

https://dspace.org/

Perceptions of youth on their housing situation in the inner city of Pretoria

Le Roux, Lené

2014-02-05
http://hdl.handle.net10539/13665

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

PERCEPTIONS OF YOUTH ON THEIR HOUSING SITUATION IN THE INNER CITY OF PRETORIA

Lené Le Roux

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, School of Architecture and Planning, at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Built Environment in Housing.

Johannesburg, 2013

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters in Built Environment in Housing to the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree of examination to any other University.

…….
(signed by candidate Lené Le Roux)

…… day of ……., ……

ABSTRACT

When entering and settling into adulthood in a less than ideal developing world, youth with minimal resources continuously need to manoeuvre between opportunities and their living situation. This research project explores the phenomenon of youth residing in the inner city of Pretoria to understand their housing situation through the lens of homelessness and personal development. A qualitative field study, embedded in the research paradigm ethnomethodology, was conducted through interviews and observations with low-income, young males. The research has shown that respondents do not see themselves as ‘homeless’, even though the essence of what a ‘home’ means to them does not resonate with their perception of the inner city. Still, the various housing typologies and channels of socio-economic support that are accessed provide enough reason and resources to retain their position in the inner city. The impact of these negotiations on the identity and overall development of the respondents need further investigation - beyond what the research has suggested.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to the youth that start off with so little and yet *still* have to make deep sacrifices in an effort to reach a more dignified life. I hope that this will contribute to the true meaning of democracy and the fight for the human rights. I also dedicate this to my parents who have taken the alternative path.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would herewith like to acknowledge a number of people, organisations and companies that have made this research possible. My deepest appreciation for my supervisor, Prof. Marie Huchzermeyer, for her dedication, patience and wisdom as a teacher and an expert in the field of housing. This research would not have been possible without the financial assistance and time off work from Kayamandi Development Services, and especially managing director Russell Aird. Thank you for your support and patience.

Four organisations have been of vital importance to this study as they have given me the space and time to explore the housing situation in the inner city of Pretoria through the strong foundation and networks they have built over many years. These are:

- Pretoria Evangelism and Nurture (PEN)
- People Upliftment Programme (POP-UP)
- Yeast City Housing
- All Harvest Ministries

The following individuals from these organisations have taken the time to help me in my search for participants and have always been willing to assist in whatever way they can. A very big thank you to Edmond, Dagmara, Dudu, Eric, Gideon and Solomon. With this I would also like to thank all the nine participants who were willing to undertake an interview with me and to share some of their life-stories, their experiences, opinions and thoughts with me. Thank you for your rich contribution to this study and the body of research on housing at large.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my friends and family who believe in my efforts to improve myself and to contribute to the betterment of society at large. Thank you for your guidance, ears, patience, distraction and love.

CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....I

ABSTRACT.....II

DEDICATION.....III

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....IV

CONTENTS.....V

LIST OF FIGURES.....VIII

LIST OF TABLES.....IX

ACRONYMS.....X

1. INITIATING THE STUDY.....1

1.1 Introduction.....1

1.2 Background.....2

1.3 The Field Study Area.....3

1.4 Problem Statement and Rationale.....7

1.5 Aim of the Research.....8

1.6 Research Question and Assumed Findings.....8

1.6.1 Sub-research questions.....8

1.6.2 Assumed Findings.....8

1.7 Introduction to the Literature.....9

1.7.1 Housing and the Meaning of Home and Homelessness.....9

1.7.2 Youth Development.....11

1.7.3 Structural Exclusion and Context Conceptualisation.....12

1.8 A Brief on the Conceptual Framework.....13

1.9 Introducing the Research Methodology.....13

1.10 Report Structure.....14

2. REVIEWING THE LITERATURE, FRAMING THE CONCEPTS.....16

2.1 Introduction.....16

2.2 Home, Homelessness and the Meaning of Housing.....16

2.2.1 The Meaning of '*Housing*'.....17

2.2.2 The Dimensions of '*Home'*.....19

2.2.3 The Complexity of 'Homelessness'.....24

2.3 Operations of Youth in Time-Space Parameters.....26

2.3.1 The Youth Constructing their Identity.....27

2.3.2 The Male Youth.....29

2.4 Understanding the Influence of Exclusion and Context 31
2.4.1 Contextual and Exclusionary Factors of Definition 31
2.4.2 Urban Poverty and Inequality as a State of Exclusion 32
2.4.3 Exclusion through Rigid Planning and Limited Perceptions of Housing Needs 33
2.5 The Conceptual Framework 36
2.6 Conclusion 36

3. A METHOD FOR RESEARCH 38
3.1 Introduction 38
3.2 Research Design and Approach 38
3.3 Population and Sampling Procedures 40
3.4 Collecting and Processing Data 42
3.4.1 Undertaking Qualitative Interviews 42
3.4.2 Research through Observation 44
3.5 The Approach for Analysis 44
3.6 Ethical Considerations and Other Deliberations 45
3.7 Conclusion 47

4. SEARCHING FOR MORE THAN A HOUSE; MORE THAN A HOME: THE EMPIRICAL DATA UNFOLDED 48
4.1 Introduction 48
4.2 Participant Profiles 49
4.3 Issues for Interrogation 53
4.3.1 The Process of Urbanisation and/or Migration 53
4.3.2 Building on Identity versus the Need to Survive 54
4.3.3 Manoeuvring within the Housing Sector 56
4.3.4 Overarching Perceptions on Current Housing Situations 63
4.3.5 Perceptions on Quality of Life and Adequate Housing 66
4.3.6 Youth Development in Context: Contributions and Set-backs 69
4.3.7 Interpretations of Home and Homelessness 72
4.4 Conclusion 76

5. THE YOUTH'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH HOMELESSNESS: ANLYSIS AND FINDINGS 77
5.1 Introduction 77
5.2 Accessing Housing and Adequacy of the Accessed Housing 77
5.4 Unpacking Perceptions of Home and Homelessness 80
5.5 Youth Development in a State of Transition 85
5.6 The Construction or Destruction of Identity 87
5.7 Conclusion 90

6. CONCLUSION OF YOUNG MALE PERCEPTIONS ON THEIR HOUSING SITUATION IN THE INNER CITY OF PRETORIA 91

6.1 Introduction 91

6.2 Study Overview 91

6.3 A Summary of the Literature and Conceptualisation Process 92

6.4 The Findings Illuminated 94

6.5 Conclusions and Recommendations 95

REFERENCES 97

ANNEXURE A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 108

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Tree in Sunnyside covered with chewing gum or adhesive gum where rental accommodation in local area was advertised…….	1
Figure 1.2	The map below provides the location of the City of Tshwane at a provincial level and the inner City of Tshwane at a local municipal level……..	13
Figure 1.3	The field study area…….	14

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Collective categories within each experiential mode…..	20
Table 2.2	Qualities of homely and non-homely environments……	21
Table 3.1	Monthly rentals (in South African Rands) of flats in residential areas in the inner city of Pretoria for 2011….	41
Table 5.1	Criteria for adequate housing versus the housing situation per participant……	78
Table 5.2	Qualities of a ‘home’ or homely environment……..	83

ACRONYMS

CBD	Central Business District
CoT	City of Tshwane
CTMM	City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality
DHS	Department of Human Settlements
ISP	Institutional Subsidy Programme
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NPO	Non-profit Organisation
PEN	Pretoria Evangelism and Nurture
POP-UP	People Upliftment Programme
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
SHP	Social Housing Programme
TLF	Tshwane Leadership Foundation
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
UK	United Kingdom
UNISA	University of South Africa
UP	University of Pretoria
USA	United States of America
YCH	Yeast City Housing

1. INITIATING THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The inner city of Pretoria is a compact and vibrant core that attracts a vast amount of rural-based, migrant youth in their quest for personal development and exposure to a different world – the city life. The housing available in the inner city is predominantly flats provided as rental stock to cater for the low- to middle-income groups largely seeking temporary accommodation. The picture below is of a tree in Sunnyside selected as the location where all rooms in apartments available for letting or subletting are advertised. Local residents say that at the end of every month this tree is covered with advertisements.

Figure 1.1 Tree in Sunnyside covered with chewing gum or adhesive gum where rental accommodation in local area was advertised.



Source: Photograph taken by Lené Le Roux, December 2012

Other small housing niches also exist in and around the inner city which the poor or very low-income have created or found ways to access. Young males of this status leave their childhood and sometimes stifling homes for cities such as Tshwane with the motivation to earn some money, study, gain work experience and establish themselves as individuals and as men. Living on the streets, in informal dwellings or in shelters is only a temporary situation to address more pressing needs.

1.2 Background

It has become evident from on-going research and analysis of current national housing structures (policies and programmes) in place, that there is a gap in the housing subsidy system. It does not *directly* address the single, dependent-less, poor population of South Africa in need of adequate housing, unless they are part of an informal settlement that is due for *in-situ* upgrading (DHS, 2009). The Institutional Subsidy Programme (ISP) and the Social Housing Programme (SHP) were developed to grant funding to accredited institutions to develop and manage affordable rental housing, and in the case of the ISP sell units after four years of being built (*ibid.*). However, the number of social housing institutions active is not enough to address the demand for adequate housing for the dependent-less, poor – especially in prime urban locations close to employment and other socio-economic opportunities.

The City of Tshwane (CoT) is the name of the metropolitan municipal area or local authority, whilst Pretoria is the name of the city. Pretoria is the administrative capital city of South Africa. The central business district (CBD) of Pretoria is officially referred to as Pretoria Central and popularly referred to as ‘central’ or ‘town’. The CBD and surrounding suburbs such as Sunnyside, Arcadia, Pretoria West, Salvokop and Muckleneuk (here on referred to as the ‘inner city’ of Pretoria) house most national government departments and a large number of tertiary educational institutions such as the University of Pretoria (UP), the University of South Africa (UNISA), the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT), Boston College and Damelin. This scenario inherently attracts students and the working class seeking employment in government departments and in businesses still active in Pretoria Central.

Statistical data extracted from the Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) Population Census 2011 indicates that approximately 56% of the population residing in the inner city are between the ages of 18 and 32, of which 50% are male (StatsSA, 2012). This constitutes a total of 44 789 young males (*ibid.*). The population group between the ages of 18 and 32 are usually of the economically active population, however 44% of this population considered ‘other not economically active’, 41% are employed

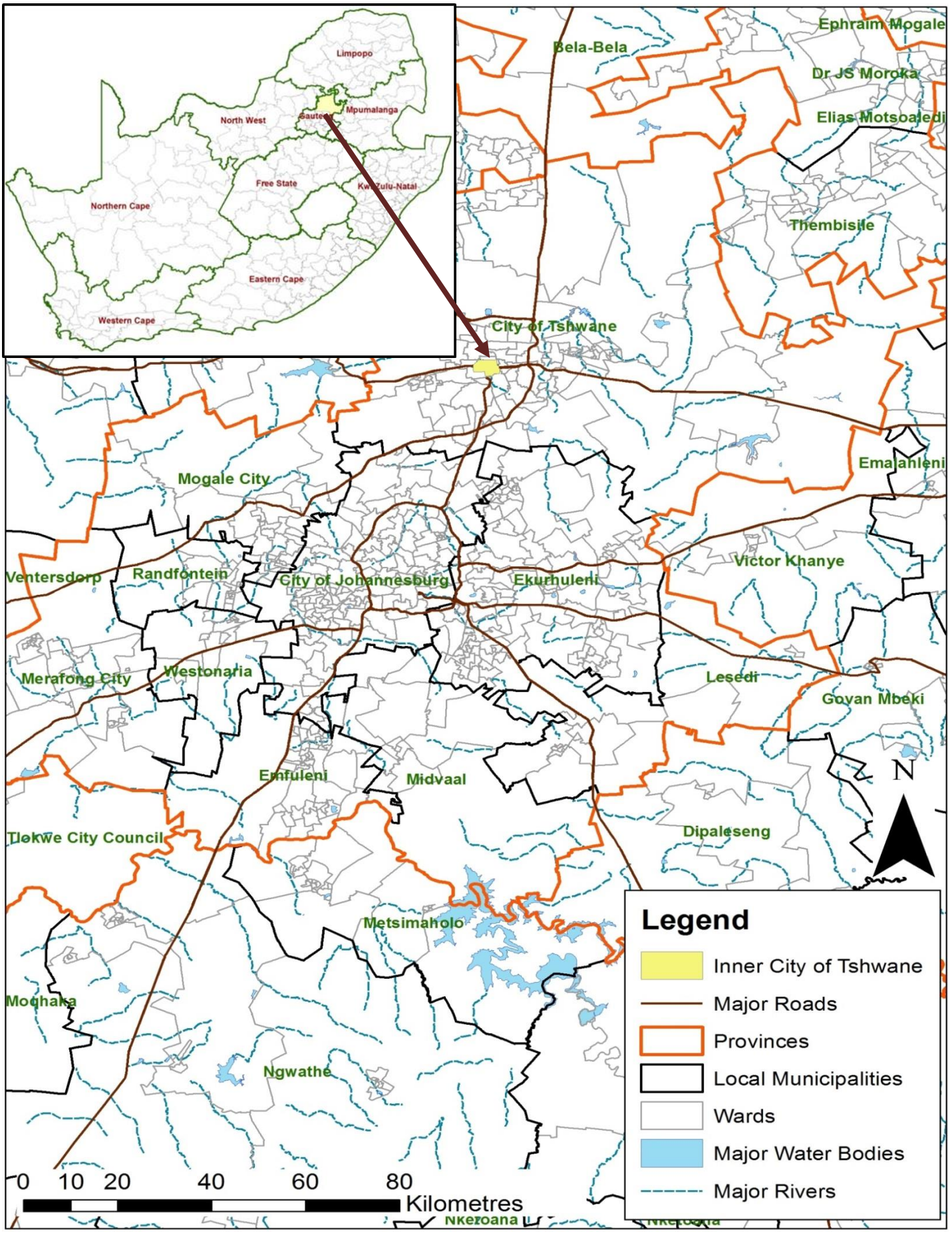
either full-time, part-time or through piece jobs and 15% are officially unemployed (*ibid.*). Lastly, 14% of the population within this age group earn between R6401 and R12 800, 13% earn between R1601 and R3200, 12% earn between R3201 and R6400 and 38% identify themselves as having no income (*ibid.*).

Stats SA Census 2011 data portrays a telling story of the population group that resides in the inner city. The majority of the population is considered to be youth, half of which are male. A large portion of the inner city population is students/scholars and it is thus assumed that they are job-seekers or work either part-time or full-time. It is also assumed that students/scholars may sometimes receive remittances to sustain themselves while living in urban environments close to educational institutions they attend (StatsSA, 2013). Of course a portion of the young male population are not attending an academic institution and are thus either employed, job-seeking or unemployed and not job-seeking. StatsSA (2013) also highlights that approximately two-thirds of the population are of no- and low-income status. Setting the scene raises questions regarding the housing situation of low-income, young males, given that this is the most prominent population group living in the inner city of Pretoria.

1.3 The Field Study Area

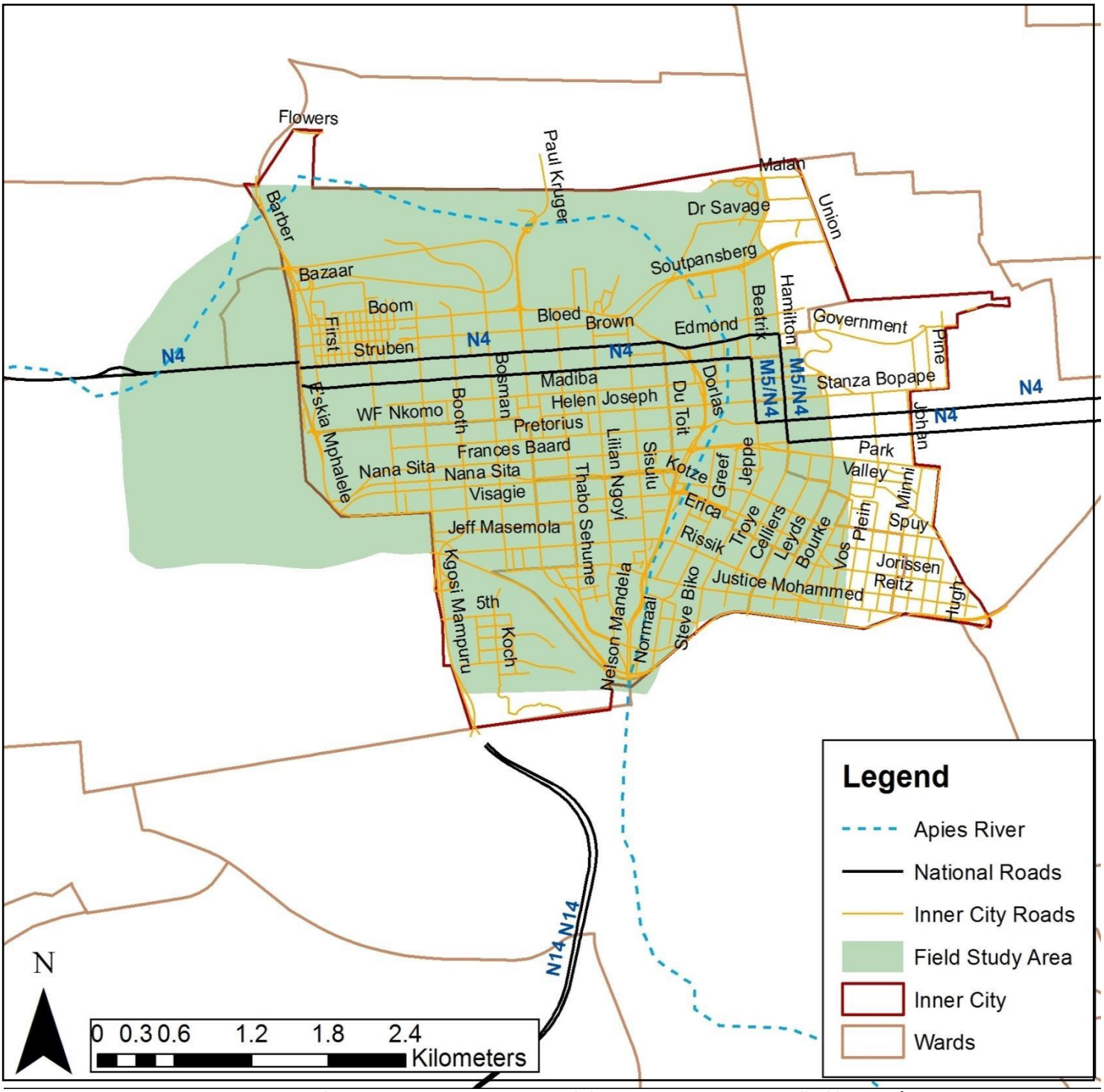
Below are two maps, the first (Figure 1.2) showing the location of the CoT in relation to Gauteng and South Africa and the inner city of Pretoria in relation to the rest of the CoT. The second map (Figure 1.3) highlights the field study area which is the inner city of Pretoria. This is the area where the participants of the research reside.

Figure 1.2: The map below provides the location of the City of Tshwane at a provincial level and the Inner City of Tshwane at a local municipal level.



Source: CTMM GIS Data, 2011 and StatsSA Census 2011 Spatial Data, 2012. Map compiled by Lené Le Roux.

Figure 1.3: The field study area



Source: CTMM GIS Data, 2011 and StatsSA Census 2011 Spatial Data, 2012. Map compiled by Lené Le Roux.

