboriginality out of the picture of homelessness carries at least two foreseeable consequences. First, as some critics contend, in the post-colonial context of Canada, in which religious institutions have a legacy of abuse and cultural assimilation in relation to Aboriginal peoples, a response to homelessness that relies heavily on faith-

based institutional philanthropy serves only to further marginalize Aboriginal homeless individuals (Mccallum & Isaac, 2011). Indeed, as statistics point out, Aboriginal homeless individuals are less likely to use shelters and health care than non-Aboriginal homeless individuals. A recent study demonstrated, for instance, that only 27 percent of homeless Aboriginals use shelters on a regular basis versus 35 percent of the general homeless population (MaCallum & Isaac, 2011, p. 21).

Second, a normalization of homelessness that does not account for Aboriginality also leaves silent a range of structural causes of homelessness that are distinctly applicable to homeless Aboriginal individuals. For example, no image in the visual data documented the current state of housing on many reserves. In a relatively recent report, the Auditor General of Canada concluded that the 89,000 housing units on reserves were accommodating 97,500 households on (Auditor General of Canada, 2003). The same report also documented that 44 percent of units on reserves currently require renovations (Auditor General of Canada, 2003).

Although issues of causation and correlation are infinitely complex and ambiguous to determine in relation to representational and social practices, such visual silence is undeniably reflective of a larger institutional and societal reluctance to address Aboriginal homelessness as an issue within its unique cultural and historic context. The photo voice data thereby offers more than merely a “truer” depiction of the demographics of homelessness than the front-page newspaper. In terms of the proportion of Aboriginal subjects the photo voice data visually documents in comparison to the number of Aboriginal individuals within the general homeless population, it also offers an important acknowledgement of a different type of homelessness than is typically documented in

newspapers. In the recognition of difference, such images offer a complication of the normative image of homelessness as a “single, white, male” condition (Widdowfield, 2001). In so doing, the photo voice data offers an image of homelessness that implicitly acknowledges that “economic, cultural and social interference brought on by forced acculturation and assimilation have resulted in disparities that have placed Aboriginal peoples at greater risk of becoming homeless” (McCallum & Isaac, 2011). Such acknowledgement also questions the efficacy of a normalized approach to Aboriginal homelessness that does not consider these distinct economic, cultural, and social elements of Aboriginal homelessness.

Conclusion

Photographic images of poverty and homelessness have historically functioned to both document and categorize the poor. The evidentiary prowess of photographs also served to represent poverty in a manner that naturalizes these classifications, often at the cost of the subjectivity and agency of the photographed subject. The vivid empiricism, however, did not function to completely eradicate the capacity of pictured subjects to assert their capabilities and identity, as the story of the “tramp and the thief” and the second image of Roving Bill attest.

The contemporary images of the photo voice data also attest to the potential of picturing practices to reaffirm alternate definitions of homelessness and to complicate what is recognizably homeless. Variations in types of subjects, settings, and artifacts

included in the photo voice data and the front-page data were determined to have three key consequences.

First, front-page newspaper images tended to present homelessness more as a social issue than a lived reality, as the photo voice data images did. Thus, the photo voice data reaffirmed the uniqueness of homeless subjects in their distinct lived contexts and so resisted the compulsion to objectify homeless individuals as homeless bodies. The photo voice data images also complicated a visual association between homeless subjects and disorderly space. In so doing, the images reinserted homeless subjectivity as a rightful and legitimate component of the public. Photo voice images provided insight into the capability and survivalist techniques employed by homeless people to successfully live without permanent shelter in modern urban environments. As such, the images disassociated homeless subjectivity from a stereotype of dependency and incapability.

Moreover, and second, through picturing practices that emphasized the interactive nature of the photographic event, that captured the reflexive presentation of self by homeless individuals, photo voice images complicated a dominant visual trend within the newspaper data - the generalization of the homeless subject as a metonymic stand-in for homelessness. Pictured as a social agent, the homeless subject looks out of the image with an expectation of inclusion and recognition. The image thereby broaches a space for social interaction, and arguably, expands the definition of the public.

Finally, and third, the photo voice images illuminated a hitherto unacknowledged silence within the newspaper data, Aboriginal homelessness. Specifically, the assertion of Aboriginal homelessness within the photo voice data draws attention to the implicit consequences of the normalization of homelessness, in terms of the conceptualization of

causes and cures that do not account for cultural differences amongst homeless people. Therefore, more generally, the overt assertion of diversity of within homelessness that images of Aboriginal homelessness demonstrate, also draws attention to the need to consider whether or not the dominant representational practices associated with homelessness have room for important distinctions of identity, such as gender and race.

Despite these challenges to the dominant framings discerned within the newspaper data, the photo voice data continues to silence structural and systemic causes of homelessness. However, overall, the comparison proved a fruitful mechanism to examine the potential of images of homelessness to forward a representation of homelessness that is capable and diverse, and, that burgeons a mediated social interaction between dominant and marginal groups, and so calls for an expansion of the public to include homeless subjects.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

I set out in this dissertation to study publicly circulated images of homelessness as they appeared in three Canadian newspapers from 2005-2010 and in two photo voice programs of the same period, and questioned to what extent such images bolstered or disrupted larger and more longstanding discourses related to homelessness. My choice to study the photographs in such a way emerged out of two beliefs. First, images mobilize various meanings related to homelessness, but remain an academically overlooked way to study homelessness as a social construction. Second, a study of images of homelessness not only deepens our understanding of how we conceptualize homelessness, but also furthers a theoretical understanding of how images function as discursive nodes in systems of social meaning. In the opening chapter, I posed a research question that has guided this study as a whole: "How do images of homelessness, circulated in the Canadian public sphere, simultaneously bolster or disrupt longstanding discourses surrounding homelessness?" In response, my study has attempted to answer that question through several metrics.