The inner City of Pretoria is the meeting place for all major modes of public transport such as the Metrorail, the Gautrain, minibus taxis and national/municipal routes: the N4/M5. These modes of transport disperse to various nodes within Pretoria, Gauteng and other neighbouring provinces. The inner city is a dense, built-up area with the highest number of residential, institutional, economic and social facilities in the smallest area in the Tshwane municipal area. Due to its many uses the inner city is a

vibrant, highly populated and regularly frequented urban space, despite its decay after many years of disinvestment, poor maintenance and business relocation to other areas in the city (Kayamandi Development Services, 2011). Within the inner city there are a number of smaller precincts or areas with different functions and characteristics. They are as follows: the CBD; Berea; Salvokop; Arcadia; Sunnyside and the Northern Belt of the Inner City (*ibid.*).

The CBD is predominantly zoned for business use, with some government and industrial use. There are 'a number of mixed-use, high-rise buildings that provide residential accommodation on the upper floors of the buildings' (Kayamandi Development Services, 2011: 2). The eastern and south-eastern parts of the inner city, which includes Arcadia, Sunnyside and Berea, have mostly high-rise apartment blocks and three to four storey walk-ups with multiple dwelling units. Arcadia, Sunnyside and a very small section in Berea, however, are also characterised by single residential units (i.e. stand-alone houses) which are mostly for single families or have been converted into communal facilities of students, young working class people or in some cases sublet to small families.

Salvokop has old and fairly dilapidated houses which are either occupied by the owner or sublet to individuals and families (Kayamandi Development Services, 2011). As described by Matlala (personal communication, 2012), one of the participants in the study, the majority of these houses accommodate tenants in backyard shacks that are able to use the toilet facility on the premises and access electricity through that which has been formally supplied to the house. Toward the west of this neighbourhood is an informal settlement within approximately one hundred shacks that do not have access to electricity and often use the toilets at the Shell garage nearby (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012). The Northern Belt of the inner city includes Marabastad which is dominated by commercial activity. Shop owners and workers live in very close proximity to their workplace, possibly in shacks or in the one- to two storey mixed-use buildings found in Marabstad. However there are also some 'single and multiple residential dwelling units to the north of the Inner City near the Pretoria Zoo' (Kayamandi Development Services, 2011: 2). Finally, land in the inner city as a whole is also zoned for commercial, public/special open space, educational and municipal use.

1.4 Problem Statement and Rationale

The population growth of urban areas across the developing world has been and is continuing to grow and an exponential rate. In a recent publication by the World Bank and the Agence Française de Développement, Segatti and Landau (2011) state that between 1990 and 2000, migration from rural to urban centres of South Africa caused rapid population influx into economic hubs such as Gauteng. This inherently places increased pressure for affordable urban housing, especially in inner cities where many young migrants and immigrants reside to be as close as possible to economic activities and the *bright lights* of the city (Mc Donald, 1998). The assumed characteristics of this population group are that they are highly mobile – utilise housing options in the inner city during the interim period of studying and/or job hunting – and they have limited livelihood resources to afford formal and/or 'adequate' accommodation.

As highlighted by Yeakey (2002) urban black males who are of low-income status in the United States of America (USA), who attempt to achieve goals idealised by mainstream society, are at a disadvantage. According to international studies, often the plight of marginalised men – those who are young, have little or no education, have minimal levels of employment, and have no land – are simply 'submerged within the generic "the poor"' (Cornwall, 2003: 1337). Policies tend to be focused on gender issues around women, often resulting in the alienation of men in social and economic support by institutions such as non-governmental organisations (NGO), SHIs and government. A problem is therefore illuminated that low-income, young males experience (structural) exclusion which is reflected in their living arrangements when residing in the inner city of Pretoria.

As highlighted by Nisbett and Ross (1980 cited in Kidd, 2012: 538) a major discrepancy in understanding youth homelessness is the tendency to generalise causes of homelessness despite 'evidence indicating multi-causality'. The mere use of the term 'homeless' is questionable at times. Exploring the perceptions of low-income male youth would help to develop a more qualitative and nuanced approach to developing interventions for the complex scenario of homelessness and adequate housing provision in contemporary African inner cities.

1.5 Aim of the Research

The main purpose of the study is to explore the perceptions that low-income, young males have of their housing situation in Tshwane's inner city. The research therefore aims to understand how these individuals give meaning to 'home and homelessness' and how do they negotiate the need for housing and the need to have access to socio-economic elements for personal development.

1.6 Research Question and Assumed Findings

What perceptions do low-income, young males have of their housing situation in the inner city of Pretoria?

1.6.1 Sub-research questions

- What are some of the housing options that low-income, young males access in the inner city of Pretoria?
- What is understood by 'home and homelessness' and how do these individuals perceive their current housing situation?
- How and for what reasons do these individuals sustain their position in the inner city? I.e. how do they negotiate between 'homelessness' and personal development as youth?

1.6.2 Assumed Findings

The research project is a qualitative study aimed at exploring and understanding the perceptions that low-income, young males, living in the inner city, have of their housing situation. Due to the nature of the research being largely explorative, a hypothesis should not be defined, other than as a guiding proposition. At the outset of this research, it was assumed that findings would help to understand how these individuals perceive their housing situation in relation to the meaning of home and homelessness, as well as how they negotiate between homelessness and their developmental needs.

It was assumed that the participants in the study would access a variety of housing typologies, according to levels of affordability and availability, as supplied by various

role-players or as created by themselves. It was expected that participants would perceive themselves not as ‘homeless’ but rather without adequate housing as they try to access social and economic opportunities. This is argued by Kellet and Moore (2003) who highlight that it cannot be assumed that those living in sub-standard structures are completely destitute. Furthermore it was assumed that the findings would show severe hardships that were limiting their development. This is due to studies undertaken in USA inner city ghettos that largely contribute to social problems as a result of high levels of urban inequality and poverty (Sampson & Wilson, 1995). Lastly, it was assumed that participants were able to negotiate their position in the inner city by having access to various income sources.

1.7 Introduction to the Literature

The literature review draws from discussions and debates around the themes ‘home and homelessness’ and ‘youth development’ in order to understand the housing situation for low-income, young males migrating to inner cities, especially within the contemporary African urban context. The theme of ‘exclusion’ will come to the fore in the debates and analysis of the themes mentioned above, and will be further unpacked through literature concerning ‘contextual’ elements resulting in or causing exclusion (e.g. policies, institutions, labour and property markets, gender relations, as well as time and space).

1.7.1 Housing and the Meaning of Home and Homelessness

The debate around homelessness has been developed academically both at international and local level. Questions revolve around whether homelessness goes beyond the lack of adequate and affordable housing, to more complex issues such as poverty, unemployment, instability and exclusion (Cross, *et al.,* 2010; Kellett and Moore, 2003). The definition of ‘home’ has therefore been expanded upon over time by various academics and institutions in order to unpack the phenomenon to find more appropriate ways of responding to homelessness. The HSRC (Kok, *et al.*, 2010) and Springer (2000) have defined homelessness, in relation to people who do not have access to shelter and thus routinely sleep on the streets, as ‘rooflessness’ or ‘houselessness’. According to Turner (1988), United Nations agencies such as UN-Habitat (UNCHS, 1997) and the Limuru Declaration of 1987 have included

inadequate shelter/housing as a form of homelessness and therefore adequate shelter or housing has generally been defined as having ‘more than a roof over one’s head’ by having access to basic services and basic human rights, as well as residing close to ‘social and economic opportunities’ when located in urban centres (Olufemi, 2002).

Most academic debates and government policies across the industrialising nations have been focused around housing delivery, informal settlement upgrading, adequate and affordable housing, largely due to the sheer demand for formal housing (Cross, *et al.*, 2010; Kellet and Moore, 2003). However more recent developments in the field indicate that most countries are addressing housing in relation to social, cultural, political, personal and spatial issues – not simply as an isolated structure for shelter (*ibid.*). It has become important to take into consideration these issues when trying to comprehend the levels of ‘homelessness’ in African urban areas in order to distinguish between those who have no shelter and those that have inadequate shelter. Especially in inner cities such as in the CoT it can also not be assumed that those without shelter or living in sub-standard structures are completely destitute and or do not have an abode elsewhere, as it may only be a transitional period while studying, seeking employment or for cultural reasons (Kellet and Moore, 2003). Therefore when defining and exploring homelessness, the context within which it is found is a primary determinant in further research.

Homelessness varies according to social and economic conditions and is related to elements of time and space, the meaning of a ‘home’ and ‘housing’ need to be analysed accordingly (Olufemi, 2002). Firstly the perceptions that diverse population groups, institutions and policy-makers, as well as people without any form of shelter have of a ‘home’ differ according to personal, cultural, social and policy goals (Kellet and Moore, 2003; Olufemi, 2002). In Kellet and Moore (2003: 128) the argument of Wright (1993) is that the ‘home’ is an ideology that is fuelled by expectations, desires and images. He states that ‘*home* is both an imposed ideal and a potent cultural and individual ideal, which can both inspire and constrain us’ (*ibid.*). The provision of ‘housing’ may also not necessarily need to be the provision of a ‘home’ but merely a level of adequacy with regards to decent accommodation in order to meet the needs

of temporary stay. In the absence of appropriate shelter a level of homelessness results whereby exclusion becomes the biggest problem to the individual, city planners and society at large (Cross, *et al*.; Kellet and Moore, 2003; Olufemi, 2002). The research aims to distinguish between the meaning of home, homelessness and housing by contextualising these words in time and space, and by better understanding the intention of low-income male youth accessing housing in the inner city of Pretoria, as well as the perceptions of their housing situation.

1.7.2 Youth Development

The South African Youth Policy 2009 – 2014 (The Presidency, 2009) considers the youth in South Africa to be between the ages of 14 and 35. In the policy (*ibid*.) it is stipulated that this broad and inclusive bracket was selected to take into account current day conditions, as well as historical imbalances that have not yet been fully eradicated. It is commonly understood that the concept of youth is a 'developmental or life stage', however Christiansen *et al.* (2006: 10) argue that the 'transition from childhood to adulthood should not be considered fixed or stable'. The bracket for youth in South Africa is therefore aligned to this position and includes both children and adults.

Youth development in relation to inner city housing in South Africa becomes vital to engage in when a 'contributing factor to natural increase within urban areas themselves, is the relative youth of more urban migrants, with well over half being under 24 years of age' (Beall, 1993: 4). This point is further reiterated when academics state that youth living on streets in North America die at a much younger age than their housed peers due to deteriorating mental and physical health (Kidd, 2012). The phenomenon of youth homelessness, especially in developing countries, is embedded in the demise or rural economies and urban environments that become overburdened by poverty (Richter and Swart-Kruger, 1997). At the same time the volatile labour market, low wages and the competitive, narrow housing supply are what create conditions for homelessness amongst youth (Farrugia, 2011). Farrugia (*ibid.*: 762) not only points to 'structurally disadvantaged backgrounds' such as class but also elements of inequality, culture, identity, social and individual perceptions. These factors impact on young people's experience of homelessness and in turn their personal development *(ibid.)*.

As noted by Beall (1993: 3) men and women adjust to the lifestyle and address the difficulties and opportunities of urban environments in different ways ‘to establish new areas of power and control over their lives’. Migrant labourers during the Apartheid era signified a new kind of black masculinity in urban South Africa (Morrell, 1998). Work, mobility, toughness and violence, disjointed families, weaker ethnic ties, new power struggles and Western influence became central features of this new masculine identity (Morrell, 1998). Whitehead (1997: 411) highlights that in order to develop effective programmes and policies of genuine social upliftment it is vital to fully understand the ‘gender identity, and the historical and socio-cultural origins of such identities’. In the case of low-income, male youth in the inner city of Pretoria, the construct of identity and masculinity within the contextualisation of youth development and housing in the specific spatial context must be understood and analysed.

1.7.3 Structural Exclusion and Context Conceptualisation

The CoT is a contemporary African urban centre that is a magnet of hope, opportunity, struggle and sacrifice. Access to real and sustainable opportunity is not available to everyone who enters and attempts to survive the concrete jungle. The level of opportunity is often determined through resources available to an individual and their inherent position within social, institutional and economic structures.

Low-income male youth are affected by a number of exclusionary elements. For example, even though the poor are assisted through government interventions in the housing market and through housing subsidies, structural exclusion still prevents certain groups that can be considered poor from receiving assistance. As highlighted by Anderson and Morgan (1996) in Sommerville (1998: 773), ‘the needs of some groups such as young single people are frequently ignored’ as they are ‘perceived as not capable of managing a tenancy or not deserving of a tenancy’. Furthermore, the feminisation of social services have made it more difficult for male youth in need of assistance to gain access to systems put in place by government institutions and aid organisations (Hall, 2011).

Structural exclusion of contemporary social and economic systems is largely based on the context within which people and these systems exist. Kidd (2012) highlights that little thought has been given to macro-economic and -cultural shifts as to why homelessness amongst youth occurs. Sampson and Wilson (1995: 54) also emphasize that contextual elements such as urban inequality which is caused by weak or discriminatory 'macro level public policies regarding housing, municipal services, and employment' in places such as inner city ghettos in the United State of America, largely contribute towards social problems such as violence, crime and substance abuse amongst the youth. In addition Vanessa Watson (2003) argues that planning theorists are unaware of the deep underlying contextual differences that exist in societies. And thus current planning regulation, land use management systems and housing policy for the inner city of Pretoria do not recognize informality and the actual needs of civil society.

1.8 A Brief on the Conceptual Framework

The objective of the study is to research what perceptions low-income, young males have of their housing situation in the inner city of Pretoria. Two main concepts will be addressed during the empirical research process: 'home and homelessness' and 'youth development'. However this cannot be unpacked without taking cognisance of the debates regarding 'adequate housing'; the importance of 'identity' and in particular 'masculinity'; as well as the phenomenon of 'urbanisation' where 'migration' and 'adaptation' have leading roles. Finally, the above concepts are embedded in the elements of 'exclusion' and 'contextualisation' as key influences to why the housing status quo of low-income, young males is in its current state. Understanding these concepts is vital in shedding light on the housing situation of the selected group of individuals from their own perspective. It is hoped that a more realistic, clear and nuanced reflection will be provided on how youth negotiate between homelessness and personal development in urban African centres such as the inner city of Pretoria.

1.9 Introducing the Research Methodology

A qualitative field study, embedded in the ethnomethodology paradigm, was used for the research project. The phenomenon of young, low-income males residing in the

inner city of Pretoria was explored through qualitative interviews and observations. This approach allowed me to investigate and understand the housing situation and the perceptions of the participants of their living situation of the inner city. Ethnomethodology takes context into account and therefore it also looks at how the t participants interact with their surroundings and interpret social structures, which not only creates but also perpetuates their housing situation (Babbie, 2005: 296). The location for the study was the inner city of Pretoria which adds to contextual significance. Demarcated boundaries were defined for the study area. The purposive sampling technique was utilised as identifying and selection of participants were highly dependent on their profile.

The qualitative data was analysed in a detailed and interpretive manner in order to identify the nuances of each of the participants' narratives and thereby discuss the significanct issues that have come forth from the research. This method compliments the usage of unstructured interviews with open ended questions as it allows for new and unique findings to surface. Ethically it was imperative that I upheld adequate levels of confidentiality and transparency with the participants. It was also necessary for me to be aware of my position as a middle-income, young, white female and therefore had to be sensitive in my approach with respect to this matter.

1.10 Report Structure

The first chapter in the report provides the overall introduction to the study. It gives a background, a problem statement and rationale which argue the purpose for undertaking the study. It depicts the field study area which locates where I identified the participants for my research. This chapter also defines the research question, the research sub-questions and possible assumed findings from conducting the study. This is followed by making an initial attempt at engaging with existing literature with a brief description on which themes form part of the conceptual framework. Lastly, because the research methodology is in a separate chapter, I only provide a broad overview of the methodology in this chapter.

The second chapter of the report is the literature review and the development of the conceptual framework. The review is structured according to the main themes 'home

and homelessness' and 'youth development' within which literature of secondary themes (i.e. adequate housing, urbanisation and identity) are also unpacked. The theme of exclusion and contextualisation largely intends to give the background to the issues dealt with in the study. This chapter is concluded with a diagram illustrating the conceptual framework.

The third chapter is an explanation of the research methodology I used to execute the study. The explanation is based on the research design and approach; the population and sampling procedures employed; methods for collecting and processing the data; as well as the approach I used to analyse the data. In collecting and processing the data, the main techniques I used for the research was to undertake qualitative interviews and observations. I concluded this chapter with a discussion on ethical consideration and other important matters regarding the research.

Chapter four provides a detailed description of the empirical data that was gathered for the study. It begins with the profiles of each respondent that formed part of the research. This was followed by unpacking the empirical data according to key issues that had to be interrogated and analysed for the purpose of the research. Some conclusions were also drawn from the data analysis which would be deliberated on further in the next chapter.

The fifth chapter of the research report is the analysis and findings chapter. The intention of the chapter was to draw together the key issues that came out of the empirical data so as to be analysed more extensively. With this the key findings of the research should be clearly formulated and articulated. Lastly, chapter six is the concluding chapter. It provides an overall summary of the research project, illuminating major findings, conclusions and recommendations for future research in the field of housing and youth development.

2. REVIEWING THE LITERATURE, FRAMING THE CONCEPTS

2.1 Introduction

This research project requires the investigation of a variety of themes related to housing, sociology, economics and urban studies which intend to contribute to developing the conceptual framework. In trying to understand the dynamics of human activity in urban environments it seems necessary to take cognisance of the physical and social needs of people at various stages of their lives whilst interrogating contextual externalities that impact on their existence. The choices made by individuals are not only as a direct result of these factors but also a causation of the characteristics of their environment. This chapter provides an analysis of the literature relevant to the themes covered in this research. The overarching themes are 'home and homelessness' and understanding 'housing' as a concept; youth development in relation to migration/urbanisation and personal identity; and the relevance of context and exclusionary structures.

2.2 Home, Homelessness and the Meaning of Housing

This overarching theme begins by critically reviewing the meaning of 'housing' as an activity and point of delivery. It highlights what has historically been considered as 'adequate housing' by various agents and the impact that this concept has had on global perceptions of what 'housing' should entail. The discussion follows on to literature that catechises the dimensions of a 'home'. It highlights theories about the physical, social and psychological attributes of a home, and critically analyses the significance of generally accepted ideologies of the home. The last sub-theme unpacks the complexity of 'homelessness' and highlights the theoretical progression in understanding its many components and the fluidity of it as a concept. It also cross-examines literature that defines 'homelessness' in a normative paradigm with that which indicates a skewed understanding of what it means and how this has stunted meaningful contribution to or at least understanding of the lives of the 'homeless' – especially in developing countries such as South Africa.

2.2.1 The Meaning of '*Housing*'

The activity of 'housing' has been both qualified and quantified differently by institutions and organisations, countries, academics, housing practitioners, human rights activists and civilians. At policy level the concept of 'housing' is continuously being adapted and amended in respect to contextual changes. In reality, contextual elements such as high rates of urbanisation, political, social and economic constraints, particular to each country, make housing delivery a much greater challenge.

The Habitat Agenda of the United Nations, and specifically UN-Habitat, provided a definition of adequate shelter in 1997 which was accepted and adopted by 171 governments in an effort to set global goals and standards for the provision of adequate housing or shelter (Tipple & Speak, 2009: 21):

> 'Adequate shelter means more than a roof over one's head. It also means adequate privacy; adequate space; physical accessibility; adequate security; security of tenure; structural stability and durability; adequate lighting, heating and ventilation; adequate basic infrastructure, such as water-supply, sanitation and waste-management facilities; suitable environmental quality and health-related factors; and adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities: all of which should be available at an affordable cost. Adequacy should be determined together with the people concerned, bearing in mind the prospect for gradual development. Adequacy often varies from country to country, since it depends on specific cultural, social, environmental and economic factors. Gender-specific and age-specific factors, such as the exposure of children and women to toxic substances, should be considered in this context.'