First, in the opening analysis chapter, I argued that the longstanding division between deserving and undeserving poor was evident in the trends and frequencies of newspaper images of homelessness. Importantly, the investigation of the categories "deserving" and "undeserving" was shown to differ from newspaper to newspaper. *The Toronto Star* perhaps offered the most normalized view of homelessness, whereas, *The Calgary Herald* offered a more deserving image of homelessness, and *The Vancouver Sun* a less deserving image of homelessness. A possible explanation for the variance

between the newspapers was discernible when the political and historical contexts of each of the cities were considered. For Calgary, the time period under consideration was marked by a novel municipal approach to homelessness, one that optimistically called for the end of homelessness within 10 years. Conversely, for Vancouver, the lead-up to the Vancouver Olympics caused an elevated public debate around poverty and inequality within the city, one that often manifested itself through public protest. Toronto, by contrast, had neither a central optimistic plan nor a single polarizing event.

Unique within the dissertation, therefore, Chapter 5 demonstrated that even on a most basic level of demographic composition, sharp distinctions between the newspapers existed in terms of their representations of "who" is homeless. These distinctions indicate the varying degrees to which homelessness can be alternatively framed, and provided insight into which subjects were more likely to be considered deserving, and which would be more likely to be considered undeserving.

Despite the relative "deserving" image detected in *The Calgary Herald*, another important observation made in the opening analysis chapter pertained to the ways in which an overall visual label associated with homelessness was established within all the newspaper images. This visual label, with its emphasis of non-normative appearance, occupation of space, and possession of artifacts, largely framed homeless individuals in a manner that was concluded to be "undeserving."

In the second analysis chapter, I again began with a contextualization of homelessness in terms of a public space, and delineated how, within this discourse, homeless individuals are easily recognized as contagions of spatial and social order, and often, thereby, subjected to punitive or reformatory institutional control. From this

contextualization, I drew connections to how dominant picturing practices in all of the newspapers made a similar connection between homelessness and disorderly occupation and use of space. Moreover, a visual association was also determined within the data that connected "orderly" homeless subjectivity with particular institutional space - the shelter. This connection further supported an earlier articulated conclusion, that discourses of spatial disorder often lead to the exclusion and isolation of homeless subjects from public space. In terms of the visual data, this exclusion was marked by the distinct difference between the disorderly subjects of public space, and the orderly subjects of shelter space. Such associations imply that institutional responses such as the shelter, or the prison, reform homeless subjectivity from disorderly to orderly.

Finally, in the last analysis chapter, I sought to complicate the manner in which images seemed to exclusively function as replications of particular dominant discourses surrounding homelessness. Through an analysis of images taken by homeless individuals and included in two photo voice projects, I ascertained that such images documented several key differences in the presentation of homeless subjectivity. Namely, 1) homelessness in this data set was represented less as a social issue and more as a lived experience, 2) homeless subjects were pictured in ways to highlight capacity and independence, 3) homeless subjects were affirmed as legitimate members of the public, and in that affirmation, broached a more inclusive definition of community, and 4) homelessness was documented in a manner that drew attention to the existence and extent of Aboriginal homelessness, which was otherwise all but silenced in the newspaper data.

Despite the noted differences between the newspaper and photo voice data, and the discourses related to homelessness that each data set variously bolsters or resists, an

overall dominant visual framing of homelessness does exist within the data as a whole. In general, a distinct form of poverty knowledge is bolstered within the data, one that tends to overlook the social, economic, and political forces that perpetuate an unequal distribution of wealth and resources within Canadian society. The visual presentation of homelessness, regardless of the source, seems therefore, to conceptualize homelessness, in terms of individual pathology, in the newspaper data, and individual experience, in the photo voice data. Thus, in neither of these representations is homelessness visualized as a structural consequence - although the photo voice data does forward a more inclusive, diverse, and empowered image of homelessness, one that unshackles homeless individuals from institutional regimes of reform and dependency.

Possible Contributions to Theory, Method, and Literature on Homelessness

With the expansion of images within the public sphere, and the ease of both production and distribution of images that new technologies have facilitated, the importance of images as cultural texts has never been so pertinent. On a basic level, this thesis participates in the expanding field of visual studies, and hopefully does so with insight and academic rigor.

More specifically, however, the current study offers important contributions in terms of its theory, method, and substantive areas of inquiry. First, in terms of theory, the current study attempts to understand images in a manner that takes into account their role in both forwarding and disrupting particular dominant cultural meanings. To do so, images are considered both in terms of inherent content, but also, as communicative

utterances. In this capacity, the demonstrative ability of images to document is considered, as is the performative and material nature of the photograph and photographic event.

In the introductory chapter, I outlined four interrelated questions that stood as the basis of analysis throughout this study. Those questions were framed as such: 1) Through what photographed content does homelessness become visible as a social issue? 2) What are the dominant representational trends and frequencies of this visibility? 3) In what ways do these dominant visual trends emphasize or delimit particular visual associations between homelessness and certain types of behaviors, spaces, and artifacts? 4) To what extent do these visual associations fortify or undermine existent discourses related to homelessness?

Although important theoretically to the study, the questions also have an important procedural function. In many ways, these questions offer a template for a method that attempts to understand the segue from individuated micro-expression of cultural meaning, in this case an image, and the more macro-expression of cultural meaning, in this case discourses related to homelessness. Thus, a second important byproduct of this study is the suggestion that a combination of both quantitative and qualitative analysis of images can indeed provide a better insight into the mechanisms through which cultural meanings are asserted in specific cultural texts.

Finally, and from a substantive point-of-view, the study also documents how the use of images can serve to better understand the various ways in which we as a society comprehend and approach homelessness as a social issue. In applying a visual

methodology to a social issue, the study thereby expresses a novel vantage on homelessness within Canada and offers several important insights.

First, the data makes evident that homelessness is predominantly represented as a consequence of individual failings more than systemic ones. Obviously, these findings cannot be extended to a conclusion that the general public views homelessness in a similar way. However, the findings do suggest that this discourse is entrenched in cultural articulations about homelessness, and at the very least, suggests that such an understanding is largely unchallenged within the visual presentation of homelessness within the public sphere.