Post-apartheid South Africa has been at the forefront of human rights legislation and housing policy development amongst the third world nations since 1994. Within the Constitution, the Bill of Rights allows everyone 'access to adequate housing' while the state must take reasonable measures to make resources available in order 'to achieve the progressive realisation of this right' (Republic of South Africa, 1996: 1255). The policy environment and housing delivery practices have moved through a

series of programmes, policies and priority goals such as the Botshabelo Accord of 1994, Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1996, Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Seven D of 2000, the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy of 2004 and more recently the Outcome 8 Delivery Agreement as a focus area in government for achieving 'sustainable human settlements and improved quality of household life' (The Presidency, undated).

Although most government policies across the industrialising nations, including South Africa, have been focused around housing delivery, informal settlement upgrading, adequate and affordable housing, more recent developments in the field indicate that most countries are addressing housing in relation to social, cultural, political, personal and spatial issues – not simply as an isolated structure for shelter (Kellet & Moore, 2003; Cross, *et al.*, 2010). In South Africa, the Housing Development Agency (HDA) and the National Upgrading Support Programme (NUSP), for example, are now actively preparing to roll-out informal settlement upgrading projects and support programmes to upgrade '400 000 units in informal settlements' by 2014, taking into account the above-mentioned issues (The HDA, 2012).

The meaning and activity of 'housing' is still primarily derived from the understanding and practices by academics, institutions, organisations, practitioners and governments. The agenda of these role-players partly or solely involves the provision of housing to civilians unable to afford and access market driven housing delivery of 'adequate' standards. In light of the fact that resources are limited, criteria has been set in South African Housing Code to meet the needs of the most vulnerable first (Department of Human Settlements, 2009). The fundamental qualifying criteria for housing subsidy, as provided by the Department of Human Settlements (2009a: 4) are that applicants:

- Must be South African citizens or have permanent residency status;
- the person must be legally able to contract;
- may not previously have received housing benefits;
- is a 'first time property owner';

- is married or ‘consistently living together with a spouse’ or has financial dependents;
- a disabled or elderly person that is single and has no financial dependents can also qualify; and
- cannot have a gross monthly income that exceeds R3500.

Those excluded from the qualification criteria, those who are still waiting for their housing needs to be addressed and those who choose not to be aided by the available agents have their own practical solutions for housing themselves and derive their own meaning from the activity.

2.2.2 The Dimensions of ‘*Home’*

It has been generally accepted by researchers in various fields such as architecture, sociology, human geography, psychology, anthropology and urban planning that the meaning of ‘home’, or ‘home’ as a concept, is multidimensional (Saegert, 1985; Marcus, 1995; Olufemi, 2002; Kellet & Moore, 2003; Mallet, 2004).Three authors have been identified by Annison (2000: 254) to have made significant contributions in articulating the dimensions of ‘home’, namely ‘Sixsmith (1986), Despres (1991), and Smith (1994)’.

In her research in the United Kingdom, Sixsmith (1986: 285 - 286) concluded that a home constitutes a number of different places with different characteristics. A home is largely determined by the individual as what some perceive to be a home, others do not. Places which are considered as homes can be both existential (e.g. a room, house, suburb, city or country) and non-existential (e.g. companionship with a place and people) and therefore can be physical, social or spiritual in nature. Lastly home may be a transitional place and thus constant in nature. In order to unpack ‘home’ as a multidimensional concept, Sixsmith developed a model which depicted the three distinct modes of experience of the home that came to the fore during her research. Twenty collective categories with interdependent meanings were then allocated to each mode to explain the concept of home. Annison (200) highlighted that it is these subjective experiences of individuals that transforms a place of residence into a home. This is depicted in the table below:

Table 2.1: Collective categories within each experiential mode

Personal	Social	Physical
Happiness	Type of relationship	Structure
Belonging (responsibility)	Quality of relationship	Services
Self-expression	Friends and entertainment	Architecture
Critical experiences	Emotional environment	Work environment
Permanence		Spatiality
Privacy		
Time		
Meaningful places		
Knowledge		
Desire to return		

Source: Sixsmith, 1986: 289

Despres (1991) identified that no theoretical frameworks had been developed to understand what shaped the choice of meanings which people used to discuss their homes. She therefore put forward four models or human theoretical perspectives commonly utilised to 'supply a variety of perceptual frameworks according to the particular preferences or inclinations of the researcher' (Annison, 2000: 256). These models are '(a) the territorial model; (b) the psychological model; (c) the socio-psychological model; and (d) the phenomenological and developmental model' (*ibid.)*. Despres (1991) also developed ten general categories to explain the meaning of 'home'. This author largely uses Maslow's hierarchy of needs to describe a home as a place of safety, to acquire one's physiological needs, to build self-esteem and social respect through individual expression and to enable achievement and growth (Despres, 1991 and Maslow, 1943).

Smith (1994) undertook her research in Queensland, Australia to understand the meaning of home by distinguishing between the qualities of a home to that of environments or places not considered to be homes or homely. This is depicted in a table provided by Annison (2000: 258):

Table 2.2: Qualities of homely and non-homely environments

Qualities of Homely Environments	Qualities of Non-Homely Environments
Positive social relationships	Dissatisfaction with the internal social relationships
Positive atmosphere engendering feelings of warmth, care and cosiness	Negative atmosphere within the home
Personal privacy and freedom	Lack of personal freedom and privacy
Opportunities for self-expression and development	Lack of personalisation
Sense of security	Lack of security
Sense of continuity	Lack of permanence
	Poor physical environment
	Lack of ownership

Source: Adapted from Annison, 2000: 258

In her literature review Smith (1994) categorises authors' contributions to the multidimensional meaning of 'home' in the following themes: centrality, continuity, privacy, self-expression and personal identity, social relationships, warmth and physical environment. Tognoli (1987), Altman (1975) Hayward (1977), Seamon (1979), Dovey (1978) and Tuan (1980) contribute to the theme of 'centrality' by identifying the home to be a place of permanence, a territory of personal control, ownership and a level of exclusivity. Household members experience a sense of belonging, rootedness and a 'centre for departure and return' (Smith, 1994: 31-32). The theme of 'continuity' distinguishes a house from a home by identifying the home to be a place of stability, continuity of residence, permanence and confidence in its level of security (Fried, 1963; Hayward, 1977; Sebba and Churchman, 1986; Sixsmith, 1986; Tognoli, 1987). Smith (1994) reflects on work done by Tognoli (1987), Sebba & Churchman (1986), Sixsmith (1986), Altman (1975), Hayward (1977) and Seamon (1979) with regards to 'privacy' as a theme of home. The ability

to exclusively control one's home environment with selective social interaction while practicing one's right to privacy brings satisfaction and regeneration of the self.

The theme of 'self-expression and personal identity' highlights that a home is a physical environment where people are free to develop themselves in a place of familiarity, comfort and happiness (Sebba and Churchman, 1986; Sixsmith, 1986; Proshansky, 1978 in Smith, 1994). Hayward (1977) and Lawrence (1987) suggest that the physical structure, the house, and objects within the home are a form of self-expression and personalisation of space which contributes to the identity and self-esteem of an individual. However incidents such as burglaries, rape or abusive behaviour in a house violate its representation as a home or place of refuge and protection (Korosec-Serfaty & Bollitt, 1986 in Smith, 1994). Another vital theme is that of 'social relationships' which points to the importance of personal relationships between members of a household which refer to the levels of communication, accessibility and overall emotional environment of the home (Sixsmith, 1986; Pennartz, 1986; Tognoli, 1987; Hayward, 1977). Smith (1994) reflects the work of Lawrence (1987) who highlights that social networks are a core component of the home. These social networks refer to relationships within the home *and* those which extend to friends, neighbours and the local shopkeeper, for example.

Smith (1994) acknowledges the work of Seamon (1979) and Weisner & Weibel (1981) with their identification of 'warmth' as a pertinent theme or characteristic or the home. Warmth expresses a sense of friendliness of the physical environment which is attributed to a feeling of it being lived in, used and cared for. The house as the physical structure where the home is created is an important aspect determining the theme of 'physical environment' (Hayward, 1977 and Sixsmith, 1986 in Smith, 1994). Lawrence (1987) explains that the physical structure is what 'defines space for its use as shelter and protection' (Smith, 1994: 33). Physical attributes of the structure such as its architecture and a garden space, as well as services such as the provision of electricity and a reticulation system all contribute to its level of comfort and its ability to meet basic human needs (Leger, 1985; Edelstein, 1986; Sixsmith, 1986 and Paulus *et al.,* 1991).

With the use of historical research Smith (1994: 33) concludes that the above mentioned themes are fundamental components when defining the meaning of home and that *the home* is therefore 'an integral part of human experience'. However in Kellet & Moore (2003: 128) the argument of Wright (1993) is that the 'home' is an ideology that is fuelled by expectations, desires and images. He states that '*home* is both an imposed ideal and a potent cultural and individual ideal, which can both inspire and constrain us' (*ibid.*). Mallett (2004: 67) refers to independent research which was undertaken in the USA and showed that individuals from various backgrounds predominantly aspire to a free-standing house with a yard and occupied by a single family (see also Porteous, 1976 and Cieraad, 1999).

Mallet (2004) also suggests that the notion of an ideal home changes in accordance with employment, income levels and perceptions about community and family, but improvements in these aspects also fuel the ideologies of a home. However as highlighted by Mallett (2004), Kellet & Moore (2003) and Olufemi (2002) there are diverse perceptions of the meaning of 'home' in accordance with different social, cultural, gender and age groups, as well as institutions and policy-makers. As argued by Giuliani (1991) the level of attachment that an individual has to a physical structure as a home or to the idea of a home also determines its significance in the overall *human experience*. Factors relating to maintaining continuity such as work done to improve the physical structure, residential stability and building social networks all contribute to having a sense of attachment to a place and thereby giving meaning to it as a 'home'. It is therefore clear that the multi-dimensional concept of home and the meaning attached to it is strongly determined by the context within which it exists.

The literature reviewed thus far largely connects the meaning of home to a physical structure, even if such a structure is utilised by an individual or household who are in a transitory phase. However in certain contexts the physical attribute associated with a home may strongly contradict the generally accepted meanings of 'home' and 'housing' which would in turn begin to challenge the generally accepted meanings of 'homelessness' and 'houselessness'.

2.2.3 The Complexity of 'Homelessness'

The concept of 'homelessness' has progressed primarily through the scholarly and policy representations of the developed world. The literature interrogates definitions provided by various authors and institutions; it questions what can be constituted as adequate housing; it looks at what types of homelessness have been deciphered overtime and lastly, it identifies that various population groups experience homelessness uniquely. More recently however, new discussions have been formulated questioning the relevance of the normative meanings and perceptions of 'homelessness' in the developing world, there by taking into account the macro-situational context within which the term is used. This panoramic notion of 'homelessness' allows a more inclusive understanding of the complexity of the concept.

The purpose of this study is not to focus on homelessness in its most commonly defined form. In other words, as the HSRC (Kok, *et al.*, 2010) and Springer (2000) have defined homelessness, in relation to people who do not have access to shelter and thus routinely sleep on the streets. This is partly aligned to the UN-Habitat's emphasis on '*inadequate* shelter alongside *lack* of shelter as an aspect of the homeless condition' (UN Centre of Human Settlements, 1990 in Cross *et al*., 2010: 7). However this regards all informal settlements as part of the homelessness arena which, as argued by Tipple and Speak (2009), would deem most households in developing countries as homeless. As highlighted by the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UNCESCR) 'adequate shelter means…adequate privacy, adequate space, adequate security, adequate lighting and ventilation, adequate basic infrastructure and adequate location with regard to work and basic facilities – all at reasonable cost' (UNCESC, 1991: art. 11(1) in Tipple & Speak, 2009: 55).

Billions of people in developing countries utilise shelters without full protection from external elements such as the weather or invasion of privacy by others, without access to basic services (Tipple & Speak: 2009). They also do not have security of tenure and they live on overcrowded streets and buildings (*ibid.*). Tipple & Speak (2009) therefore argue that it is necessary to redefine homelessness between those that are inadequately housed and those that are truly homeless. In this way one is

able to move away from the meaning of homelessness based on an ideological framework to a more fluid understanding that it may refer to particular housing situations, certain minimum standards, lifestyle conditions, the level of impermanence and undesirability to move or tapping into a welfare system (Springer, 2000). In industrialised countries such as the UK those that do have an actual physical structure for shelter but are living in insecure, temporary, overcrowded and dangerous situations are defined by the Resource Information Services (2000) as the 'hidden homeless'. However Morrow (2010) argues that in developing countries such as South Africa, homelessness is merely one manifestation of a much larger combination of factors that result from and conversely contribute to poverty, such as politics, history, economics, migration, spatial disparities, culture and identity.

In agreement with the fact that homelessness cannot simply be limited to the lack of shelter or of *adequate* shelter, Cross *et al*. (2010) also state that it moves beyond being a manifestation of poverty. For those that live in precarious conditions in the inner city or in informal settlements in close proximity to economic activities of the city, access to 'central urban spaces', livelihoods and opportunity transcend the need for *adequate* housing (*ibid.,* 2010: 19). Farrugia (2011) speaks of the need for the youth to negotiate homelessness in order to operate within the arena of structural inequality. This often results in a choice to accept sub-standard living conditions for the opportunity to have access to central urban spaces and related socio-economic amenities.

Literature has documented that youth homelessness is often the result of a social environment formulated by a 'complex intersection of structural processes' often related to 'disadvantaged class backgrounds', disjointed family relationships and the lack of resources or financial support to be able to 'negotiate a housing and labour market which is unstable' (Farrugia, 2011: 762). As highlighted by Kidd (2012) and Chamberlain and MacKenzie (1998 in Farrugia, 2011) this structural context causes a level of disengagement from social and educational institutions, as well as economic activities, that are aligned with cultural norms and thus play a key role in preventing exclusion from society or personal perceptions of stigmatisation. Kidd (2012) and Zufferey and Kerr (2004) identify the homeless youth to be a distinctive

population group in Western societies who experience a sense of 'shame and low self-worth' (Farrugia, 2011: 763). However, it has been agreed upon by various authors such as Neale (1997), Kennet and Marsh (1999) and Tipple and Speak (2009), that there are limitations to characterising homeless people in developing countries in exactly the same way. If there is a distinction in homelessness between those that are inadequately housed and those who are truly homeless, as is suggested by Tipple and Speak (2009), then 'homeless youth' that are inadequately housed may include a diverse range of youth not as destitute and emotionally forlorn as defined in the Western context, despite their structural inequality.

From the literature review on home, homelessness and what constitutes 'housing' it is clear that there has been a shift from the normative and narrowly defined understanding of the concepts to a more fluid and dynamic approach which considers context and adjustments made to suit the context at hand. The literature also begins to qualify some of the negative impacts and constraints that structural exclusion has had on 'homeless' people, particularly with regards to housing as an action or point of delivery. At the same time, there is a level of interrogation around the confined perceptions of 'home' and 'homelessness' which includes large groups of people and deems them 'homeless' in situations which are very different to the original contexts where the term was originally defined. Therefore there is a call from authors such as Olufemi (2002), Kellet and Moore (2003), Mallett (2004), Tipple and Speak (2009), Morrow (2010) and Farrugia (2011), to review the basis upon which the definitions were contrived in order to be more inclusive of various contexts but also to highlight the opportunities associated with certain 'types' of homes and homelessness. With these theories in perspective, one can begin to understand the diversity in housing, home and homelessness and possibly develop more nuanced approaches for change.

2.3 Operations of Youth in Time-Space Parameters

Much of the youth in Africa have been born and raised in socio-economic environments that do not ascertain an early life of stability, structure and the necessary resources to be carefully moulded and equipped to compete and succeed in the competitive global labour market of today. As reflected upon by Christiansen *et*

al. (2006: 9) the youth in Africa have had to operate in 'volatile and precarious circumstances' and navigate through rigid social, economic and political structures since the 1970s, in an effort to give meaning to their own lives.

This section of the literature review attempts to highlight some important factors that influence the development of a young person's identity, but also what these individuals identify to be crucial in their personal growth as an 'upcoming adult', and the implications this has for the decisions they make. It then more specifically highlights the work of authors who evaluate the historical, social and political forces that have moulded the characteristics and behaviour patterns of young black males of low-income status in South Africa. This sub-theme also draws attention to some theories around masculinity.

2.3.1 The Youth Constructing their Identity

From a psychological perspective, developing a sense of self and personal identity goes beyond the combination of internal thoughts and feelings unique to each person. According to Franchi & Swart (2003 cited in Ratele & Duncan, 2003: 152) many theorists agree that the 'collection of attributes, experiences, thoughts, motivations, attitudes, feelings and behaviours' alongside 'social, cultural, historical and political factors' that determines the context within which the individual is continuously shaped, is rudimentary to individualisation. Just as influential are the elements of space and time embedded in moulding the self (*ibid.*). Therefore structural processes, material conditions and the social environment which contemporary youth are facing cannot be dealt with separately when trying to understand how their identities are formulated and how they manoeuvre in urban spaces (Farrugia, 2011).

Many young individuals in rural parts of Africa become migrants or are in transit between their home town/village and the city, when home no longer seems a feasible option to progress in life. Migration to urban areas become a tool for 'earning money, being independent and seeing some of the world' while 'renegotiating their identity back home' by gaining various tangible or intangible assets such as money, education and self-confidence (Thorsen*, 2006*: 107). At the same time there is a sense of obligation that youth have to their family, and particularly their parents or

guardians, to support the household either through remittances or an intention to improve the rural family home stay (*ibid.*). Research in Burkina Faso has shown the value that migrant youth found in relocating to urban areas where they acquired 'practical, social and economic skills' not always in material gains but in boosting their positions of power and social status in relation to peers, parents and other seniors in the community (*ibid.*). However without visible improvements and 'demonstration of success through giving gifts, investing in resources for the future, showing off fancy clothes or items…' parents, guardians or seniors were reluctant to approve of such transit activity (*ibid.*: 109). Young individuals are often also poorly equipped with resources and skills to deal with the hardships of migration and surviving in competitive urban areas and labour markets which would either result in returning home and possibly being stigmatised by the community as being a delinquent or failure (*ibid.*). In many cases, in countries such as South Africa and Australia, such individuals would face dire straits and precarious living conditions for fear of returning home and being stigmatised or simply remain in the city knowing that ties with home have been lost, at various levels, with family and the community (Swart-Kruger & Richter, 1997; Farrugia, 2011).

As highlighted by Franchi & Swart (2003) it is difficult to identify 'mono-cultures' that exist in this day and age. 'Mono-culture' is the term used to describe a cultural group that has not been diversified internally by migration, immigration and political exile which is a catalyst for integration, social and economic expansion (*ibid.*). Young people of today exist within multi-cultural contexts and are 'raised at the interface of a host of different "partial" cultures' due to globalisation and the expansion and infusion of socio-economic activities between regions (*ibid.:* 155). Literature on ethnic identity reveals that studies undertaken in European and North American states show minority youth groups to be treated as outsiders due to their particular racial, religious, linguistic or migrant status despite being of local nationality. In South Africa, however, Franchi & Swart (2003: 155) emphasise that ethnic identity is also constructed in the 'specific context of apartheid, racial oppression and the ideology of racism' and should be examined accordingly. A young person also largely constructs his or her identity in relation to family and community culture as well as the personal desire to fit into 'mainstream society, social mobility and power' (*ibid.,* 2003: 155). In certain social environments the identity of youth is also affected by

structural inequalities such as class and family background, and must be understood when negotiating personal perceptions on homelessness in the inner city (Farrugia, 2011).