Second, and related, the data also makes evident that homelessness is predominantly represented as best addressed through personal reform, as guided through corrective institutions such as shelters. Again, these findings cannot be extended to a conclusion that the public views the solution to homelessness in a similar manner. Nevertheless, the strong association between shelter and personal reform does forward a particular type of poverty knowledge that delimits the acknowledged agency and capacity of homeless individuals. Although alternative framings of homelessness do challenge this discourse, the focus on shelters in press coverage leaves unchallenged the primacy of an individual-by-individual response to homelessness.

Taken together, these two findings raise a very important question: can the complexity of social issues be adequately addressed through photographic representations? Certainly, both in the newspaper data, and the photo voice data, a convention exists that typically presents homelessness through images of homeless individuals, either as metonymic symbols or to highlight personal narratives. Such a

convention carries an ancillary consequence: the very same tendency that opens the possibility of images to function in an inter-subjective manner, to mediate a communicative utterance between civic agents, also serves to impede the presentation of homelessness as a structural consequence or systemic failure. Could alternative picturing practices reframe homelessness as a result of deficient housing policies rather than deficient individual characteristics? Indeed, more broadly, is it possible for cultural products to undermine the fundamental (and arguably ideological) beliefs of that productive culture? In terms of homelessness, could any visual representation truly call into question the primacy of beliefs related to the inherent fairness of a competitive capitalist economic system or the legitimacy of private ownership of space? Is homelessness recognizable in anything but the homeless individual? Although outside the scope of the current project, these questions do articulate possible directions of further research.

Possible Contributions to Stakeholders

At the outset of the study I made clear that the focus of my research was homelessness as a social construction and not homelessness as a lived condition. Yet, in addition to the above outlined academic contributions, my findings are inherently beneficial for three key stakeholder groups related to homelessness: homeless individuals, policy makers, and service providers.

For homeless individuals, the thesis supports the assertion that images can act as a form of activism and advocacy. The expansion of definitions of homelessness detected

within the data in Chapter 7 indicate that the creation and distribution of subject generated images of homelessness potentially undermines a prevalent form of poverty knowledge that conceptualizes homeless individuals as incapable, in need of reform, and socially isolated. Although the potential to undermine such knowledge would need to be substantiated through audience focused research, the analysis of this study does support the theoretical assertions of critics that claim alternate picturing practices open avenues for more inclusive and equitable definitions of citizenship (Azoulay, 2008; Garland-Thomson, 2009).

Simultaneously, the performative nature of photography, as remarked and delineated within the thesis, align with more empirically based findings related to the capability of photo voice projects to stimulate individual growth and community change (Strack, Lovelace, Jordan, & Holmes, 2010). It seems entirely possible to conclude, therefore, that when homeless participants engage in the act of photography, and do so in a way that is implicitly reflexive of homelessness as a condition, they engage in an embodied personal practice that potentially reconstitutes their own meaning of homelessness. The findings of the thesis thereby, although collaterally, support the use of images both as a means to engage in activist discursive work and as a beneficial personal practice of expressive self empowerment.

The thesis also rearticulates the existence of a dogged societal understanding of homelessness that elides structural causes and instead highlights personal ones. Through the deconstruction of the seemingly naïve empirical nature images, my research illuminated the existence of a longstanding discursive separation of homelessness from economics. That this separation was as equally pronounced within the entirety of the data

suggests the pervasive extent to which this type of poverty knowledge is entrenched within the social fabric of Canada.

Thus, for those policy makers that wish to truly address homelessness beyond stop-gap philanthropic and service based approaches, my thesis suggests an alternative set of communication strategies may need to be developed and implemented. Such strategies should purposely attempt to reposition homelessness as an economic issue. To do so, policy makers may need to employ representational practices that actively avoid the use of the personal narratives and individual portraits of homeless individuals. Despite the inability of the thesis to reach a definitive conclusion about the efficiency of the proposed representational change, since audience focused research would need to be conducted to do so, the data does clearly show that a significant silence exists in the presentation of homelessness as an economic or systemic problem. The overt presentation of homelessness as a personal issue, and the extent to which such an understanding of homelessness is naturalized by visual representations, lends support for the need of a explicit attempt by policy makers to reassert the primacy of structural and system causes of homelessness in public awareness campaigns.

Finally, my thesis also provides useful findings for service practitioners. In particular, Chapter 5 detects a visual label that demonstrably links homelessness with personal and spatial disorder. This association forwards an image of homeless individuals as largely undeserving and in need of reform. That shelters are pictured as locations of containment and reform, and that homeless individuals are by-and-large pictured as deficient and agents of spatial (and by extension social disorder) poses distinct problems for philanthropic agencies. Most patently, such associations inherently impede the

expansion of services into non marginalized urban spaces. In Chapter 7, alternative picturing practices demonstrated that homelessness could be visually disassociated from spatial disorder. These images resituated homeless individuals into urban space in normalized ways. Such picturing practices could prove effective in public campaigns aimed at overcoming resistance to the expansion of services beyond traditional downtown locations.

Limitations

Such insights aside, this dissertation does possess some limitations. In terms of content, although the photo voice images provided an important comparative component to the study, this component would have been made even stronger if the sample of images had been completely unfiltered and not selected by advocacy organizations. Moving forward, visual data collected directly from homeless individuals would provide a meaningful supplement to the images so-far considered in this study.

A second limitation does relate to method. Although in many ways indebted methodologically to the work of Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins in *Reading National Geographic*, the present study does fall short in two important areas considered by Lutz and Collins. Whereas the current study only considers the images and the discourses which inform the meaning of those images, Lutz and Collins consider both the productive institutional contexts in which images are born and the receptive contexts in which those images truly gain interpretive meaning. Again, moving forward, an important supplement to the current study could include discussions with the photojournalists, advocacy

agencies, and homeless individuals responsible for the production of the studied images, as well as, qualitative interviews with viewers of those images.

Finally, although every effort was made to reflexively consider myself in both the coding and qualitative analysis of the images within the study, I must acknowledge that such impartiality is perhaps a fallacy to aspire towards. Although a limitation that poses no easy solution, a definite limitation in any discussion of meaning, is the reality that interpretation for the purpose of academic endeavors, no matter how reflexively constituted, can never completely be separated from the interpreter. I can only trust that my efforts have yielded valuable findings.

REFERENCES

- Amster, R. (2008). *Lost in space: The criminalization, globalization, and urban ecology of homelessness*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing.
- Amster, R. (2004). *Street people and the constested realms of public space*. New York: LFB Scholarly.
- Anden-Papadopoulos, K. (2008). The Abu Ghraib torture photographs: News frames, visual culture, and the power of images. *Journalism*, 9(1), 5-30.
- Asen, R. (2002). Imagining in the public sphere. *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 35(4), 345-359.
- UN General Assembly. (1981). *Resolution 36/71: International Year of Shelter for the Homeless*. United Nations.
- Auditor General of Canada. (2003). *Federal Government Support to First Nations - Housing on Reserves*. Government of Canada.
- Azoulay, A. (2008). *The Civil Contract of Photography*. New York: Zone Books.
- Baer, U. (2002). *Spectral evidence: The photography of trauma*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Barak, G. (1992). *Gimme shelter: A social history of homelessness in contemporary America*. New York: Praeger.
- Barthes, R. (1981). *Camera Lucida*. (R. Howard, Trans.) New York: Hill and Wang.
- Barthes, R. (1977). *Image-Music-Text*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. (A. Lavers, Trans.) New York: Hill and Wang.
- Baum, A., & Burnes, D. (1993). *A Nation in Denial: The truth about homelessness*. Boulder: Westview Press.

- Bell, P., & Millic, M. (2003). Goffman's Gender Advertisements revisited: Combining content analysis with semiotic analysis. *Visual Communication*, 1(2), 203-222.
- Benedict, A., Shaw, J., & Rivlin, L. (1992). Attitudes towards homeless persons of those attending New York City Community Board meetings. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 21(1), 69-80.
- Berger, J. (1972). *Ways of Seeing*. London: Penguin.
- Berger, M. (2005). *Sight Unseen*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Best, R. (2010). The Influence of Events on Media Coverage of Homelessness. *Social Problems*, 57(1), 74-91.
- Black, G. (2006). *As a jogger runs past, a group of people huddle* [photograph]. From K. Guttormson (November 4, 2006). New shelter in the works: Vacant school building could house 15 families. *Calgary Herald*, B2.
- Blau, J. *The visible poor: Homelessness in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bogard, C. (2003). *Seasons such as these: How homelessness took shape in America*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Bolton, K. (2005). *Greetings* [photograph]. Retrieved May 11, 2012 from <http://www.flickr.com/photos/hopeinshadows>.
- Buck, P., Toro, P., & Ramos, M. (2004). Media and Professional Interest in Homelessness over 30 Years (1974-2003). *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 4(1), 151-171.
- Buda. (2007). *Barbeque bike* [photograph]. Retrieved May 11, 2012 from <http://www.flickr.com/photos/hopeinshadows>.
- Bulduc, L. (2007). *Reflection* [photograph]. Retrieved May 11, 2012 from

- <http://www.flickr.com/photos/hopeinshadows>.
- Bunis, W., Yanckik, A., & Snow, D. (1996). The cultural patterning of sympathy toward the homeless and other victims of misfortune. *Social Problems*, 43(4), 387-402.
- Bunting, P. (2009). *King of the horseshoe pit* [photograph]. Retrieved May 11, 2012 from <http://www.flickr.com/photos/hopeinshadows>.
- Burgin, V. (1982). Photographic Practice and Art Theory. In V. Burgin (Ed.), *Thinking Photography* (pp. 39-83). London: Macmillan Education.
- Burt, M., & Anderson, J. (2005). *AB2034 Program Experiences in Housing Homeless People with Serious Mental Illness*. Corporation of Supportive Housing.
- Calgary Herald Archives. (2005). *Habitat for Humanity* [photograph]. From K. McCormick (March 19, 2005). Home of their own: Habitat for Humanity project helps families achieve. *Calgary Herald*, K1.
- Calgary Herald Archive. (2007). *A man asks motorists for money* [photograph]. From K. Cryderman (April 23, 2007). New York to share homeless lessons; Seek to 'end,' not manage problem. *Calgary Herald*, B1.
- Cartwright, L. (1995). *Screening the Body*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- City of Calgary Community and Neighbourhood Services Research Unit. (2008). *Biennial Count of Homeless Persons in Calgary 2008*.
- Clawson, R., & Trice, R. (2000). Poverty as we know it: Media portrayals of the poor. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 64 (1), 53-64.
- Cloke, P., Milbourne, P., & Widdowfield, R. (2001). Making the homeless count? Enumerating rough sleepers and the distortion of homelessness. *Policy & Politics*, 29(3), 259-279.

- Cloud, D. (2004). To veil the threat of terror: Afghan women and the 'Clash of Civilizations' in the imagery of the U.S. war on Terrorism. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 90(3), 285-306.
- CMHC. (2006). *Canadian Housing Observer 2006*: doi: NH2-1/2006E. CMHC.
- Cooper, D. (2007). *Pedestrians walk around a homeless woman lying* [photograph]. From M. Henry (September 19, 2007). Homeless denied health care; Survey finds 28 per cent have been refused care because they lacked a valid Ontario health card. *Toronto Star*, A1.
- Cresswell, T. (2001). *The tramp in America*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Culhane, D., & Metraux, S. (2008). Rearranging the deck chairs or reallocating the lifeboats? Homeless assistance and its alternatives. *Journal of American Planning Association*, 74, 111-121.
- Debord, G. (1994). *The society of the spectacle*. New York: Zone Books.
- DeLuca, K. M., & Demo, A. T. (2000). Imaging nature: Watkins, Yosemite, and the birth of environmentalism. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 17(3), 241-260.
- DeLuca, K., & Peebles, J. (2002). From public sphere to public screen: Democracy, activism, and the violence of Seattle. *Critical Studies in Media Communications*, 19(2), 125-151.
- De Neve, C. (2006). *Part of what keeps you going* [photograph]. From R. Summerfield (December 23, 2006). Families thankful for room at the Inn. *Calgary Herald*, A1.
- Depastino, T. (2003). *Citizen hobo: How a century of homelessness shaped America*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Derrida, J. (1976). *Of grammatology*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University.
- Deutsche, R. (1996). *Evictions: Art and spatial politics*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- DeVerteuil, G., May, J., & von Mahs, J. (2009). Complexity not collapse: Recasting geographies of homelessness in a 'punitive' age. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(5), 646-666.