2.3.2 The Male Youth

Although literature on masculinity in South Africa is fairly limited, some researchers such as Morrell (1998) have tried to review how the issue of men has been dealt with in gender studies thus far, as well as how masculinity can be understood in the context of the southern African region (Shefer, 2003). The 1950's era was a key turning point in the South African history of 'new black masculinity' because the black African population were able to enter the urban areas were absorbed by the labour market and became residents of cities (Morrell, 1998: 625). Black masculinity not only became the umbrella term for all non-whites, it became an identity that was strongly associated with work and specifically the *working class*. The labour market was a highly competitive arena due to a racialised 'job preference structure' and therefore men's ability to acquire work became a symbol of the masculinity and power, despite low wages that were paid and 'little chance of upward or geographical mobility' (*ibid.:* 626).

Morrell (1998) highlights that black masculinity became an expression of opposition against the Apartheid regime, thereby creating a broad identity associated with violence and anger. The youth were developed into an 'anti-social force' primarily against the 'exploitation and alienation by racial capitalism' which exerted violence against women, against symbols of authority, and against other workers and other men in general (*ibid.:* 627). By the 1970's old African masculinity traditions of peace, wisdom and self-control had been side-lined and men working in urban areas rarely visited their homes in rural villages, causing family and community ties to become disjointed in turn which encouraged mobility patterns such as female migrant labour (*ibid.*). According to Morrell (1998) these unique circumstances essentially developed a very complex African male identity which has made it difficult for 'non-white' male youth in South Africa to understand themselves.

It was predicted around 1990 that 'circular migration' will be a permanent phenomenon which will surpass Apartheid urbanisation and labour strategies (Beall,

1993: 6). The majority of urban migrants are youth and other single people, and the number of male migrants in sub-Saharan African urban centres has traditionally outnumbered females due to 'the legacy of colonial migrant labour systems' (*ibid.*: 5). The movement of people as a whole is fundamentally catalysed by 'changes in social and economic structures' but each gender adapts and reacts according to their different roles and responsibilities (*ibid.*: 3). Such gendered responses are partly determined by current and historical struggles and inequalities, as well as opportunities (*ibid.*).

A number of authors found that 'urban Black males in the lower economic strata find themselves at a disadvantage in the struggle to achieve the goals idealised in the larger society' (Yeakey, 2002: 105). Studies have reiterated that job loss and unemployment, which can result in low socio-economic status, highly influences the state of a man's ego and the perception that he has of himself (*ibid.*). Whitehead's (1997: 419) position is that in 'American culture history' capitalism has caused 'masculine fragmentation' which often results in low earning men exerting power over people, especially women, in various spheres of their lives in order to compensate for the powerlessness they feel due to their low economic status. This relates back to the identity of black masculinity in South Africa being heavily associated with the working class and earning minimal wages due to the racial capitalism of the Apartheid era, as theorised by Morrell (1998).

The literature on youth identity, masculinity and low-income black males, in the context of South Africa, emphasises the complex combination of elements that must be considered when trying to understand mobility and behavioural patterns of such individuals choosing to reside in the inner city. Youth in contemporary Africa who are from difficult socio-economic circumstances often choose to make a change in their lives that is both risky and opportunistic (Christiansen *et al.*, 2006). The move may not satisfy all basic human needs such as adequate shelter and financial stability but the prospect of reaching certain aspirations, independence and developing one's own identity seems to be at the forefront deciding to make a change (Thorsen, 2006).

2.4 Understanding the Influence of Exclusion and Context

This section of the literature review illuminates arguments that have been made by authors on the validity of universally accepted definitions and theories when confronted or used in less explored contexts and situations. In questioning the validity of the paradigms within which policies, plans and legislation are framed and formulated also then becomes problematic. The focus and priorities of these influential documents are possibly based on inaccurate and 'borrowed' paradigms, and could be exclusionary and therefore ineffective.

The literature review moves on to highlight the exclusionary nature of being in a state of poverty, especially in urban contexts where enclaves of poverty can further deepen the poverty levels of the residing population. The level of poverty of low-income, young males is enhanced or sustained by a number of structural elements such as the inherent labour market, urban land markets and the exclusionary nature in which government and other institutions direct assistance. However this section also alludes to the risk and difficulty of managing informality and uncooperative and rebellious attitudes of the youth choosing to live precariously in a context based on survival, limitation but also perceived opportunity which therefore calls for adaptation to non-ideal living situations.

2.4.1 Contextual and Exclusionary Factors of Definition

As discussed in the above sections, the definitions of home, homelessness, houselessness and housing have been contested. Defining such states of being or of 'having' is dependent on whom or what is formulating these definitions, for what purpose and in which context. For example, homelessness can be confined to living without a roof over one's head, accommodation which is not legally occupied or a set-up whereby housing conditions are intolerable (Neale, 1997). As argued by authors such as Tipple & Speak (2009), Clapham *et al.* (1990) and Neale (1997) the definitions used to categorise particular living situations are too simplistic and all-encompassing. These definitions either exclude 'important sections of the population that do not have a home' or include the majority of the population in many developing countries with universal definitions of adequate housing (Neale, 1997: 47).

It is therefore highlighted that legislation has been carved along rigid lines of definition and government policy documents on homelessness and housing have been 'under-theorised' and non-exploratory/explanatory, utilising information which is largely factual, quantitative and tangible in nature (Neale, 1997: 48). This approach to policy and legislation formulation results in the exclusion of certain population groups such as single people and therefore categorises those who are 'deserving or undeserving' (*ibid.*: 48; Anderson & Morgan, 1996; Sommerville, 1998).

The context within which 'home' as an entity and experience is placed, determines its conceptual framework. Moore (2000: 212) argues that the meaning of home is layered with 'emotional, social, physical and symbolic significance' and situated within a cultural, environmental, temporal and developmental context. The normative concept of 'home' has been centrally located in Western cultural and individual ideologies, thereby excluding those who do not purposefully strive for the acquisition of an entity that is considered to be a home, in Western culture (*ibid.)*. Moore (2000) highlights the need to investigate the meaning of 'home' within a more diverse range of 'spiritual, cultural and symbolic' contexts and recognises it as a multifaceted concept of both positive and negative value dependent on the context within which it is located.

In recognising the complexity of definitions and concepts it must also be acknowledged that although the 'deconstruction of language and concepts is fundamental to the process of understanding homelessness…it can be taken too far' (Neale, 1997: 57). This is especially true in developing nations where the demand for more adequate living conditions is high and homelessness seems to be part of life for the majority of the population if all its variations and intricacies are taken into account. As suggested by Neale (1997) through increased debate, research and communication, the level of understanding of the socio-economic and housing needs of the people in specific contexts will be improved.

2.4.2 Urban Poverty and Inequality as a State of Exclusion

Urban poverty and inequality cannot be unpacked without formulating a realistic perception of the context within which it is located. Shaw and McKay (1942, cited in

Sampson & Wilson, 1995: 39) identified that there are three key structural factors that lead to social disorganisation of local communities: 'low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility'. Inner cities have been transformed considerably due to structural economic changes through globalisation and the shift from 'goods-producing to service-producing industries' (Sampson & Wilson, 1995: 42). This has resulted in high levels of unemployment of low-wage earners that rely on the primary and secondary economic sector for jobs and income (*ibid.*). Relocation of the manufacturing sector away from the inner city and increased levels of poverty of households living centrally caused detrimental disinvestment in the area (*ibid.*). Urban poverty is understood almost as a direct result of capitalism, with its fundamental exclusionary characteristics, which makes use of the urban land market and resident or migrant labour force (Amis, 1995).

As argued by Chambers (1995), inequality is largely what sustains neo-liberalism and 'poverty and deprivation' are what distinguishes the powerful from the powerless. Such macro-structural factors have resulted in a concentration of inner city household instability, joblessness and, in the case of South Africa and North America, racial segregation and therefore 'class-linked out-migration from the inner city' (Sampson & Wilson, 1995: 43). The context within which poverty exists either reduces or enhances its influence, depending on the extent to which poverty is embedded in that context. Sampson and Wilson (1995) highlight the significance of the structural context, with regards to employment, municipal services, housing and public policy, which affect inequality and urban poverty. Low-income or homeless male youth, in a position of vulnerability due to lack of material and social support, and operating in a context of poverty, are prime recipients of such structural processes resulting in a state of exclusion (Farrigua, 2011).

2.4.3 Exclusion through Rigid Planning and Limited Perceptions of Housing Needs

As is commonly known, inner city zones remain to be highly sought after due to their proximity to socio-economic amenities and employment opportunities. Access to the formal, private housing market remains exclusionary for low-income population groups because it is unaffordable to them. In post-apartheid South Africa exclusion

from well-located urban land is no longer primarily the result of racially-based laws. However structural economic conditions still largely disengage the black population.

In developing countries such as South Africa, with certain land use management systems in place, ‘informality’ is a highly contested planning matter (Cross, 2008:5-6). However there is growing advocacy to formally recognise the informal land market. Not only is it flexible and expands fast enough to meet the high rates of urbanisation to cities, and is responsive to a demand unable to meet the financial requirements of the formal market without sub-letting dwelling units, but it makes available a vital ‘accessible spatial location’ needed to acquire livelihoods (Cross, 2008: 7; Haase *et al*., 2011).

The inner city is predominantly a rental residential market, allowing accommodation to be transient in nature. This is relatively appropriate to the poor with unstable and limited income. ‘Transitory urbanites’ as referred to by Haase *et al.* (2011: 7) often ‘settle in niches of highly fragmented inner-city housing markets’ and occupy old, dilapidated and endangered buildings. They are a diverse and often youthful population that contribute to the rejuvenation and life of the inner city, previously abandoned by businesses and middle- to upper-class populations. Haase *et al*. (2011) highlights the need to acknowledge the in-migration of low-income and majority young people, to accept their transitory and haphazard living patterns, and for the private and public sectors to act proactively in accommodating this dynamic market.

Cross (2008: 11-12) reveals that research undertaken from 2000 to 2005 showed the ‘main demographic constituency’ in central parts of South African cities to be ‘unmarried young male work-seekers, employed young single men and male casual workers’. She highlights that although social housing does target population groups which are in need, such as women and children, there is ‘probably another larger and poorer constituency often living in inner-city shack-like conditions, which is more marginalised, can rarely access social grants, and is not receiving help with shelter’ (*ibid.*: 12). However this group may also choose to live in poor quality, decaying and in difficult conditions in order to reap socio-economic opportunities more accessible in the inner city or to save money (*ibid.*). Highly dense and uncomfortable residential

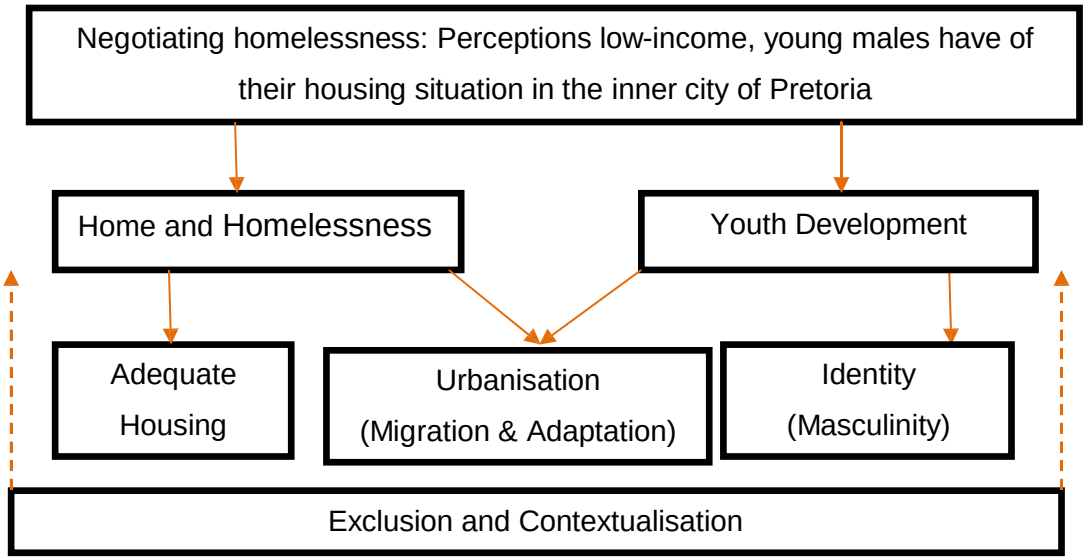
situations are tolerated, if not supported, by occupants in order to allow for levels of affordability, instability, informality and unruliness acceptable to the majority (*ibid.*).

Cross (2008) argues that it is questionable whether municipal planning strategies to upgrade the inner city with regards to housing, urban amenities and general cleaning-up is the best way forward if the majority of inner city residents thrive in the city's informality and sub-standard nature, and may even oppose change and improvement. Cross (2008) goes further to highlight that exclusion and inequality will perhaps only be effectively addressed by allowing open access to informal land markets. However, formalising informal practices, in an era where demand for accommodation is so high, may result in 'extreme overcrowding and severely deteriorating physical conditions' which could make inner cities highly problematic and unmanageable urban enclaves (*ibid.*: 15). It may be that the perceptions of housing needs for the poor and in particular young, single and low-income males residing in inner cities require re-evaluation or actual, detailed evaluations as their housing needs may be secondary in relation to other needs.

Recent discussions by authors in the theoretical field of home, homeless and housing emphasize the need for re-evaluation and further contemplation on the normative definitions of the above concepts. These discussions have been raised in the light of the varying contexts within which these concepts exist and therefore must evolve according to how home and housing situations are experienced differently in these contexts. It is important to not only better understand the socio-economic and housing needs of people but also the effect that structural elements within varying contexts create an exclusionary environment for those not included in acquiring the benefits of those structures. Historical, political, economic and social structural elements are largely what cause urban poverty. Even though one of the main objectives of the South African government and institutional planning interventions are to assist the poor, these interventions are either exclusionary in nature as a direct result of powerful structural elements or they are misled by inaccurate information and limited understanding of the diverse realities and dynamics of the urban poor.

The concepts that were discussed in the themes of the literature review above have been simplified in the diagram below which is intended to illustrate the main concepts being explored in the study.

2.5 The Conceptual Framework



2.6 Conclusion

Authors such as Sixsmith, Despres, Smith, Mallet and Olufemi, located within the research fields of architecture, sociology, human geography, psychology, anthropology and urban planning, have made significant progress in articulating the dimensions of a home and understanding the complexity of homelessness. More recently, however, concern from authors such as Tipple and Speak has been raised about the validity of this literature when trying to make sense of 'homelessness' in developing nations. It seems that globally accepted standards for adequate housing by multi-national organisations, such as the UN-Habitat, does not adequately interrogate the impact of structural exclusion and context. This further becomes evident when low-income, single, male youth migrate to central urban spaces in a developing country such as South Africa. Beyond exclusionary factors such as poverty, inequality, limited socio-economic resources, institutional structures, historical influences and inaccessible/unaffordable land markets the youth are in the process of constructing their identity. As highlighted by authors such as Farrugia,

Thorsen, Franchi and Swart, even with the odds against them, the youth will seek opportunity in order to give meaning in their lives and define their identity. It is in light of this that the necessity of housing is negotiated against levels of homelessness.

3. A METHOD FOR RESEARCH

3.1 Introduction

The use of qualitative research methods for this project has provided the opportunity to rigorously unpack and analyse the perceptions of low-income, young males on their housing situation. Using ethnomethodology has allowed me to understand how these individuals perceive their housing situation whilst interrogating how they operate and negotiate their position in a specific context. In the built environment and more specifically housing there is a need to explore and engage more deeply with the relationship between the youth and contemporary African urban centres.

3.2 Research Design and Approach

As provided in the introduction to this report, chapter one, the research question and sub-questions are as follows:

What perceptions do low-income, young males have of their housing situation in the inner city of Pretoria?

- What are some of the housing options that low-income, young males access in the inner city of Pretoria?
- What is understood by 'home and homelessness' and how do these individuals perceive their current housing situation?
- How and for what reasons do these individuals sustain their position in the inner city? I.e. how do they negotiate between 'homelessness' and personal development as youth?

The questions include both 'what' and 'how' questions in order to understand *what* the current housing situation is in the inner city of Pretoria for low-income, young males; *how* they perceive their living arrangements, with a specific focus on *what* home, homelessness and having a housing option in the inner city means to them. The study is largely descriptive as it observes the current housing situation of the individuals identified for the study and the socio-economic profile of the population in the inner city through Census 2011 statistical data. The research is also explorative of the continuous phenomenon of the youth residing in the inner city

of Pretoria, with a specific focus on low-income young males. As explained by Babbie (2005), exploring the perceptions of selected individuals allows for research to be ground breaking if it introduces a new niche in the field of study and therefore does not have any expectations of the results produced (*ibid.*). The descriptive approach allows the researcher to fully understand the context for which future recommendations could be developed, while the exploratory approach opens up 'propositions for further inquiry' (Yin, 1994: 5).

Qualitative field research, also known as a field study, was used in this research project. This is a 'model of observation' (Babbie, 2005: 295) that allows qualitative data to be gathered that cannot or need not be transformed into numerical or statistical results. Due to the study being descriptive and exploratory in nature, only assumed findings and not a defined hypothesis could be developed. The research tries to understand the housing situation and lifestyle behaviours of low-income, young males who are essentially a subculture within an urban setting – the inner city of Pretoria.

The paradigm in which the research is embedded is ethnomethodology which is strongly rooted in phenomenology. As highlighted by Bailey (1978: 283) ethnomethodology studies the methods used by society to make sense of '"indexical" expressions' which are 'dependent upon the context'. In other words the research aims to explore and expose how low-income, young males, as part of the 'urban underclass' (Babbie, 2005: 296), interact with their surroundings and interpret social structures, which not only creates but also perpetuates their housing situation. By choosing a phenomenological approach, my intention was to understand the 'perceptions, perspectives, and understandings of a particular situation' from various members of the selected population sample (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005: 139). In this way I was able to identify nuances, draw conclusions and make generalisations about common and divergent situations using their perspective as 'insiders' experiencing that particular situation.

3.3 Population and Sampling Procedures

The field study area I selected for the research is the inner city of Pretoria. This is largely due to its convenience of locality, accessibility to the relevant population sample group and required institutions, my familiarity with the area and its relevance to the topic at hand (Sarantakos, 2005). The purposive sampling technique was utilised to intentionally sample individuals who were of low-income, unmarried, dependent-less, young male adults and living in different types of housing situations in the inner city of Pretoria. The demarcated area was identified utilising a combination of a) the boundaries of the inner city selected by CTMM, and b) defining a boundary around the locations where the respondents or individuals, selected for the study, reside.

I assumed that my sample would consist of 'black Africans' due to StatsSA Census 2011 data revealing that the large majority of the poor/low-income population group in the inner city are 'black African'. However this was not a prerequisite. I also assumed that some individuals may be of foreign national status due to statistical data indicating that approximately 12% of the population residing in the inner city of Pretoria originate from other African countries whereas 18% are 'unspecified' (StatsSA, accessed January 2013).

By StatsSA national statistical population standards the term 'low-income' households pertain to households that earn less than R3500 per month. A household could consist of one person. In the National Housing Code Department of Human Settlements (2009), applicants who apply for housing subsidy cannot be earning more than R3500. This information guided my decision to select 'low-income' individuals for the study who spend less than R1000 on accommodation a month, approximately a third of their income. Property statistics presented by Lightstone Property (2011) estimates that the monthly rental for flats in Pretoria Central, Sunnyside and Arcadia are as follows:

Table 3.1 Monthly rentals (in South African Rands) of flats in residential areas in the inner city of Pretoria for 2011

Tshwane Inner City	Bachelor	1 Bed/Room	2 Bed/Room	3 Bed/Room
Arcadia	R2 433	R2 833	R3 700	R4 100
Sunnyside	R2 500	R2 933	R3 700	R4 067
Pretoria Central	R2 400	R2 800	R3 633	R4 067

Source: Lightstone Property (2011)

It is unlikely that a low-income person would be able to afford living in a flat without sharing it with other people, even in the instance of a bachelor flat or a one bedroom flat which is intended for one or two persons. Setting the upper limit of spending to R1000 on accommodation also gave leeway to the possibility that, should an individual earn more than R3500 monthly but could choose to spend only a R1000 on accommodation. This allowed me to explore the reasons for their choice.. Therefore the method of purposive sampling identified individuals who either earned less than R3500 per month or spent less than R1000 on accommodation.