- Dodman, D. (2003). Shooting in the city: an autophotographic exploration of the urban environment in Kingston, Jamaica. *Area*, 35, 293-304.
- Domke, D., Perlmutter, D., & Spratt, M. (2002). The primes of our times?: An examination of the 'power' of visual images. *Journalism*, 3, 131-161.
- Doyle, J. (2007). Picturing Clima(c)tic: Greenpeace and the Representational Politics of Climate Change Communication. *Science as Culture*, 16(2), 129-150.
- Dunphy, C. (1999, October 10). Hidden homeless alert to city. *Toronto Star*, p. 1.
- Eberle Planning and Research. (2010). *Vancouver Homeless Count 2010*.
- Eby, D., & Misura, C. (2006). *Cracks in the Foundation*. Vancouver: Pivot Law Society.
- Ellickson, R. (1996). Controlling chronic misconduct in city spaces: Of panhandlers, skid rows, and public-space zoning. *The Yale Law Journal*, 105(5), 1165-1248.
- Elo, S., & Kyngas, H. (2007). The qualitative content analysis process. *Advanced Nursing*, 62(1), 107-115.
- Enns, A. (2007). The return of the dead: Photography, memory and mourning. In A. Dallman, R. Isensee, & P. Kneis (Eds.), *Picturing America*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Entman, R. (1995). Television, Democratic Theory, and the Visual Construction of Poverty. *Research in Political Sociology*, 7, 139-151.
- Falvo, N. (2003). *Gimme Shelter! Homelessness and Canada's social housing crisis*. Toronto: The CSJ Foundation for Research and Education.
- Falvo, N. (2009). *Homelessness, Program Responses, and an Assessment of Toronto's Streets to Homes Program*. Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc and Social Housing Services Corporation.
- Fanon, F. (1991). *Black Skin, White Masks*. (C. Markman, Trans.) London: Pluto.

- Farrell, C. (2005). Sharing neighborhoods: Order and disorder in homeless-domiciled encounters. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48, 1033-1054.
- Faux, W., & Kim, H. (2006). Visual representation of victims of Hurricane Katrina: A dialectical approach to content analysis and discourse. *Space and Culture*, 9(1), 55-59.
- Feldman, L. (2006). *Citizens without shelter*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Finnegan, C. (2003). *Picturing Poverty*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Finnegan, C. (2005). Recognizing Lincoln: Image vernaculars in nineteenth-century visual culture. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 8(1), 31-58.
- Finnegan, C. (2001). The naturalistic enthymeme and visual argument: Photographic representation in the "Skull Controversy". *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 37, 133-149.
- Finnegan, C., & Kang, J. (2004). Sighting the public: Iconoclasm and public sphere theory. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 90(4), 377-402.
- Fishman, J., & Marvin, C. (2006). Portrayals of violence and group difference in newspaper photographs: Nationalism and media. *Journal of Communications*, 53, 32-44.
- Foss, S. (1994). A rhetorical schema for the evaluation of visual imagery. *Communications Studies*, 45, 213-224.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archeology of knowledge*. New York: Pantheon.
- Gardiner, H., & Cairns, K. (2003). *2002 Calgary homeless study: Family sector report*. Retrieved from Calgary Homeless Foundation:
<http://www.calgaryhomeless.com/images/productshttp://www.calgaryhomeless.com/images/products/ documents/1223/A1DD99E8-919C-4023-A708-51A3869ABFAC.PDF/ documents/1223/A1DD99E8-919C-4023-A708-51A3869ABFAC.PDF>
- Garland-Thomson, R. (2009). *Staring: How we look*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Georges, S. (2006). *Oppenheimer Park* [photograph]. Retrieved May 11, 2012 from <http://www.flickr.com/photos/hopeinshadows>.
- Gordon, T. (2004). The return of vagrancy law and the politics of poverty in Canada. *Canadian Review of Social Policy*, 54, 34-58.
- Gradon, S. (2006). *I'm very surprised to be alive* [photograph]. From T. White (February 17, 2006). City shelters packed as temperatures plunge. *Calgary Herald*, B1.
- Grady, J. (2007). Advertising images as social indicators: Depictions of blacks in LIFE magazine, 1936-2000. *Visual Studies*, 22(3), 211-239.
- Greenberg, J., May, T., & Elliot, C. (2006). Homelessness and Media Activism in the Voluntary Sector: A Case Study. *The Philanthropist*, 20(2), 131-143.
- Grierson, J. (1966). *Grierson on documentary*. (F. Hardy, Ed.) London: Faber and Faber.
- Griffin, M. (2001). Camera as witness, Image as sign: The study of visual communication in Communication Research. In W. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook: Volume 24* (pp. 433-464). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Griffin, M. (2004). Picturing America's "war on terrorism" in Afghanistan and Iraq: Photographic motifs as news frames. *Journalism*, 5(4), 381-402.
- Griffin, M. (2004). Picturing America's 'War on Terrorism' in Afghanistan and Iraq. *Journalism*, 5(4), 381-402.
- Griffin, M. (2008). Visual competence and media literacy: can one exist without the other? *Visual Studies*, 23(2), 113-129.
- Grzyb, A. *Representing American Homelessness: Objectification, appopriation, and narrative containment*. PhD dissertation, Duke Univeristy.

- Gubrium, J., & Holstein, J. (2000). Analyzing interpretive practice. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd Edition ed., pp. 487-508). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Gubrium, J., & Holstein, J. (1997). *The new language of qualitative method*. New York: Oxford Press.
- Hall, R. (2009). *Wanted: The outlaw in American Visual Culture*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Hall, S. (1973). The determination of news photographs. In S. Cohen, & J. Young (Eds.), *The manufacture of news* (pp. 176-191). London: Constable.
- Hansen, A., & Machin, D. (2008). Visually branding the environment: Climate change as a marketing opportunity. *Discourse Studies*, 10(6), 777-794.
- Hodgetts, D., Andrea, H., & Radley, A. (2006). Life in the shadow of the media. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 498-516.
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., & Radley, A. (2007). Considering photographs never taken during photo-production projects. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 4, 263-280.
- Hodgetts, D., Cullen, A., & Radley, A. (2005). Television characterizations of homeless people in the United Kingdom. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 5(1), 29-48.
- Hopper, K. (1991). Homelessness old and new: The matter of definition. *Housing Policy Debate*, 2, 773-785.
- Hopper, K. (2003). *Reckoning with Homelessness*. Ithica: Cornell University Press.
- Hulchanski, D., Campsie, P., Chau, S., Hwang, S., & Paradis, E. (2009). *Homelessness: What's in a Word?* Toronto: Cities Centre, University of Toronto.

- Hwang, S. (2004). Homelessness and Health. In D. Huchanski, & M. Shapcott (Eds.), *Finding Room, Policy Options for a Canadian Rental Strategy* (pp. 167-177). Toronto: UofT Press.
- Iyengar, S. (1990). Framing Responsibility for Political Issues: The Case of Poverty. *Political Behavior*, 12(1), 19-40.
- Jacob, T. *Terry Weaymouth works as a general labourer* [photograph]. From L. Slobodian (April 2, 2006). Sometimes there is nowhere else to go. *Calgary Herald*, B3.
- Jay, M. (1993). *Downcast eyes*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Jencks, C. (1994). *The homeless*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Johnsen, S., May, J., & Cloke, P. (2008). Imagining 'homeless places': using auto-photography to (re)examine the geographies of homelessness. *Area*, 40(2), 194-207.
- Jones, C. (2006). *Volunteers like business owner Catharine Fennell* [photograph]. From L. Ferenc (September 15, 2006). Dishing out charity cash a challenge. *Toronto Star*, B1.
- Kane, M. et al. (2010). Perceptions of students about younger and older men and women who may be homeless. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 36, 261-277.
- Katz, M. (1989). *The undeserving poor*. New York: Pantheon .
- Kawash, S. (1998). The homeless body. *Public Culture*, 10(2), 319-339.
- Kidd, S. (2009). Social Stigma and Homeless Youth. In J. Hulchanski, P. Campsie, S. Chau, S. Hwang, & E. Paradis (Eds.), *Finding Home: Policy Options for Addressing Homelessness in Canada*. Toronto: Cities Centre, University of Toronto.
- Kingfisher, C. (2007). Discursive constructions of homelessness in a small city in the Canadian prairies: Notes on deconstructing, individualization, and the production of (race and gendered) unmarked categories. *American Ethnologist*, 34(1), 91-107.

- Klodawsky, F. (2006). Landscapes on the Margins: Gender and homelessness in Canada. *Gender, Place, and Culture*, 13(4), 365-381.
- Klodawsky, F., Farrell, S., & D'Aubry, T. (2001). Images of homelessness in Ottawa: Implications for local politics. *The Canadian Geographer*, 46(2), 126-143.
- Kneebone, R., Emery, J., & Grynishak, O. (2011). Homelessness in Alberta. *SPP Research Papers*, 4(13), 1-11.
- Kraus, D., & Dowling, P. (2003). Family homelessness: Causes and solutions. *Social Planning and Research Council of BC*. CMHC Socio-Economic Series.
- Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (2006). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. London: Routledge.
- Kusmer, K. (2006). *Down and out, on the road: The homeless in American history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kusmer, K. (2004). Modernization and its discontents: Homelessness and middle-class media in the US, 1850-1930. In N. Fintzsch, & U. Lekmkühl (Eds.), *Atlantic Communications: The media in American and German History from the 17th to the 20th century* (pp. 183-205). Oxford: Berg.
- Kusmer, K. (2003). Private lives and public space: The homeless and the working class during the industrial era. In M. Vaudagna (Ed.), *Private and public American history: State, family, subjectivity in the twentieth century* (pp. 389-405). Rome: Otto Editore.
- Lankenau, S. (1999). Stronger than dirt: Public humiliation and status enforcement among panhandlers. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 28, 288-320.
- Layton, J. (2000). *Homelessness: The making and unmaking of a crisis*. Toronto: Penguin.

- Lee, B., & Farrell, C. (2003). Buddy, Can You Spare A Dime?: Homelessness, Panhandling, and the Public. *Urban Affairs Review*, 38, 299-326.
- Lee, B., Farrell, C., & Link, B. (2004). Revisiting the contact hypothesis: The case of public exposure to homelessness. *American Sociological Review*, 69(1), 40-63.
- Lee, B., Link, B., & Toro, P. (1991). Images of homelessness: Public views and media messages. *Housing Policy Debate*, 2, 649-682.
- Lee, B., Tyler, K., & Wright, J. (2010). The New Homelessness Revisited. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36, 501-521.
- Lesnick, G. (2007). *Pigeon walking* [photograph]. Retrieved May 11, 2012 from <http://www.flickr.com/photos/hopeinshadows>.
- Link, B., Schwartz, S., Moore, R., Phelan, J., Struening, E., & Stueve, A. (1995). Public Knowledge, Attitudes, and Beliefs About Homeless People: Evidence for Compassion Fatigue? *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(4), 533-556.
- Lutz, C., & Collins, J. (1993). *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lyon-Callo, V. (2004). *Inequaility, poverty, and neoliberal governance*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Margolis, E. (2004). Looking at discipline, looking at labour: photographic representations of Indian boarding schools. *Visual Studies*, 19(1), 72-96.
- May, J. (2003). The view from the streets: Geographies of homelessness in British newspaper press. In A. Blunt (Ed.), *Cultural geography in practice* (pp. 23-26). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force (1999) *Taking Responsibility for Homelessness: An Action Plan for Toronto*. Toronto: City of Toronto.
- McRobbie, A. (2006). Vulnerability, violence and (cosmopolitan) ethics: Butler's Precarious Life. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 57(1), 69-86.
- Min, E. (Ed.). *Reading the homeless: The media's image of homeless culture*. Westport: Praeger.
- Mitchell, D. (1997). The annihilation of space by law: The roots and implications of anti-homeless laws in the United States. *Antipod*, 29, 303-355.
- Mitchell, D. (2003). *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Moeller, S. (2004). The cultural construction of urban poverty: Images of poverty in New York City. *Journal of American Culture*, 18(4), 1-16.
- Mulvey, L. (1989). *Visual pleasure and narrative cinema*. London: Macmillan.
- NADbank. (2010). NADbank.ca. Retrieved from www.NADbank.ca
- Nichols, T. (2007). *The Art of Poverty*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- O'Connor, A. (2001). *Poverty Knowledge*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- O'Flaherty, B. (1995). An Economic Theory of Homelessness and Housing. *Journal of Housing Economics*, 4 (1), 13-49.
- O'Flaherty, B. (2004). Wrong person and wrong place: for homelessness, the conjunction is what matters. *Journal of Housing Economics*, 13, 1-15.
- O'Flaherty, B. (1996). *Making Room*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Pascale, C.-M. (2005). There's no place like home: The discursive creation of homelessness. *Cultural Studies - Critical Methodologies*, 5(2), 250-268.