Interviews were held with nine individuals of the population sample, the majority were living with other people in a dwelling while two are living on their own. All the participants were single. In other words they neither had direct dependents nor were married or co-habiting habitually with a partner. By ‘direct dependents’ I mean that the individuals do not have children of their own, even though some support other family members permanently or on an ad hoc basis if the need arises. Access was gained by requesting assistance from and working with non-governmental and church-based organisations that are actively supporting with the inner city poor. These organisations included PEN (Pretoria Evangelism and Nurture), POPUP (People Upliftment Programme), All Harvest Ministries and Ressuct College.

Through the snow-ball sampling approach, combined with purposive sampling, I identified individuals, approached them and asked whether they would be willing to partake in the study. The process of finding these individuals took between six and eight months (from April 2012 to November 2012) due to the connections which had

to be made with relevant institutions, such as YCH, PEN and Pop-Up. Relationships were built with representatives of these institutions that work in the field on a daily basis and were the link to the individuals chosen for the study. In some cases relationships also had to be built with leaders in small communities within the inner city of Pretoria that would help to identify potential individuals they thought would be willing to participate in the study. A large part of this process involved building networks with the correct institutions and people in the inner city which required regular, weekly or bi-weekly visits to the inner city of Pretoria. While these population and sampling procedures were in progress, I was fleshing out the literature review and the research design and approach simultaneously. Please note that the word 'participant' and 'respondent' will be used interchangeably in the report, depending on what is more suitable in the context it is used in.

3.4 Collecting and Processing Data

Empirical data was gathered from unstructured interviews, observations of the individual housing situations, and the review of secondary data or information sources such as academic articles, policies, strategies, books, reports and statistical data. As highlighted in Leedy and Ormrod (2005: 135) contextual data of the field study is also vital such as 'information about the physical environment and any historical, economic, and social factors that have a bearing on the situation'. The review of secondary sources allow for better grounding of qualitative results drawn from the interviews and therefore historical statistical records and document review are key components to the contextualisation of the study. This review and analysis I provide in relevant sections of Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of this research report.

3.4.1 Undertaking Qualitative Interviews

As is the case with phenomenological research projects, the main form of empirical data collection was through conducting lengthy interviews with strategically or purposively selected respondents. Interviews lasted between one and two hours and were relatively unstructured, following only a broad interview guide. Covering a range of relevant themes, I allowed both myself and the respondent to sidetrack from the interview schedule at times in order to allow for extra questions to flow between us as the discussion progressed. This also allowed me to probe the respondent if I

wished to gain more information on the topic of discussion at hand. As confirmed by Leedy and Ormrod (2005: 139) the interviews took on the characteristics of an informal conversation in which participants described 'their everyday experiences related to the phenomenon'.

Following permission given from the participants, interviews were recorded using a voice recorder and then transcribed. Each interview covered the following themes utilising mostly open-ended questions, put in such a way to respondents that they are a topic of conversation, open to the individuals' interpretation. However, in situations where the respondent seemed to misunderstand the question, I asked rephrased the question or asked a more direct question.. The themes covered in the interviews were as follows (please see Annexure A for the interview structure):

1. Personal background
2. Current housing situation
3. Quality of life
4. Behaviour patterns and living environment
5. Home and homelessness/houselessness

A qualitative approach was taken for the data collection and recording. Data was recorded when I took notes during the interviews and observations (Sarantakos, 2005). I saved and filed written documents, both in electronic and hard copy format, in an organised manner according to major themes covered in the research project. The data collection process required an explorative but thorough approach in order for me to identify, scrutinise and cover all possible angles. The data I gathered had to be organised, reflected upon, interpreted, reinterpreted and revised on a continuous basis. This data I partially analysed during the research process in order to be selective of the data collected (*ibid.*). Because the situation and perceptions of each respondent I interviewed varied in relation to their specific experiences and backgrounds, I had to process and analyse some of the data as I captured it. This not only forced me to re-evaluate the content of some of the questions but also the way in which I asked them. With this exercise I was able to improve my interviewing techniques on forthcoming interviews.

3.4.2 Research through Observation

One of the research sub-questions is aimed at understanding what kind of housing options are accessed or created by young, low-income males in the inner city of Pretoria. I therefore asked the participants' permission to take photographs of their dwelling units. All participants gave consent to this and therefore photographs have been used in the following chapter for analysis purposes. The research is primarily based on the perceptions of the participants with regard to their housing situations and their understanding of home and homelessness in order to interrogate the aspect of negotiations held around homelessness and youth development in relation to housing. Further observations of their living environments would have added empirical knowledge to the contextual grounding of the research but this would extend past the scope of the research project and require an in depth analysis of the socio-economic environment in which these individuals find themselves. The observations for the research project were therefore limited to taking photos for descriptive purposes. Beyond that I set out to understand the perceptions of the individuals themselves, which I captured through qualitative interviews as discussed above.

3.5 The Approach for Analysis

The empirical data I captured was analysed in a qualitative manner in order for it to be examined in a non-numerical and therefore more interpretative way. The aim of this approach is to be able to discover and identify 'underlying meanings and patterns' (Babbie, 2005: 387). Qualitative research methods typically require the theory to be closely intertwined with the data collection and analysis. Therefore I packaged the interview structure and analysis in such a way that the questions and themes are aligned to the conceptual framework, which is the backbone of my research project.

A combination of the case-oriented and variable-oriented analysis strategies was utilised. The research topic required each case (i.e. the low-income, young males) to be understood and analysed according to their housing situation, the implications of their background and socio-economic status on their situation, and their personal perceptions regarding home and homelessness. At the same time I found that a

number of variables played a role in framing the context within which each case was situated and these determined many decisions that were made by the participant. Lastly, undertaking a cross-case analysis allowed me to examine a number of different cases in order to find patterns and variations in the results of the topic (Babbie, 2005).

As explained by Leedy and Ormrod (2005) it is vital that common themes are drawn from the interviews as they are transcribed and analysed. The work of Creswell (1998) is echoed in Leedy and Ormrod (2005: 140) who highlight that the 'researcher separates relevant from irrelevant information' provided by the participants in the interviews. Relevant information is then secluded into single thoughts in the form of sentences or phrases. These sentences are then grouped according to certain aspects or meanings 'of the phenomenon as it is experienced' (*ibid.*). Although the interview structure and its questions were already divided into themes for discussion, further categorisation of the responses was necessary to identify the nuances within each unique case and to effectively align the results to the conceptual framework. In the analysis process, however, I also tried to identify the divergent and convergent perspectives of respondents on how they view the phenomenon, yet drew conclusions or generalisations so as to 'develop an overall description of the phenomenon' as experienced by the individuals (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005).

3.6 Ethical Considerations and Other Deliberations

The research project required the interview schedule for undertaking qualitative interviews to be approved by relevant authorities in the School of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Witwatersrand. It was important that my questions were not offensive to the respondents in any way and therefore societal elements of gender, class and race were considered when designing the questionnaire. The questions I derived were non-suggestive so as to get a more honest and subjective response and therefore questions were mostly open-ended. In many cases my main questions also had sub-questions in order to cover a theme as comprehensively has possible. This allowed the respondent to understand more clearly what was being asked and to be able to answer a question that tackles the theme panoramically.

As highlighted by Gubrium and Holstein (2001) it is vital that the researcher obtains informed consent from the respondents to utilise them as research subjects. It was therefore essential that adequate levels of confidentiality and transparency were adopted throughout the study. It was essential that I ask individuals, who agreed to partake in the research, to sign three consent letters prior to the interviews being conducted. The consent forms included one to conduct the actual interview, one to ask permission and get consent to use a voice recorder to record the interview and another to obtain permission to take photographs of the participants' place of residence, both from the inside and outside for observation purposes.

It was clear to me that I might need the assistance of translators if respondents were unable to express themselves comfortably in English. However, eight of the nine respondents were relatively fluent in English. One respondent preferred to be interviewed in Afrikaans which I am also fluent in, therefore it was unnecessary to involve a translator. In the instance where I felt that the respondent did not fully understand the question I used different words to pose the question in another way that was more understandable. It was felt that, in these instances; the question itself was complex and therefore had to be clarified. Even though English was not the respondents' mother tongue, their youthful age and their past education and exposure to the language - especially since they had been living in urban South Africa where English is the general language spoken and understood by most - using English was not a barrier in conducting the interviews. For verification purposes it would be ideal to redo the interview in the respondents' mother tongue or first language but due to time and financial constraints this was not possible.

It was also vital for me to be aware of my position as a young, middle-class, white female and that this may have implications during the research process. Therefore, I tried to uphold appropriate levels of sensitivity, especially concerning important societal elements such as gender, class, race and cultural backgrounds. Gubrium and Holstein (2001) highlight researchers need to be aware of the role that masculinity plays when interrogating ideas, opinions and forms of expression when interviewing men. Gender is a social construct and people often adopt certain attributes and behavioural patterns prescribed by their 'age, ethnicity, social class,

sexual orientation, local culture and immediate circumstances' (*ibid.,* 204). As a female researcher of a similar age to the respondents I had to be aware of the implications this might have on how the young males answered the questions. However, it was felt that the 'topic of conversation' allowed for emotively neutral and 'matter of fact' type answers. Respondents were asked to choose a preferred time and place to be interviewed and I took on a very casual approach during the interviews in order to minimise any feelings of intimidation or fears of whether the respondents would able to answer the questions or not.

Finally, I refrained from interviewing any men who were homeless to the point of sleeping on the streets. Despite my awareness that this is a prominent form of homelessness in the inner city of Pretoria, ethical standards view these individuals as vulnerable because they have no physical structure to sleep in and return to at night. It would therefore have been inappropriate or unethical for me to interview such a person.

3.7 Conclusion

The research methodology and specifically the process of collecting data, by undertaking qualitative interviews with eighteen main questions, resulted in an extensive body of knowledge on the perceptions that low-income, young males have of the housing situation in the inner city of Pretoria. It also, however, has been able to paint a fairly detailed picture of the profiles of the participants. This not only helps to understand their daily lives and socio-economic status but begins to explore and articulate the scenario of home, homelessness and youth development in an urban African context such as the inner city of Tshwane. The following chapter is an attempt to accurately and descriptively recount the empirical data that was captured through the interviews.

4. SEARCHING FOR MORE THAN A HOUSE; MORE THAN A HOME: THE EMPIRICAL DATA UNFOLDED

4.1 Introduction

For the participants in my fieldwork, migrating to the city was not by any margin the final destination. It was the beginning of a journey to independence and a self-sustaining adulthood. The process of urbanisation (here meaning the process of relocating to an urban area) clearly required the acceptance of continuous adaptation as new trials arose and circumstances change. Despite obvious desires of self-improvement, daily activities (or the lack thereof) to attain necessary livelihoods appeared to contradict each other sometimes. However there mostly seemed to be a level of satisfaction or appreciation from the participants for having been able to negotiate their current position in the inner city.

In the face of the indicative state of poverty and fairly resource-less situations these low-income, young males in my sample appeared to be in, each participant found a way to access or create housing for themselves. These various types of accommodation and the acquisition thereof also showed a variety of perceptions regarding their housing situation and the quality of life they experience. These perceptions were often in response to past housing experiences. The assessments made by the participants on their own housing situation and their perceptions of what constitutes adequate housing shows dissatisfaction and limitations to personal growth and development of their identity.

The complexity of the housing situation within the context of the inner city of Pretoria becomes evident in respondents' interpretations of home and homelessness, with some discussion on houselessness. It clearly shows that negotiations take place between experiencing elements of homelessness and the desire for personal development. The next section of the chapter begins to unfold the empirical data by providing the participant profiles.

4.2 Participant Profiles

In setting the scene, each of the nine participants' profiles are given below. This provides the backdrop for the issues that emanate from the empirical data and the findings that one is confronted with through analysis. In order to keep identities anonymous, the names provided are not the real names of the participants.

Participant 1: Victor Tuku
Victor Tuku is 29 years of age. He is originally from Upington in the Northern Cape and moved to Pretoria in 2006. Victor is Xhosa but he mostly speaks Afrikaans. However in Pretoria he is forced to speak English and wishes he could speak Zulu in order to communicate better with people in the inner city. Victor had six siblings, three of whom died and one being his twin who passed away at birth. Currently both sisters live in Pretoria and he visits them regularly and regularly sleeps over at their dwellings. His oldest brother lives in the Western Cape. Both Victor's parents have passed away. Victor is a very sociable person who enjoys traveling very much.
Participant 2: Itumeleng Mashishi
Itumeleng Mashishi is 20 years of age. He grew up in Middelburg in Mpumalanga but he and his family moved to Mooihoek in Limpopo in 2006. However, he moved back to Middelburg where he completed the ERD course at the FET College. Itumeleng is both Ndebele and Pedi, but speaks English as well. Itumeleng moved to the inner city of Pretoria in 2010 and joined All Harvest Ministries as a volunteer as his employment prospects were weak. Itumeleng has five siblings. His parents are divorced and he has not seen his father for 12 years.
Participant 3: Mandla Nkosi
Mandla Nkosi is 22 years of age. He originates from Belfast where some of his family still resides. He is Ndebele and speaks the language, alongside English and Afrikaans. Mandla has four siblings. He has never felt at home in Belfast and does not want to return to it, neither is he welcome until he returns with R18 000 to give to his parents. Mandla is a devoted Christian. He moved to the inner city of Pretoria in 2008.

Participant 4: Siya Tshwete
Siya Tshwete is 26 years of age, born in 1986. He was born in Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape. He is Xhosa and speaks both Xhosa and English. Siya has two siblings who still live in Port Elizabeth with his mother. His father passed away in 1994. He completed his matric and attended Cape Tech (Cape Peninsula University of Technology) but did not finish. Siya moved to Pretoria at the start of 2010. Prior to moving to Pretoria he was employed at a recruitment agency in Cape Town.
Participant 5: Gideon Nero
Gideon Nero is 28 years of age. He moved to South Africa from Nigeria in February 2012 in order to study and gain work experience abroad. Gideon is from the capital city of Ogun State in Nigeria called Abeokuta. He speaks a local Nigerian language called Yoruba, but he is also fluent in English. He is one of six children and is the only one of his family who is in South Africa. Although Gideon has a degree in accounting and has work experience in the field of finance, he struggles to find a decent paying job in South Africa. He faces many difficulties as a foreigner in South Africa. Gideon is also a motivational writer and has published some of his work in South Africa.
Participant 6: Mpho Matlala
Mpho Matlala is 32 years of age. He comes from a rural village called Calais, which is near to Tzaneen in Limpopo. Mpho is Northern Sotho and speaks Northern Sotho, Sepedi and English. His father was the chief of the village before he passed away and ran the Circumcision Mountain School. Mpho is very passionate about education and has always aspired to study and be a scholar, despite difficulty he faces with his family who wanted him to take care of the cattle and other matters at home. Mpho moved to the inner city of Pretoria in April 2008.
Participant 7: Peter Direro
Peter Direro is 27 years of age. He originates from Bushbuckridge in Mpumalanga and moved to the inner city of Pretoria in 2004. Peter is Pedi and therefore speaks Pedi, but also speaks English. He is an only child and his father and grandmother still reside in Bushbuckridge. Peter is an

entrepreneur and this has helped him to survive since moving away from home.
Participant 8: Phineas Chauke
Phineas Chauke is 20 years of age. He was born in Giyani in Limpopo. He is Tsonga and therefore speaks Tsonga. However he can also speak English. Phineas has three siblings. His brother is living and working in Bronkhorstspruit where he lived for a while until transport and distance to travel to work in the inner city became too expensive and time consuming. His father has passed away. Phineas moved to the inner city in 2011 as he got a job as a prisoner ward. He is not considered 'low-income' due to the salary he earns. He would like to be a writer and therefore would like to study and attain a higher education beyond his matric.
Participant 9: Eric Kwena
Eric Kwena is 30 years of age. He comes from Mogapeng, near Tzaneen, and speaks both Sepedi and English. Eric has two sisters who both also live in the inner city but they live together in a different apartment. Their parents are still living in Mogapeng village. Eric moved to the inner city in 2004 and was able to complete a national diploma in policing at Tshwane University of Technology (TUT). He has been unable to find employment in this field but is still positive that being in Pretoria, near government departments, will give him the opportunity to follow his career - his passion.

There are some overarching similarities and differences between the participants in the study. Participants have all migrated from another part of South Africa or Africa to work and study in the inner city of Pretoria. All participants are single (un-married) males who have no biological children who depend on them. In some cases, however, participants highlighted family members who depend on them for remittances. All participants, except one, earn less than R3500 a month. Lastly, with regards to their housing situation five participants live in flats, two live in informal dwellings and two live a homeless shelter for men. The remainder of this chapter is structured around the key themes: home and homelessness; adequate housing;

youth development; identity; urbanisation (migration and adaptation); and contextualisation and exclusion.

In going forward with the next section of this chapter it is necessary to provide a brief overview of organisations or programmes that play a fundamental role in supporting the participants. These will be referred to at various stages in the empirical data analysis. The People Upliftment Programme (POPUP) is a non-profit organisation (NPO) that is based in Salvokop (POPUP, www.popup.co.za, 2013). Primarily, this NPO provides social support services to the Salvokop community and offers training and skills development to disadvantaged and unemployed people (*ibid.*). Pretoria Evangelism Nurture (PEN) is a ministry based in the inner city of Pretoria (PEN, www.pen.org.za, 2013). This organisation provides basic necessities such as food and clothing, as well as health services to the urban poor (*ibid*.). PEN also provides various types of accommodation to students, children and men. Amongst these is the Zama Zama house which functions as a homeless shelter for men.

As explained by one of the respondents, Itumeleng, All Harvest Ministries is a church-based organisation that funds a number of programmes to help the poor in the inner city (personal communications, Mashishi, 2012). Included in this is a drop-in centre known as Koffiehuis and the Crossroads Boys Shelter. The organisation also supports some individuals in their studies by paying for their tuition fees, accommodation, food and other living expenses. Similarly it is important to take note that Schubart Park is a dilapidated building in the inner city of Pretoria which has been closely followed by the media as residents were forcefully removed in September 2011 due to the building being unfit for occupation (De Wet, 2012). The City of Tshwane has therefore been obligated through a court ruling to give some of the residents of Schubart Park alternative accommodation (*ibid.*).

4.3 Issues for Interrogation

4.3.1 The Process of Urbanisation and/or Migration

The common thread between the respondents was that their reason for migrating to Pretoria was for work opportunities or to attain a higher education after matric. Those whose main aim was to study further either had to supplement their stay with work in order to support themselves or their family supported them for the first few years of their stay. Mandla had his studies and living expenses paid for by his parents. However, after not having completed his studies his parents are demanding that he repays them the tuition fees, therefore the R18 000 mentioned in his profile he needs to raise before he may visit his parents. He maintains that 'the college was failing all the students in order to force us to return the following year and pay again to complete the same subjects' (personal communication, Nkosi, 2012). Since then Mandla had to fend for himself and has not returned to his family.

Most respondents are from rural parts or small towns of Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape. These respondents alluded to the lack of opportunity to grow and make a living in these areas. Peter Direro (personal communication, 2012) said that 'living in the inner city is exposing me to opportunities. It is much more difficult to start something in Bushbuckridge, especially because where I was living was in a very rural area'. Siya, on the other hand, had already been living in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth which are metropolitan cities in South Africa. However he highlighted that 'I have always wanted to come to Pretoria due to work and the pay rates are a bit higher this side' (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012). Another respondent, Gideon, travelled from his city in Nigeria to Pretoria as it is the capital city of South Africa and it is a good thing in his country to show that you have worked and/or studied abroad.