- Pearson, C., Montgomery, A., & Locke, G. (2009). Housing stability among homeless individuals with serious mental illness participating in housing first programs. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 37(3), 404-416.
- Perlmutter, D. (1998). *Photojournalism and foreign policy: Icons of outrage in international crises*. Westport: Praeger Publishers.
- Perrin, W. (2007). *A number of politicians... spent a night on the street* [photograph]. From F. Bula (July 6, 2007). No vacancy for city's poor; Even worst rooms in Downtown Eastside fill up as low-income workers are forced into the area. *Vancouver Sun*, B1.
- Peterson, V. (2001). The rhetorical criticism of visual elements: An alternative to Foss's Schema. *Southern Communication Journal*, 67(1), 19-32.
- Phelan, J., Link, B., Moore, R., & Stueve, A. (1997). The stigma of homelessness: The impact of the label 'homeless' on attitudes toward poor persons. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60(4), 323-337.
- Phillips, R. (2004). Making sense out/of the visual: Aboriginal presentations and representations in nineteenth-century Canada. *Art History*, 27(4), 593-615.
- Pimpare, S. (2008). *A people's history of poverty in America*. New York: New Press.
- Radley, A., Hodgetts, D., & Cullen, A. (2005). Visualizing Homelessness: A study in photography and estrangement. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 15, 273-295.
- Remillard, C., & Schneider, B. (2010). Picturing Homelessness. *Social Development Issues*, 32(3), 77-91.
- Rhodes, T. (2008). *Pat Hatzistamatis serves Harold Fredrikson* [photograph]. From S. Massinon (October 14, 2008). 'Almost home' for Thanksgiving; Less fortunate served free meal at

- eatery. *Calgary Herald*, B1.
- Rhodes, T. (2009). *Dr. Janette Hurley, on-site physician* [photograph]. From V. Berenyi (February 9, 2009). Calgary's doctor to the homeless. *Calgary Herald*, B2.
- Richter, S., & al, e. (2010). Analysis of newspaper journalists' portrayal of the homeless and homelessness in Alberta, Canada. *International Journal of Child Health and Human Development*, 3(1), 125-136.
- Riis, J. (1887). *Tramp in Mulberry street yard* [photograph]. Retrieved May 11, 2012 from <http://wesorcerers.tumblr.com>.
- Rossi, P. (1989). *Down and Out in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Roving Bill*. (1893). [photograph]. Retrieved May 11, 2012 from <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma01/White/hobo/rovingbill.jpg>.
- Schiff, J. (2007). Homeless families in Canada: Discovering total families. *Families in Society*, 88(1), 131-140.
- Schneider, B, et al. (2010). Representations of Homelessness in Four Canadian Newspapers: Regulation, Control, and Social Order. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 37(4), 147-172.
- Sekula, A. (1982). On the invention of photographic meaning. In V. Burgin (Ed.), *Thinking Photography* (pp. 84-109). London: Macmillan Education.
- Sekula, A. (1986). The body and the Archive. *October*, 39, 1-64.
- Shesgreen, S. (2002). *Images of the outcast*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Shields, T. (2001). Network news construction of homelessness: 1980-1993. *Communication Review*, 4, 193-218.

- Sinclair, R. (2007). Identity lost and found: Lessons from the sixties scoop. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, 3(1), 65-82.
- Sliwinski, S. (2004). A painful labour: responsibility and photography. *Visual Studies*, 19(2), 150-164.
- Sliwinski, S. (2009). On Photographic Violence. *Photography and Culture*, 2(3), 303-316.
- Snow, D., & Anderson, L. (1993). *Down on their luck: A study of homeless street people*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Snow, D., & Mulchaly, M. (2001). Space, Politics and the survival strategies of the homeless. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45, 149-16.
- Snow, D., Anderson, P., & Koegel, P. (1994). Distorting tendencies in research on the homeless. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 37(4), 461-476.
- Sommer, H. (2000). *Homelessness in Urban America: A Review of the Literature*. Institute of Government Studies Press. Berkeley: University of California.
- Sontag, S. (1977). *On photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Sontag, S. (2003). *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Picador.
- Szorenyi, A. (2006). The images speak for themselves? Reading refugee coffee-table books. *Visual Studies*, 21(1), 24-41.
- Tagg, J. (1988). *The burden of representation*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Tagg, J. (2009). *The disciplinary frame: Photographic truths and the capture of meaning*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Takahashi, L. (1996). A decade of understanding homelessness in the USA: From characterization to representation. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29, 291-310.