The need to adapt continuously was clearly part of the process of urbanisation for the respondents and continues to be something they have to deal with as their circumstances change. Most respondents have moved around in the inner city at least three times since migrating. The high rate of mobility to various locations is largely as a result of their ability to afford certain dwellings according to their income

at the time. If respondents live in certain locations for free, such as accommodation provided by charities, friends or family, they often have to adapt to changes made by the relevant parties and therefore move to new locations. Peter Direro's account of his mobility patterns is as follows:

> 'When I first arrived in the inner city I lived on the street. I then moved to a room in a flat after making money selling hotdogs. After that I moved to another flat called Parkberg where I stayed in the dining room which I was sharing with another person. Seven people were staying in that one and a half bedroom flat. I stayed there for about four months. In 2007 I moved to Sunnyside for a bit before moving to another sharing flat called Boikhutsong. From there I moved to Schubart Park and stayed on a balcony. After that a lady gave me her flat to live in as she moved out of Schubart Park. Last year (September 2011) the City of Tshwane evicted everyone from Schubart Park. We were moved to Atteridgeville but the residents of Atteridgeville complained about this so we were relocated again to the inner city, to Acho Flats' (personal communication, Direro, 2012).

Having to face regular uprooting is experienced differently by different respondents. Some do not like it and wish for some stability, others enjoy experiencing different locations. Those who have been living in the same location since migrating have pointed out that they do not like moving around. They have been able to live in a bachelor flat continuously by sharing the rent and adapting to sharing the single living space and even the bed with the other flatmates who are also male. Despite obvious levels of difficulty faced since migrating, almost all of the participants have lived undisrupted in the inner city of Pretoria.

4.3.2 Building on Identity versus the Need to Survive

From the responses there was a mixed resolve as to whether their future goals and their current daily activities are aligned. Victor, for example, said that he would like to become a professional artist and become a vendor. He aims to have his own business selling fruit, vegetables and flowers and travel while doing so. However he was unemployed and had little to do during the day. Siya's aspirations are

> ‘to have a good lifestyle that covers my needs like having a house and car one needs to have a good career path. I also want to advance in my field of studies. I want to have a family one day but I don’t want them to suffer so I need a good job’ (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012).

However he has been unemployed for about half of the time since he moved to the inner city and he is unable to save money because he usually only gets piece jobs.

Other respondents have been able to align part of their daily activities with future goals and self-growth. Itumeleng was already volunteering with Koffiehuis which enabled him to help the local poor community. Koffiehuis is a homeless shelter and soup kitchen in the inner city of Pretoria, managed by All Harvest Ministries. Mandla was volunteering at Pretoria Evangelism and Nurture (PEN) clinic and will enrol in a nursing course in 2013 at Pop-Up. It is his ambition to care for the poor in their health needs and to have a family one day which he can support. Mpho was in the process of completing his bachelor’s degree and enrolling for an honours degree. These respondents expressed that their main challenge is their unemployment or the poor levels of income they receive from their jobs which hamper or slow their progress.

The respondents who work earns between R2000 and R3200 a month, however their income is not always consistent due to job losses, the occasional nature of commission earned from sales jobs, or the temporary nature of the jobs they are able to secure. Only Phineas earns a middle-income salary of R8000 monthly, however he added that approximately R5375 of his income goes to various family members to support them. Unemployed respondents receive small contributions or stipends beyond having accommodation and meals given to them by their supporting organisation.

There seemed to be a general consensus amongst the respondents that despite weak financial positions and limited livelihoods, the living situations of the respondents in the inner city of Pretoria were still beneficial to their personal development. Mandla thought that ‘the Zama Zama shelter is a good place for a student to live and be able to keep my books safe...it is also a place to stay which means I don’t need to rely on my parents and they do not have to worry about me’

(personal communication, Nkosi, 2012). Siya highlighted that ‘as long as I am still networking with people I think I can make progress, although now I am still in the dark. It is very important to know the right people in the right places’ (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012). Phineas alluded to being able to meet various types of women which will help him to reach his goal of getting married one day.

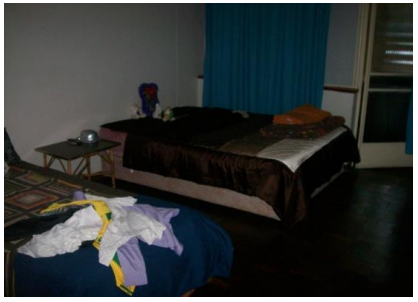
4.3.3 Manoeuvring within the Housing Sector

As discussed above, the rate at which many of the respondents have had to move from one place of residence to another is largely as a result of their low and unstable levels of income. Only three respondents could claim to have lived undisrupted in the same dwelling, or the same residential building, since migrating to the inner city of Pretoria. Each of these respondents could, on a monthly basis, pay their rent. The other respondents were dependent on their provision of housing by various church-based organisations and CTMM, and therefore were more susceptible to moving by instruction.

Gideon, although living in rental accommodation, had his contract prematurely ended twice due to change in ownership of the flat which forced him to find new accommodation. In order to improve his living situation in South Africa Gideon also applied to the Youth Empowerment Agency for a R6000 grant to start up his own business. He was denied due to his status as a foreigner.

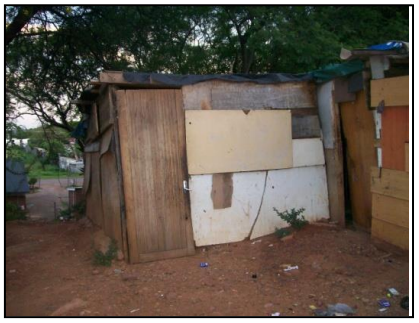
Not one of the other respondents had actively tried to access government housing subsidy or any other government grants to assist with their housing or livelihood needs. Victor stated: ‘I know that the government gives houses to women or couples with children but I can’t understand why there isn’t anything for single men’ (personal communication, Tuku, 2012). A number of respondents highlighted that not enough information is available to them about possible government assistance, the waiting period for being assisted is too long or it is usually not feasible to live in government-subsidy built houses because their location is far away from job opportunities. This alluded to the respondents having the perception that the state’s grant system does not operate in their favour.

Mpho showed his perseverance to be independent and be able to support himself in his interview: ‘I don’t want things for free because it will make me dependent on the government…education is the key to opportunity and independence’ (personal communication, Matlala, 2012). The above factors clearly show how respondents manoeuvre in the housing sector to access or create housing. Within the limited scope of available resources, the following table provides a description of each respondent’s place or residence at the time of the interviews being undertaken. The table also provides information how long the respondents have been living in the described residence and for what reason.

Participants	Photographs
1. Victor Tuku is living in a homeless shelter for men known as the Zama Zama's. It is run by PEN. He stays in a room (2mx3m) at the back of the main house. He has a bunk bed with a wooden desk, two draws and a small two plate stove. He uses a bucket to wash himself and there is a tap and a toilet outside. Victor pays R60 per month for his accommodation. He has been living there for just under a year and chooses to remain there because he cannot afford anything better.	
2. Itumeleng Mashishi lives in a two and a half bedroom flat which he used to share with three other men. However currently he is only living with one other flatmate. He has the biggest room in the flat. He and his flatmate share a bathroom with a shower, toilet, kitchen and living room. Itumeleng's accommodation is fully sponsored by All Harvest Ministries. He has been living there for a year and was requested by the organisation to move from their boy's shelter named Crossroads to the flat.	 

3. Mandla Nkosi is also living in a homeless shelter for men known as the Zama Zama's. He shares a room with another man in the main house. The men living in the house have a shared shower, toilet, kitchen and living room with a television. Mandla pays R60 per month for his accommodation. He has been living there for two weeks and is very happy to remain there as he was living on the street prior to his move to the Zama Zama's.	  
4. Gideon Nero lives in a two bedroom flat with a bathroom, toilet and kitchen. There are four people staying in the flat. Gideon highlighted that when he relaxes he would do so in his room as there is little other space in the flat. He pays a monthly rental fee for the accommodation. Gideon has been living in this accommodation for two months as he was forced to leave the previous flat he stayed in.	    

5. Siya Tshwete is living in a one room shack in the informal settlement Salvokop popularly known as ‘The Mountain’ or ‘Baghdad’. Inside the shack Siya has a prime stove and a counter for his groceries. He has some plates and pots which he said he has collected overtime. He has a bed with a base and a mattress. He said that when he relaxes or socialises he does so either outside or inside his shack. Siya built the shack himself and lives in it for free. He has been living there for about a year and remains there because he cannot afford to move into a shared flat and pay the regular monthly rent.

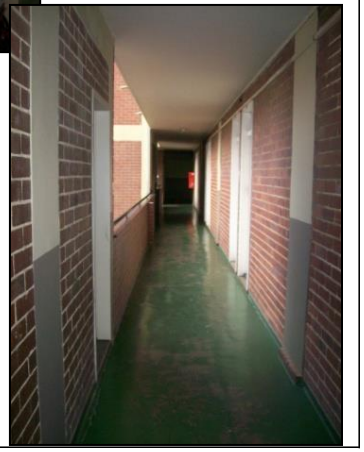


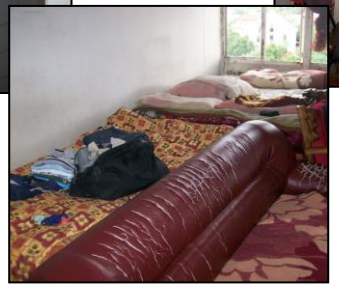



6. Mpho Matlala lives alone in a backyard shack which he rents in Salvokop. Between four and six other people are renting individual backyard shacks on the same property. All tenants use the one outside toilet and uses plastic bowls to bathe. Electricity is accessed from the main house using an extension cable. Inside his shack Mpho has a stove, a bed and a table. When he relaxes or socialises he would mostly do so inside his shack, even when he has guests. Mpho has





been living in the backyard shack for three years and continues to stay there because of its affordability and his good relationship with the landlord.	
7. Peter Direro lives on his own in a single room in a tenement building in which the toilet and showers are shared. He has a bed, a wardrobe and a basin in his room. There is a cafeteria in the building where people can go to eat and socialise. Peter cooks in the room and uses a small stove to do this. His accommodation is being funded by CTMM after being evicted from Schubart Park. Peter has been living at Acho Apartments for fourteen months and continues to live there because it is free and decent accommodation provided by the municipality.	   

8. Phineas Chauke stays in a bachelor flat with three other males. The flat has a closed balcony which is where he sleeps. The remaining flatmates sleep in the main room which is also the living room. The flat has a television for everyone to share. It has a kitchen and one bathroom with a toilet. Phineas pays a monthly rental fee for the accommodation. He has been living in the flat for about a year and continues to stay there because he likes the flat and his flatmates. He also does not like moving around.	   
9. Eric Kwena shares a bachelor flat with five other men. The flat had a kitchen and a bathroom with a toilet. Eric shares a double bed with one of his flatmates. There is also a couch, a DVD player and a television to share. Eric pays a monthly rental fee for the accommodation. He has been living in the same building for eight years but has moved flats ten times. Eric continues to stay in the flat because it is affordable and he and his flatmates are friends who understand each other.	    

4.3.4 Overarching Perceptions on Current Housing Situations The perceptions that respondents had with regards to their current housing situation were dependent on physical, personal and social experiences they had of the dwelling unit. Some respondents had made comparisons with their previous places of residence to develop their perceptions.

Positive aspects of current places of residence were the provision of basic services; good levels of safety and security; protection against external elements such as rain; the quiet environment, spaciousness and cleanliness; privacy; affordability and a positive social atmosphere. Itumeleng highlighted that he previously stayed in a wendy house which was not safe, whereas at the time of the interview he was living in a safe and quiet flat that made studying much easier. Gideon informed that

> 'security is vital in this area and in this block of flats each flat gets only one (security) disc to share. You have to go down to the gate to open up for people, making access much tighter and lowering crime' (personal communication, Nero, 2012).

As highlighted of the respondents, negative aspects of their current housing situations include: the lack of protection against external elements such as rats and snakes; experiencing loneliness; poorly maintained flats and apartment buildings; lack of sufficient security; conflict with co-inhabitants and a lack of basic services. Siya explicitly explains that

> 'the place is quite terrible. I don't like the area because I stay in the bushes. The place is quite dirty. People do what they want because no one is paying and they mess and piss anywhere. There are no roads or water pumps' (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012).

The context within which the respondents reside, being the inner city of Pretoria, clearly impacted on the perceptions of their (then) current

situation. For most respondents it was highly beneficial that they live in close walking distance to shops and social amenities such as clinics, places of education, police stations, banks, government institutions and churches. They also appreciated that various modes of transport such as taxis and trains depart from the inner city area to various destinations across the country.

A number of respondents highlighted the value of being in an environment where people of different cultures are, this allowing them to socialise with many different kinds of people. Two respondents were appreciative of the fact that they are exposed to an environment where professionals work and operate. This not only inspired them to achieve and reach their personal goals of study and work, but it allowed them to meet role models who motivate them. Mpho specifically highlighted that

> ‘Salvokop is the right place for a scholar because it is very close to town where there are professionals. It is near to Pretoria CBD and because of that it is a place of motivation. The rent is also much cheaper than the flats...it helps you to be stronger. Some of my friends are sharing a room in a flat with about five people and although they are paying the same as I am, I think it is a worse lifestyle’ (personal communication, Matlala, 2012).

This not only illustrates the rationale for Mpho choosing to live in a backyard shack but it also shows the value he finds in his experience of living in the inner city is contributing to his personal growth and the development of his identity.

Adverse perceptions on the inner city housing experience also came to the fore in the interviews. Respondents had felt discriminated against at times and experienced peer pressure from fellow youth. Phineas explained that

> ‘in the CBD I experience cultural discrimination. It is difficult for someone to approach another person with their home language of

> they can't speak English, Pedi or Tswana. I also don't drink and I am often seen as an outcast or 'out of date' person' (personal communication, Chauke, 2012).

Mpho said that he felt discriminated against as a tenant in Salvokop. He discussed that

> 'Living in Salvokop one is undermined when vocalising your concern at community meetings because you are only living in the community temporarily. It is normally the children of the owners of the Salvokop houses who live in and manage the property and the backyard shacks. They are arrogant and uncompromising to the needs of the tenants' (personal communication, Matlala, 2012).

Two respondents discussed the issue of poverty and high rates of unemployment in their communities. Mpho was aware that many residents in Salvokop, especially those from Zimbabwe, were disadvantaged and lacked income to take care of themselves and their families. Siya, who lived in the Salvokop informal settlement, argued that unemployment was a large contributor to alcohol and drug use due to individuals being in a state of depression. He observed that people also became stressed not having an income and jealous when they saw some 'guys making a lot of money stealing copper and can make up to R4000 a day' (personal communication, Tswete, 2012). He admitted to having had these emotional reactions himself.

Mandla and Siya both gave insight into their changed behaviour since moving into a certain milieu in the inner city. Siya thought that his environment had changed his mental state negatively. He had become more aggressive yet complacent due to the violence he had experienced and seen in the informal settlement. He highlighted that one is forced not to interfere in domestic violence between other couples because you will be implicated and accused of having had sexual relations with the female

if you try to stop the fight. Mandla recalls his experience of being exposed to drugs while having previously stayed in a flat which seemed to have been 'run by Nigerians'. In the time he lived in this particular flat Mandla spent about R3000 a month on drugs. Mandla states

> 'I used cocaine, dagga and smoked petrol, spirits and turpentine. Many people in the flat were using drugs that were being sold by the Nigerians. The Nigerians gave me a job as an informant to see if people buying drugs were not the police but I said no because they wanted to pay me too little' (personal communication, Nkosi, 2012).

The positive and negative perceptions expressed by the respondents clearly encompass the physical, personal and social attributes of housing in its tangible and non-tangible sense. This includes the actual place of residence or dwelling unit, and the inner city environment as a whole.

4.3.5 Perceptions on Quality of Life and Adequate Housing

The respondents' perceptions on whether their quality of life had improved since moving to the inner city of Pretoria were strongly related to the development of their personal identity. Some of the respondents attached high value to the level of independence and responsibility that they have gained living away from home. Peter explains that

> 'at home no one is working so there is no money but in the inner city I only have to take care of myself. Even if I experience a problem I am the one who has to sort it out. At times I do suffer and I don't have money to buy bread and I have to eat pap and tomato. But no one will see what I eat so no one will be able to say anything' (personal communication, Direro, 2012).

Some respondents have also managed to enrol in higher education institutions such as UNISA and TUT and acquire more skills through on-the-job training. Mpho was able to purchase his first computer and pay it

off with instalments since he had a steady job as a security guard. There was also shared appreciation for the exposure to a different life that had opened up their minds to new ideas, new ways of living, new cultures and different types of people. Eric highlighted that he had become a lot more confident and was able to communicate with various people without being intimidated by their stature. Phineas expressed that 'in Giyani nobody knows anything. There are no robots, it is not civilised and everything is new when you come to the inner city. I have experienced a new life' (personal communication, Chauke, 2012).

Gideon and Siya, on the other hand, voiced their frustration with their quality of life having worsened due to their lack of adequate income and unemployment. Gideon highlighted that as a foreigner fairly paid jobs were not available to him despite him having a degree in accounting. He had also found networking a challenge due to the perceptions that South Africans have of Nigerians. Siya said that he had only managed to find construction work or poorly paying work since moving to the inner city of Pretoria, which forced him to live in the Salvokop informal settlement and had resulted in a major drop in his quality of life.

The provision of basic services of their (then) current place of residence had also improved the quality of life for a number of respondents. Comparisons were either made in relation to a previous residence within the inner city or the residence where they originate from. Phineas stated that he had more facilities in the inner city than what he had at home:

> 'In Giyani I do not have my own room and we do not have a bathroom or kitchen in the house. Here I have piped water and a geyser for warm water. This saves me a lot of time and I don't experience the extreme cold that I do at home' (personal communication, Chauke, 2012).

Peter highlighted that his new room was much better than the previous flat he lived in Schubart Park. He described Schubart Park as

> 'being very unsafe. People would break into the flats when tenants were not there. It was also very overcrowded and sometimes 15 people could stay in a one and half bedroom flat. We also experienced water and electricity cuts and to get water we had to use the fire extinguisher and sometimes walk up to 21 floors carrying 25 litre buckets of water – the lifts were broken. When there was no electricity people would buy already cooked food at the shops, eat bread or use the prima stove to cook' (personal communication, Direro, 2012).

Discussions with many respondents showed that they do not think their (then) current place of residence is adequate to meet their needs. This was true even for those who were content with their residence as a temporary base. Nonetheless, despite difficulties such as living in worse conditions than at home or in previous locations, and experiencing financial problems, respondents would still remain in the inner city of Pretoria. This was due to advantages offered such as being able to live in a better located area, to study, work and sometimes be able to send money home. Siya said that

> 'living in the squatter camp has seriously worsened my quality of life. Although the facilities are much better at home I won't go back there. I will only move if I have a confirmed job elsewhere' (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012).

This indicates that the spatial and socio-economic attributes of the inner city context overrides the importance of physical attributes of a dwelling unit, according to the perceptions of the respondents. This also alludes to the type of negotiations that low-income, young males must undergo to make the best of their situations.

4.3.6 Youth Development in Context: Contributions and Set-backs

The behaviour patterns of the respondents had understandably changed since moving to the inner city of Tshwane due to the considerable change in their living environment. The volatile age, being young males moving from adolescence to adulthood, also has an influence on their personal development. The respondents identified certain behavioural changes that were either seen as set-backs or contributions to their development as young, male adults.