- Takahashi, L. (1997). The socio-spatial stigmatization of homelessness and HIV/AIDS: Toward an explanation of the NIMBY syndrome. *Social Science and Medicine*, 45(6), 903-914.
- Tapia, R. (2005). Impregnating images: Visions of race, sex, and citizenship in California's teen prevention campaigns. *Feminist Media Studies*, 5(1), 7-22.
- Toronto Shelter, Support, & Housing Administration. (2009). *Street Needs Assessment Results*.
- Trachtenberg, A. (1988). The FSA File. In C. Fleishchhauer, & B. Brannan (Eds.), *Documenting America: 1935-1943* (pp. 43-71). Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press.
- Twigg, R. (1992). The performative dimension of surveillance: Jacob Riis' *How The Other Half Lives*. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 12, 305-328.
- Waldron, J. (2000). Homelessness and community. *The University of Toronto Law Journal*, 50(4), 371-406.
- Walker, Ryan. (2003). Engaging the urban Aboriginal population in low-cost housing initiatives: Lessons from Winnipeg. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 12(1), 99-118.
- Wardle, C. (2007). Monsters and angels: Visual press coverage of child murders in the USA and UK, 1930-2000. *Journalism*, 8, 263-286.
- Warner, M. (2002). Publics and counterpublics. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 88(4), 413-425.
- Wen, C., Hudak, P., & Hwang, S. (2007). Homeless People's Perceptions of Welcomeness and Unwelcomeness in Healthcare Encounters. *Society of General Internal Medicine*, 22, 1011-1017.
- Wente, M. (2000). Urban Aboriginal homelessness in Canada. Retrieved July 5, 2012, from action.web.ca/home/housing/resources.shtml

- Whitzman, C. (2006). At the intersection of invisibilities: Canadian women, homelessness, and health outside the 'big city'. *Gender, Place, and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 13(4), 383-399.
- Widdowfield, R. (2001). Beggars, baggers and bums? Media representations of homeless people. *The National Academy of the Humanities and Social Sciences Review*, 51-53.
- Wilson, J., & Kelling, G. (1982, March). Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety. *The Atlantic Monthly*.
- Wright, T. (2004). Collateral coverage: Media images of Afghan refugees, 2001. *Visual Studies*, 19(1), 97-112.
- Vancouver Sun Archive. (2005). *Emergency shelters stay closed* [photograph]. From A. O'Brian (January 4, 2005). Shelters stay closed: Holidays keep some centres from opening despite overflow. *The Vancouver Sun*, B1.
- Zelizer, B. (1998). *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust memory through the camera's eye*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ziller, R. (1990). *Auto-photography: Observations from the inside-out*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Zimmerman, T. *Highway shanty knocked down* [photograph]. From C. Maughan (August 24, 2006). Highway shanty knocked down. *Toronto Star*, A12.

APPENDIX 1

Sample Coding Sheet

File	Imagesize	Case	GeneralSul	Groupsize	GeneralCor	Scene	SceneOrde	Artifacts	Range	Exposure	GeneralAct
TCH050130	0	1	0	111	0	5	3	4	0	1	0
TCH051204	1	2	1	0	0	9	0	4	1	1	0
TCH051204	1	2	1	0	0	9	0	4	1	1	0
TCH051204	1	1	2	0	0	5	5	4	1	0	0
TCH051204	1	1	2	0	0	5	5	4	1	0	0
TCH060624	0	1	0	111	0	5	0	4	1	1	0
TCH060624	0	1	0	111	0	5	0	4	0	1	0
TCH060624	0	0	0	111	0	1	0	4	1	1	0
TCH060624	0	1	0	111	0	1	0	4	1	1	0
TCH061103	1	1	0	111	0	4	0	4	1	1	0
TCH061103	1	0	0	111	0	6	0	3	0	1	0
TCH070330	0	1	0	111	0	5	3	4	0	1	0
TCH070330	0	1	0	111	0	5	3	4	0	1	0
TCH070330	1	1	0	111	0	6	0	3	1	1	0
TCH070330	0	1	0	111	0	5	4	4	0	1	0
TCH070714	1	3	1	0	4	3	0	3	1	1	0
TCH070714	1	3	1	1	4	3	0	3	1	1	0
TCH070714	1	3	1	1	4	3	0	3	1	1	0
TCH071210	0	3	0	111	0	2	0	5	1	1	0
TCH071210	1	1	0	111	0	6	0	4	2	1	0
TCH080324	1	1	0	111	0	1	0	4	2	1	0
TCH080324	1	1	2	0	0	6	0	4	0	1	0
TCH080324	1	1	2	0	0	6	0	4	0	1	0
TCH080324	0	1	0	111	0	5	0	4	0	1	0
TCH080324	1	1	2	0	0	6	0	4	1	0	0
TCH080324	1	1	2	0	0	6	0	4	1	0	0
TCH080324	1	1	2	0	0	6	0	4	1	1	0
TCH080324	1	1	2	0	0	6	0	4	1	1	0
TCH080324	0	1	0	111	0	6	0	3	0	1	0
TCH080906	0	2	0	111	0	1	0	4	1	1	0
TCH080906	1	1	0	111	0	1	0	4	0	1	0
TCH081121	0	1	0	111	0	5	3	4	1	1	0
TCH081121	1	1	0	111	0	1	0	4	1	1	0
TCH081121	0	1	0	111	0	5	3	4	1	1	0
TCH081121	1	1	1	1	4	4	0	3	1	1	0
TCH081121	1	1	1	1	4	4	0	3	1	1	0
TCH081121	1	1	1	1	4	4	0	3	1	1	0

Eyes	Gaze	Expression	Posture	SpecificAct	Interactive	F WithPet	Building	Newspaper	Frontpage
1	2	1	4	0	2	0	99	1	0
0	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1
0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1
2	3	999	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
2	3	999	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
2	3	3	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
2	3	3	3	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	0	1	3	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	4	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	4	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
1	1	2	4	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
1	0	0	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	4	0	2	0	99	1	1
1	2	1	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
1	2	1	3	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1
0	2	1	1	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	1	4	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	4	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	3	4	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	0	0	2	0	99	1	1
0	2	0	0	0	2	0	99	1	1