Negative behaviour of some respondents included being introduced to or having increased drinking, smoking and sexual activity. Mandla stated: 'I used to experience bad things like drinking, drugs and sexual behaviour' (personal communication, Nkosi, 2012). One respondent alluded to engaging in illicit activity as a source of income. These habits and bad feelings were perceived negative as they resulted in distracting some participants from their studies and living a respectable life, or because these bad habits were a result of being stressed and unhappy about a certain aspect of their life.

Siya in particular discussed in detail how

> 'life in Pretoria for me is my downfall because I have picked up a lot of bad habits. Swearing has become part of my conversations. When I drink I become aggressive if I get aggravated. Before I would just let it slide if someone picked on me or confronted me, now I just retaliate without thinking twice. Your environment plays a huge role in your lifestyle and because it is survival of the fittest and I see it on a daily basis when I act out and become violent. Another bad habit is my drinking which has increased big time. When I was unemployed for a year I drank every day. My smoking of cigarettes have also increased' (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012).

Positive behaviour or activities which respondents had been exposed to since moving to the inner city of Pretoria included social networking which have helped with employment opportunities and motivation to improve themselves. Phineas highlighted that being exposed to a higher standard of living which people in urban areas attain helps him to focus better on his own goals. Instead of drinking and partying, Phineas reported to spending his time at home, reading, attending church and playing sports which he considers to be positive activities. Gideon had learnt from South Africans 'that people of all classes can share space together because I noticed that everyone buys their groceries in the same shops' (personal communication, Nero, 2012).

Peter was proud of his entrepreneurial spirit which had made a positive impact on his life. He added that 'even now with the correct information I can start a new business which will create jobs' (personal communication, Direro, 2012). Some respondents' devotion to their studies also perceived this as positive behavioural changes since migrating to the inner city of Pretoria. Mpho (personal communication, 2012) stated that 'being a man means being educated so that you are able to compete with people from different cultures globally'. A number of respondents were religious and stated that they attended church and other church related activities on a regular basis. Itumuleng vocalised that 'I knew the truth of God before I came to the inner city so I know my limits and therefore wasn't easily influenced by the peer pressure or drinking and smoking and things' (personal communication, Mashishi, 2012).

In context of the set-backs and contributions experienced by respondents since moving to the inner city of Pretoria, perceptions of whether the respondents feel an overall sense of freedom and independence were explored. Eric emphasised the effect that peer pressure had on him in previous years and caused him to live a 'mob life'. Yet, over the years he has learnt to 'meditate on my decisions to make the best choice' (personal

communication, Kwena, 2012). This had given him a strong sense on independence and strength to be who he wants to be. Mandla and Mpho felt independent, able to express themselves and to pursue their goals due to the availability of educational facilities. However, financial constraints and peer pressure became stifling at times. Victor also highlighted that having been able to socialise with so many people allowed him to choose real friends and steer clear of people who negatively influenced him.

Siya highlighted his strong desire to move out of his current environment to a flat in Pretoria CBD where he can be amongst the right kind of people. He added: ‘my environment is an external element in my life that restricts me from gaining access to information and opportunities’ (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012). Mpho explained that despite being independent he does need the guidance of his family and community to make the right decisions and therefore returns to his family’s residence in rural Limpopo every few weeks. He also expressed: ‘my current community does not allow me to be myself because I can’t vocalise my opinions and be involved’ (personal communication, Matlala, 2012). This exclusion from the community is very limiting to him.

Gideon was fully comfortable expressing himself and to be who he wanted to be. He stated: ‘my concern is my ability to find better job opportunities here in South African, because I am a foreigner which limits me in achieving my goals’ (personal communication, Nero, 2012). Phineas argued that his environment had forced him to be independent ‘because you have to be responsible for your own life’ (personal communication, Chauke, 2012). He saw this as a positive aspect of the inner city. He expressed, however, that the discrimination he experienced due to not being able to speak the local languages limited him from feeling accepted and therefore being himself fully.

The empirical data shows the many facets of a contextual framework that clearly have positive and negative attributes which impact on youth development. The last issue unpacks how respondents understand home and homelessness and how they interpret their own position in this arena.

4.3.7 Interpretations of Home and Homelessness

Having the respondents explain what they understood by home in the interviews determined whether they saw the inner city of Pretoria and their (then) current place of residence as their home. Commonly, home was understood as a place of comfort where one can go to rest and feel a sense of freedom. Siya expressed that 'home is a place where you reside with family, where you can have dinner and it gives you a nice feeling' (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012). Home was also a place of refuge, especially in challenging times when one is facing difficulties. Three participants highlighted that it is a place where one feels free. A number of respondents alluded to the home being a safe place where one is protected. Gideon specifically highlighted that 'the place which you rent can never be your home because you can be kicked out at any time. As long as you own a place, doesn't matter what structure it is, it is your home' (personal communications, Nero, 2012).

Perceiving the inner city as their home differed according to various respondents. The idea of a flat being one's home was inconceivable for Victor and Gideon due to a flat mostly being considered as a temporary place to stay. Gideon said that: 'even though I signed occupation contracts for six months and another for a year I do not have the assurance that I will be able to stay in my rented flat for long because I have been kicked out twice' (personal communication, Nero, 2012). Eric expressed that he cannot call the inner city his home:

> 'my flatmates are not my family and I am only temporarily living in the inner city to reach my goals of work and study. For me, a future

> home would be a house in a suburb such as Centurion, or a house in my village in Limpopo' (personal communication, Kwena, 2012).

Siya and Peter perceived the inner city as a 'home away from home' or a 'second home' but it is not comparable to their childhood home (personal communication, Tshwete and Direro, 2012). Peter revealed that the inner city had always provided him with opportunities and therefore only in highly desperate circumstances would he consider to return to Bushbuckridge. Both Siya and Peter would also not hesitate to move to a new location if there was a job available for them. This showed a level of disengagement with the inner city, yet allowing it to be 'a home' when necessary.

Other respondents did view the inner city as their home. Itumeleng highlighted that despite him missing his family and the wildlife in the rural area where he comes from, he valued the inner city for its work and entertainment opportunities. He also felt comfortable being in the inner city. Mandla had completely embraced the inner city and the Zama Zama shelter as his home. He expressed: 'it doesn't matter what his situation is in the inner city, it still feels more like home than Belfast' (personal communication, Nkosi, 2012). The responses of Mandla and Itumeleng highlight the need to accept the inner city as their home, despite certain characteristics of 'home' not necessarily being present. In the case of Mandla it seems that he perceives the inner city as the first place that feels like 'home'.

Differentiating between the meaning of the term 'homeless' and 'houseless' was a tool used to help respondents articulate their own idea of what homelessness means. Many respondents explained that 'homeless' refers to someone who does not have a place, a shelter or a physical structure to sleep in at night. Victor views being 'homeless' and 'houseless' as the same thing and adds that 'a big house or mansion is a

home and a small house or an informal dwelling is a house' (personal communication, Tuku, 2012). Itumuleng said he preferred to call people 'houseless' rather than 'homeless' because

> 'everyone has a home which they decided to leave for various reasons like seeking work, education or drugs. I understand that living on the streets you are homeless and these people probably don't have a home to return to outside of the inner city, in the rural area' (personal communication, Mashishi, 2012).

This shows how the ideology of home is sometimes interpreted by the size and aesthetics of a house. It also reflects that homelessness is determined by the level of destitution of a person and that many people migrating from rural parts of South Africa are not homeless, despite their housing situation in the inner city.

Gideon argued that a 'homeless' person is anyone who is living in rental accommodation because they do not own their own dwelling, whereas houselessness is when a person has no place to sleep. Siya explained that 'houseless' is when a person does not *own* their own place, stand or physical structure. Mpho and Peter referred to 'homelessness' as not being in a place where one feels safe and protected. Peter stated that 'homeless is a place where one feels unsafe, even if you are staying in a house but you feel unsafe or strangers can invade your space' (personal communication, Direro, 2012). Mpho added that 'homeless is someone who does not live with their family...is also having the difficulty to adapt to circumstances' (personal communication, Matlala, 2012). Eric highlighted that a 'homeless' person does not know where he or she belongs. This showed that homelessness and houselessness can be interpreted by whether a person owns property or not. Homelessness is also interpreted in terms of psychological aspects such as feeling unsafe or being unable to adapt.

The perceptions of respondents as to whether they view themselves as homeless provided an indication of how they interpret and negotiate their position in the inner city of Pretoria. Mandla highlighted that although he does not have his own house in the inner city he does not feel homeless because he has always felt like Gauteng was his home. He stated: 'I did not like Belfast because bad things happen there such as children getting kidnapped and raped. Also there is no future in Belfast' (personal communication, Nkosi, 2012).

Phineas said that he has a shelter; he feels safe and has almost everything he needs, therefore he is not homeless. Siya expressed:

> 'I don't think I am homeless but I know that the land where my shack is not for me to build my own place and I know I can be evicted at any time' (personal communication, Tshwete, 2012).

Mpho shared that he feels at home where he currently lives because the owner of the stand on which he stays accepts her tenants, his fellow tenants understand and respect each other and he has been able to adapt to his housing situation. Victor, on the other hand, considers himself to be homeless. He explained that:

> 'I cannot see the inner city as my home and I know that where I am staying now I will have to leave at some stage because it is only a temporary option' (personal communication, Tuku, 2012).

In these reflections, the availability of basic services, feeling safe, having a good relationship with co-inhabitants and having security of tenure are important aspects that combat 'homelessness'. However, for some respondents, even these factors are not important if the overall perception of the inner city is positive.

4.4 Conclusion

Having unpacked the empirical data above, this chapter provided the commonalities, differences and especially nuances from each respondent's interview and briefly discussed these and formulated some initial conclusions. The topics dealt with were based on themes of the conceptual framework; however the topics were interrelated as they sometimes dealt with the same themes. The next chapter will unpack the findings of the research in accordance with the conceptual framework and analyse these findings in an attempt to understand better the phenomenon of low-income, young males residing in the inner city of Pretoria.

5. THE YOUTH'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH HOMELESSNESS: ANLYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

Broadly, the findings from my fieldwork analysis showed that the low-income, young males in my sample are able to either create or access housing through various channels of supply and availability. The quality of this housing also varies and is evaluated by the participants of the study through their perceptions. The literature review unpacks the theme of adequate housing, in conjunction with the theme of 'home and homelessness'.

5.2 Accessing Housing and Adequacy of the Accessed Housing

Given that not one of the participants were married or had dependents, they all automatically do not qualify to receive the once-off capital subsidy for a house from the government (Department of Human Settlements, 2009). Four participants, however, had been able to utilise existing structures to access a form of housing in the inner city of Tshwane. This includes the two church-based organisations, PEN and All Harvest Ministries, as well as CTMM which is obliged to provide temporary accommodation to those who were evicted from Schubart Park. The remaining participants had accessed housing by living in informal dwellings and sublet flats.

None of the participants had accessed housing provided by the two active social housing institutions (SHIs) in the inner city, namely Yeast City Housing (YCH) or Housing Company Tshwane (HCT). This, and through the upgrading of informal settlements, are the only ways in which government housing subsidy could be channelled to low-income, young, single males (Department of Human Settlements, 2009). However, as seen above, indirectly some participants have found ways to enter the

system and become beneficiaries of support structures for those in a state of poverty. Many of the participants used their own financial means to house themselves. They had never tried to access government housing subsidies and other grants, or in the case of Gideon he had been rejected since he was a foreigner. Accessing housing is therefore not a simple process. The participant had each found what suits them best and what they can afford given their low and unstable income. For a number of the participants their housing often changed as circumstances change, causing uncertainty and a difficulty in feeling secure. Others had a steady enough income to maintain their position in rental accommodation.

With reference to definition for adequate housing provided by UN-Habitat as discussed in Speak & Tipple (2009) I compiled the following table in order to roughly establish which of the participants' housing situations can be deemed 'adequate' according to this definition.

Table 5.1 Criteria for adequate housing versus the housing situation per participant.

Criteria for Adequate Housing	**Participant**									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	**Total**
Privacy	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓			**5**
Space		✓					✓			**2**
Lighting		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	**7**
Heating and ventilation		✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	**5**
Basic infrastructure	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	**7**
Security	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓		**6**
Physical accessibility	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	**8**
Security of								✓		**1**

tenure										
Physical stability and durability		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	**7**
Health and safety		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	**6**
Environmental quality		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	**7**
Reasonable cost	R60	R0	R60	R0	R800	R500	R0	R900	R750	**na**
Location w.r.t work and basic facilities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	**9**
Score out of 12 (excl. cost)	**5**	**11**	**9**	**3**	**9**	**6**	**11**	**9**	**8**	

Source: Compiled by Lene Le Roux

According to the basic criteria provided by the globally accepted definition of adequate housing Table 5.1 depicts that none of the participants reach full level of adequacy. Six participants reach slightly more than half levels of adequacy, while two participants reach half and just below half levels of adequacy, and one participant meets a quarter of the level of adequacy required to attain complete 'adequate housing'.

Four participants have managed to access housing through an organisation and either live in the accommodation for free or pay only R60 per month. Two of these individuals reach almost full adequacy. The participants who pay between R500 and R900 for rent per month have obtained above half to nearly full levels of adequacy. The participant with the lowest scoring level of adequacy neither pays for his housing nor has accessed this housing option through an organisation.

The criteria that is most lacking from the housing situations of the participants is security of tenure; space and privacy, followed by heating

and ventilation with less severity. The aspects that increase the level of adequacy of the housing are locality with regards to work and basic facilities, and physical accessibility. This is followed by lighting, access to basic services, physical stability and durability, as well as environmental quality.

Despite reaching moderate to good levels of adequacy as illustrated above, when asked whether they felt that their current place of residence is adequate or as a whole caters enough for their needs, the majority of participants did not think so. The participants would highlight one or more aspects that they were not satisfied with regarding their housing, such as the lack of security, experiencing power and water cuts, poor building maintenance or inadequate levels of privacy. It can therefore be deduced that 'adequate housing' is perceived by the participants to be a situation which requires all the criteria to be met. If this is the case and adequate housing is in direct correlation to being in a state of homelessness, as defined by UN-Habitat and discussed by authors Cross *et al*. (2010) and Tipple and Speak (2009), then the participants are considered as being homeless. This will be interrogated in further detail in the following sub-section.

5.4 Unpacking Perceptions of Home and Homelessness

In order to ascertain whether the participants viewed themselves as being homeless they were first queried on what they understood by the terms 'homeless' and 'houseless'. The common understanding was that being homeless is not having a roof over one's head or a physical structure to sleep in at night. Being 'houseless' mostly referred to the lack of ownership of a physical structure or dwelling unit. An outlying response was that no one can be deemed homeless unless they have no place of residence to return to when they leave the inner city. In other words this participant thinks that the majority of people living in the inner city, both on the streets or in a dwelling, are from a rural area and therefore have a

home to return to. Two participants viewed ‘houseless’ in the same way the majority viewed ‘homeless’ which is not having the safety of a place of residence to sleep in at night. One participant regarded people who do not know where they belong as being homeless.

From this point of reference participants had to identify themselves as either being houseless, homeless or both. Eight of the nine participants did not perceive themselves to be homeless because they have a place to live. Three considered themselves to be houseless as they did not own a place of residence. Four participants considered themselves as neither homeless nor houseless. These individuals alluded to having a home to go to in a rural area where their family lives; that despite insecurity of tenure they did not feel homeless or the mere fact that they have a shelter and a respectful landlord give them a sense of being at home.

These findings are in line with the argument made by Tipple and Speak (2009) that homelessness in developing countries should distinguish between those that are inadequately housed and those that are truly homeless (i.e. without a roof over one’s head or sleeping on the streets). Due to the fact that these individuals choose to remain in the inner city of Tshwane they have had to adapt to a certain level of housing inadequacy to survive in the urban environment given their availability of resources. Some of the participants have experienced sleeping on the streets in the past and being ‘truly homeless’ but have endured this - not returning to their families in rural areas - in order to be in direct access to a central urban space.

Despite identifying the term ‘homeless’ with simply not having a physical structure to sleep in at night, in reference to their own personal situations of not being homeless, the individuals expanded to include social and psychological/personal attributes which brings conceptualising the

meaning of ‘home’ into the radar. Participants in the study understand ‘home’ to include the following attributes:

- Place of comfort
- Place of rest and peace
- Nice feeling
- An aid in times of difficulty
- Familiarity and being with people similar to you
- Permanence
- Ownership
- Safety
- Place of birth or origin
- A physical structure, a shelter

In describing their understanding of the term ‘home’ the participants were able to explain whether they consider the inner city of Tshwane and their current place of residence as their home. Nearly half of the participants felt that neither the inner city or their place of residence is their home and do not think it is important to feel at home in the inner city, about a third did see the inner city and the place of residence as home and think it is important to perceive it in such a way. The remaining participants cannot view the inner city as their true home but it is ‘home away from home’ and has opportunities worth staying for.

As a result of the varied response to this point of discussion I compiled the following table in order to understand better whether the environment in which the participants live can be deemed a home or homely environment according to attributes identified by various authors Annison (2000); Sixsmith (1986) and Despres (1991). This table only takes into account social and personal elements so as not to repeat the evaluation of adequate housing which focuses on physical attributes. This table has been compiled utilising the overall perception that the researcher attained through discussions with each participant. One question in particular

researches the level of freedom, self-expression and independence experienced by the participants in their environment. Some elements highlighted in the literature review were not included in the table if nothing in the interviews reflected on that element/quality.

Table 5.2 Qualities of a 'home' or homely environment

Qualities of a Home	**Participant**									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	**Total**
Belonging	✓	✓		✓			✓		✓	**6**
Freedom and independence	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	**9**
Self-expression	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	**6**
Critical experiences			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	**6**
Sense of continuity/ Permanence										**0**
Sense of security				✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	**5**
Feelings of warmth, care and cosiness									✓	**1**
Meaningful places	✓								✓	**2**
Knowledge and opportunity		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	**6**
Desire to return		✓					✓		✓	**3**
Positive social relationships	✓					✓		✓		**3**
Friends and entertainment	✓		✓	✓				✓	✓	**5**
Score out of 12	**6**	**5**	**4**	**4**	**4**	**5**	**7**	**6**	**10**	

Source: Compiled by Lene Le Roux

Table 5.2 shows that four or of the nine participants scored six or more points on the qualities of a home or homely environment they experience in the inner city of Pretoria. This correlates with the percentage of participants who said that they did not perceive the inner city and their current place of residence as their home. The qualities experienced the most are freedom and independence, belonging, self-expression, critical experiences and knowledge and opportunity. The qualities experienced the least are sense of continuity or permanence, feelings of warmth, care and cosiness and meaningful places.

Most of the attributes highlighted by the participants to be the qualities of a home do not correlate to those which are experienced the most by the participants in the inner city of Pretoria. It therefore seems like the participants distinguish between what they perceive to be ‘home’ and the homely qualities they experience in the inner city. Although it is apparent that the majority of the participants neither perceive nor experience the inner city as their home they also do not see themselves as being homeless. This finding support the theory that ‘home’ is an ideology fuelled by cultural and individual expectations, aspirations and images. It could also be added that nostalgia of the childhood home contributes to this ideal.

From the analysis on adequate housing and home and homelessness, four core findings should be illuminated. The common discovery is that a large majority of the participants did not perceive themselves to be homeless. More than half of the participants did not perceive the inner city of Pretoria and their current place of residence to be a home, nor did their experience of the inner city show that it can be considered a home, as per definition. Many participants did not think it is important to consider the inner city as their home. Finally, the participants did not think that they were adequately housed. The motivation to remain in the inner city, within my sample, therefore goes beyond adequate housing and needing to have

a ‘home’ at this point in their lives. The following section on youth development tried to understand this phenomenon more intricately.

5.5 Youth Development in a State of Transition

The participants of the study were purposefully chosen to interrogate the phenomenon of low-income, male youth migrating to urban areas and adapting often to precarious circumstances in order to have access to socio-economic opportunities. The participants range between 20 and 32 years of age. All nine participants were not from the Pretoria. Eight participants were from small towns or villages in other provinces in South Africa and one participant was from Nigeria. The participant from Nigeria came from the capital city of Ogun State. His migration to South Africa was motivated by his aspirations to gain work experience and publish books abroad.

Eight of the nine participants were of low-income status and the one participant who earned a middle income salary utilised most of his income to assist his family. The individuals were either employed, employed part-time, had a piece job to sustain them for a few months or were unemployed. Those that were employed have unskilled and semi-skilled positions and therefore earn a low-income salary or wage. Only one participant receives approximately R200 a month or every few months from his family to support him when he has financial difficulty. Four participants have accessed financial support from organisations to support them with various livelihood needs. The participants have little financial support from their family either due to family conflict, the death of one or both parents, levels of poverty or choosing not to request help from their family.

As discussed by Christiansen *et al*. (2006) many youth in Africa have been born and raised in socio-economic environments that do not ascertain early life stability. Most youth have a desire to develop a sense of self and

personal identity and therefore youth who grow up in locations which no longer seem to contribute to their individual progress in life migrate to places of opportunity. The participants in the study moved to the Pretoria and specifically the inner city either having found work, to look for work or to study. As is typical of transitory youth, migration is used as a tool to gain independence, be exposed to a 'new world' and to earn some money (Thorsen, 2006). However, those with little resources and skills to compete in the urban labour market, end up in volatile situations which directly impact on their living conditions (*ibid*.). In the literature review it was also found that few individuals who 'fail' return home for fear or being stigmatised by the family or community, or ties were lost during the separation phase.

In the research undertaken it was verified that participants have been living in the inner city of Pretoria for various time periods, the shortest being ten months and the longest being nine years. The average timeframe for my sample is approximately four years. Participants also stayed in Pretoria most of the year, and only returned home during holidays for less than two weeks and only when they have the finances to do so. This suggests the development of living in the inner city of Pretoria on a permanent basis. Many of the participants who have lived in the inner city for longer alluded to not intending to move. Three participants stated that they would move if they found a job elsewhere and the majority highlighted that they would not return home or would return home but only as a last resort. Two participants confirmed that they had lost ties with their family and community back home and it is partly the reason why they continue to reside in the inner city of Pretoria. Other participants have study commitments and therefore remain in the inner city, whilst the remaining participants continue to work and look for better opportunities which they are optimistic about due to the presence of government departments and institutions in the Pretoria.

5.6 The Construction or Destruction of Identity

In migrating to the inner city of Pretoria the participants have had to adapt to various situations in order to survive and remain in the inner city. As discussed by Franchi & Swart (2003) and Farrigia (2011) there are a number of factors that contribute to the formulation of identity related to 'structural processes, material conditions and the social environment'. This study has revealed a number of aspects and experiences that are specific to the individuals being researched in the context of their housing situation in the inner city. Insight into the participants' perceptions on these aspects will reveal both positive and negative attributes related to their housing situation which impact on the development of their identity.

As a result of their low income status and living in a rental housing context all participants except one have had to move around as their situation changes for various reasons. These reasons include being evicted from their flat, the fluctuation of their income and restructuring within the organisations they are supported by. These participants have had to move at least three times. Responses vary regarding their perception of moving around, but the majority indicate that they dislike it. As expressed by Morrell (1998) migrant black males in the 1970s who moved to the city for labour often became disjointed from their families and lost traditions practiced by the community. In the same way the participants have migrated from their homes to the inner city on Pretoria in search of opportunities and as indicated before many rarely return to visit. This pattern and the pattern of needing to move around within the inner city, of which the majority do not like to do, could develop a sense of displacement, not belonging and finding it difficult to understand themselves which impacts on the development of their identity.

Beyond activities related to work and study it was felt necessary to research what other activities the participants' were involved in. The results include being involved in the church through various activities,

playing sports, walking around the inner city, socialising and relaxing in their place of residence watching television or reading. These are social factors and material conditions that contribute to the development of their identity. Some participants were religious and many of their responses with regards to facing difficulties involved their religious faith as motivation to overcome the obstacles they face. Religion therefore seems to be a strong component to their identity, how they perceive themselves and make sense of their experiences in the inner city.

Positive aspects of the participant's place of residence and neighbourhood or building included the proximity to social-economic facilities such as shops, transport networks, educational institutions and social amenities. Exposure to people from many different cultures, being able to socialise, access to places of entertainment and being in contact with inspirational people who have made a success of their lives were also positive attributes.

Pertinent negative aspects that were reflected in the interviews included exposure to drugs, alcohol, negative sexual behaviour, being involved in or being victims of crime and peer pressure. Some participants also experienced exclusion from the local community if they are foreign, speak a different language, are temporary residents or do not conform to what is perceived as normal behaviour for youth, such as drinking alcohol or going to clubs and bars. Certain living environments also developed negative changes in the behaviour of participants, such as becoming more aggressive or suffering from depression.

Theorists reviewed in this research report agree that individualisation and shaping a person's identity is determined by the 'collection of attributes, experiences, thoughts, motivations, attitudes, feelings and behaviour' (Franchi & Swart, 2003 *in* Ratele & Duncan, 2003: 152). Therefore, despite the overall perception among the respondents that their current

place of residence is inadequate and they do not feel that the inner city is their home; many participants state that they do like their current place of residence. This answer could be made in reference to their previous place of residence and that their living situation has improved overall. However, the mixed response to various questions indicates the complexity of the participants' housing situation and the rate of change in their situations. It is this collection of inconsistent experiences, perceptions, behaviour patterns and motivations that cause the development of identity for these participants to be a difficult and complex process.

From the research there also seems to be a strong correlation between the qualities of a home and the elements that contribute to the development of identity and process of individualisation. A young person's construct of his or her identity is in relation to family, community culture, social environment, material conditions, a sense of power and being socially mobile (Thorsen, 2006). Some qualities of a home that are based on similar principles are belonging, social relationships, self-expression, a sense of freedom, physical or basic needs and friend and entertainment. Therefore, the housing situation with a direct reflection on the concept of home and homelessness, is proportional to youth development and the construction or destruction of their identity.

As reflected on by Farrugia (2011) structural inequalities impact on the identity of youth in certain social environments. Often low-income youth have to negotiate their housing situation and accept sub-standard living conditions in order to have access to socio-economic opportunities. However from the research it is evident that in negotiating or accepting a certain housing situation or a certain level of 'homelessness' the participants have also negotiated their personal development and as such, their identity. The next section analyses the findings of the research to see the impact of structural exclusion and context on home, homelessness and youth development.

5.7 Conclusion

The complexity of homelessness becomes very prominent in the phenomenon of low-income, young men migrating to the inner city of Pretoria. The research has shown, from the perspective of the participants, how and for what reasons they remain in the inner city. This has alluded to there being clear advantages for the participants to negotiate between levels or elements of homelessness for their personal growth and development as youth. However, the analysis and findings also suggest negative aspects when building an identity within ‘homelessness’.

6. CONCLUSION OF YOUNG MALE PERCEPTIONS ON THEIR HOUSING SITUATION IN THE INNER CITY OF PRETORIA

6.1 Introduction

All youth at some stage in their core developmental years are faced with the difficult decision of how they will embark on their path to adulthood. Youth in contemporary African countries such as South Africa, that come from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds, often find themselves in the tricky position of deciding which scenario is the lesser-evil: remaining in the disadvantaged existence that they know or trying their hand at a risky yet opportunistic new existence they do not know. It is not uncommon practice for low-income, young males to migrate from rural South Africa to a metropolitan city to find new meaning and possibilities for their lives. It is this scenario that calls for continuous negotiation about what can be sacrificed in the face of opportunity. It can therefore be argued and should be explored that the housing situation of low-income, young males living in inner cities, is as a result of such sacrifice.

6.2 Study Overview

The study took to task an exploration on the perceptions that low-income, single, young males have of their housing situation in the inner city of Pretoria. The main *aim* was therefore to understand how participants of the study gave meaning to the concept of ‘home and homelessness’. It also investigated how they negotiate the need for housing with the need to have access to opportunities and socio-economic facilities. The study closely interrogated youth development within contextual and exclusionary elements.

The *goal* of the phenomenological study was therefore to understand what housing options are being accessed by low-income, young males in the inner city of Pretoria; what is understood by ‘home and homelessness’ and

how these individuals perceive their housing situation; and lastly how and for what reasons these individuals sustain their position in the inner city: I.e. how they negotiate between ‘homelessness’ and personal development as youth?

The study did not have a defined hypothesis due to the research being largely explorative. However, merely as a guiding proposition, the assumed findings included that participants are able access or create a variety of housing typologies. I expected that participants would perceive themselves not as ‘homeless’ but rather without adequate housing in the inner city. I also assumed that my findings would show that participants face some extreme difficulties that hinder their personal development. Lastly, I made the assumption that participants were able to find ways and means of remaining in the inner city by navigating through the availability of resources.

6.3 A Summary of the Literature and Conceptualisation Process

The study required the investigation of a variety of themes related to housing, sociology, economics and urban studies. In trying to understand the dynamics of human activity in urban environments such as the inner city of Pretoria it was important to review the physical and social needs of people at various stages of their lives whilst interrogating contextual externalities that impact on their existence.

The literature review therefore provided a theoretical base and analysis of literature relevant to the themes covered in this research. The broad themes of this research project were home, homelessness and the meaning of ‘housing’; operations of youth in time-space parameters; and understanding the impact of exclusion and the importance of context. The analysis literature was further developed through sub-themes.

Key points from my literature review, which informed my empirical data enquiry, were as follows. Firstly in the theme *home, homelessness and the meaning of 'housing'*, despite that countries are addressing housing delivery in a manner more inclusive of socio-economic, spatial and political factors (Cross *et al.*,2010; Kellet and Moore, 2003), limited state and institutional resources still exclude certain groups of people not obviously vulnerable, destitute or 'deserving' of being adequately housed (Neale, 1997; Anderson and Morgan, 1996; Sommerville, 1998).

Secondly, it is generally accepted by various authors that 'home' is a multidimensional concept compounded by personal, social, economic, physical and ideological human experiences and perceptions (Sixsmith, 1986; Despres, 1991; Smith, 1994; Mallet, 2004 and Olufemi, 2002). The complexity of 'homelessness' has more recently been illuminated by authors such as Tipple and Speak (2009), Cross *et al*. (2010) and Morrow (2010) who highlight the importance of context and the invalidity of the normative, more Western, understanding of 'homelessness' for developing nations. In the arena of structural inequality and urban poverty, often rife in developing countries, a distinction must be made between being truly homeless and being inadequately housed (Neale, 1997; Kennet and Marsh, 1999 and Tipple and Speak, 2009). Thirdly, Farrugia (2011) adds that the youth as a population group hungry for opportunity must continuously negotiate homelessness to access vibrant urban spaces with socio-economic amenities and possible livelihood.

Fourthly, in the theme of *youth development* Christiansen *et al*. (2006) highlight that the youth in Africa operate in unstable and difficult circumstances with few resources and little support. Despite being poorly equipped the youth will often migrate to high-risk, yet opportunistic environments for their own personal development and in an effort to create their own identity (Thorsen, 2006). Fifthly, Franchi and Swart (2003) and Farrugia (2011) argue that a variety of internal and external factors

continuously influence a person's identity. In South Africa young, low-earning, black males have strong social, historical, economic and political forces that add to the complexity of how their identity develops (Morrell, 1998; Yeakey, 2002 and Beall, 1993).

Lastly, when entering the housing market at a disadvantage, facing structural exclusion and limited access to finances, low-income young males are often subjected to sub-standard, highly volatile and, at least to some extent, informality in housing (Cross, 2008 and Haase *et al.*, 2011). As stipulated by Farrugia (2011), when trying to understand how the youth's identities are formed and how they negotiate their position in urban spaces; structural processes, material conditions and the social environment must be interrogated.

The key insights provided above, in conjunction with the conceptual framework which I formulated utilising the themes of the literature review informed my research methodology. Employing ethnomethodology for the research approach it was necessary to undertake qualitative interviews with the selected population sample. This required intense networking with various organisations and individuals within the inner city of Pretoria. Although this was quite a time consuming exercise, for the type of questions asked in the interviews, it was essential for me to build a trusting and honest relationships. I hindsight I would have liked to identify participants living in more diverse housing situations.

6.4 The Findings Illuminated

From my research I found that my participants utilised various avenues to access or create housing. These avenues included linkages with support structures such as socially responsive organisations that, by default, do not supply affordable, low-income or social housing. However, they attempt to relieve the immediate and obvious need for accommodation in the inner city for those who are destitute. Other respondents were able to

utilise their own income to find accommodation that was affordable to them. Housing typology was limited to mostly shared flat units, informal dwelling units or a room in a house.

The housing situation in the context of the inner city becomes undoubtedly more complex when interpretations of male youth on home and homelessness are interrogated. The research showed me that the yearning of the youth I interviewed, for personal growth and articulation of identity causes continuous negotiations to occur with the level of homelessness they can endure. The perceptions of their current housing situations, their overall quality of life and their understanding of home and homelessness in relation to the inner city clearly allude to mixed attitudes. This further adds to the complexity of housing for youth in the inner city of Pretoria.

The process of urbanisation (here meaning the process of relocating to an urban area) proved to be a challenging and difficult yet self-fulfilling experience which seemed to be highly valued by the participants in my study. There appeared to be a general acceptance for adaptation and sacrifice of basic levels of adequate housing in order to attain independence, freedom and access to socio-economic opportunities. Although I found that there was a level satisfaction or appreciation for having been able to negotiate their current position in the inner city, participants have to deal with some severe difficulties. These low-income young males, with very limited access to state resources and economic opportunity, seem to have a fairly volatile existence which causes them to easily move in and out of a poverty state.

6.5 Conclusion and Recommendations

This research project was a qualitative study and therefore the findings are not representative of the larger population. However it is concluded that

low-income, male youth access and create housing in the inner city of Pretoria utilising various channels of support and resources. Despite having to face structural exclusion such as lacking institutional support of housing and other socio-economic needs, migration and the process of urbanisation (i.e. moving from a rural to an urban area) of the youth continue. In search independence, freedom and better opportunities for personal growth, low-income male youth are willing to adapt to difficult circumstances and accept their inadequate housing situations as they are. The research clearly shows the complexity of homelessness in relation to the context within which it is conceptualised. This is shown by the continuous negotiations which take place as male youth maintain their position in the inner city of Pretoria.

The complexity of understanding the perceptions of low-income, male youth in the inner city of Pretoria is enhanced when the impact on their identity is interrogated. It is therefore recommended that future research in the field of homelessness and youth development more questions more deeply the impact of housing and homelessness on the development and identity of the youth.

REFERENCES

Altman, I., 1975. The Environment and Social Behaviour: Privacy, Personal Space, Territory, and Crowding. Brook/Cole, Monterey, CA.

Amis, P., 1995. Making sense of poverty. Environment and Urbanisation, 7(1), 145-157.

Anderson, I. & Morgan, J.,1996. Single people's housing needs: A question of legitimacy? Paper presented to Housing Studies Association conference on Housing and Social Exclusion, University of Birmingham, 16-17 September.

Annison, J., 2000. Towards a clearer understanding of the meaning "home". Journal of Intellectual and Developmental Disability, 25(4), 251-262.

Babbie, E., 2005. The Basics of Social Research, 3rd Edition. Thomson Wadsworth, Canada.

Bailey, K., 1978. Methods of Social Research: 2nd Edition. The Free Press, United States of America.

Beall, J., 1993. The gender dimensions of urbanization and urban poverty. Paper prepared for the Division of the Advancement of Women, United Nations Office at Vienna. Presented at the Seminar on Women in Urban Areas, Vienna, 8-12 November, 1993.

Bekker, S., 2001. Identity and Ethnicity. In Bekker, S., Dodds, M. & Khosa, M. (eds). Shifting African Identities, Vol 2, pp. 1-6, HSRC, Pretoria.

Chamberlain, C. and MacKenzie, D., 1998. Youth homelessness: early intervention and prevention. Australian Centre for Equity Through Education, Sydney.

Chambers, R., 1995. Poverty and livelihoods: whose reality counts? Environment and Urbanisation, 7(1), 173-204.

Christiansen, C., Utas, M. & Vigh, H. (eds), 2006. Navigating Youth Generating Adulthood: Social Becoming in an African Context. Elanders Gotab AB, Stockholm.

Cieraad, I., 1999. Introduction: Anthropology at home. In Cieraad, I. (ed), At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.

City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality GIS Data, received November 2011 from ARUP.

Clapham, D., Kemp, P. & Smith, S., 1990. Housing and Social Policy. Houndmills, Basingstoke and Macmillan Education Ltd, London.

Cornwall, A., 2003. Whose voices? Whose choices? Reflections on gender and participatory development. World Development, 31(8), 1325-1342.

Creswell, J., 1998. Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cross, C., 2008. Housing delivery as anti-poverty: is South Africa on the right track? Paper presented at the Southern African Housing Foundation International Conference and Exhibition ‘Developing Communities’, Cape Town, South Africa, 12-15 October 2008.

Cross, C., Seager, J., Erasmus, J., Ward, C. and O'Donovan M., 2010. Skeleton at the feast: a review of street homelessness in South Africa and other world regions. Development Southern Africa, 27(1), 6-20.

Despres, C., 1991. The meaning of home: Literature review and directions for future research and theoretical development. Journal of Architectural Planning Research, 8, 96-115.

Department of Human Settlements, 2004. "Breaking New Ground": A comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements. Department of Human Settlements, Pretoria.

Department of Human Settlements, 2009. National Housing Code. Department of Human Settlements, Pretoria.

Department of Human Settlements, 2009a. National Housing Code: Subsidy Basics. Department of Human Settlements, Pretoria.

De Wet, P., 2012. 'ConCourt: City of Tshwane must restore Schubart Park slum'. The Mail and Guardian, accessed 27 March 2013. INTERNET: www.mg.co.za/article/2012-10-09-concourt-tshwane-must-restore -its-high-rise-slum.

Dovey, K., 1978. HomeL an ordering principle in space. Lanscape, 22(2), 27-30.

Edelstein, M., 1986. Toxic exposure and the inversion of the home. Journal of Architectural and Planning Research, 3, 237-251.

Farrugia, D., 2011. Youth homelessness and individualised subjectivity. Journal of Youth Studies, 14(7), 761-775.

Fried, M., 1963. Grieving for a lost home. In Duhl, L. (eds), The Urban Condition. Pp. 151-171, Simon and Schuster, New York.

Franchi, V. & Swart, T., 2003. Identity dynamics and the politics of self-definition. In Ratele, K & Duncan, N. (eds), Social Psychology: Identities and Relationships. Pp. 148-173, UCT Press, Republic of South Africa.

Giuliani, M., 1991. Towards an analysis of mental representations of attachment to the home. The Journal of Architectural and Planning Research, 8(2), 133-146.

Gubrium, J and Holstein, J. (eds), 2001. Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method. Sage Publications, United States of America.

Hall, R., 2011. The feminisation of social services: Implications for black male youth. Children and youth services review, 33, 741-746.

Hayward, D., 1977. Psychological concepts of ‘home’. HUD Challenge, 10-13.

Haase, A., Grossmann, K., Steinführer, A. Transitory urbanites: New actors of residential change in Polish and Czech inner cities. J. Cities (2011), doi:10.1016/j.cities.2011.11.006.

Kayamandi Development Services, 2011. Tshwane inner city housing assessment. Unpublished report for ARUP, Pretoria.

Kellett, P. and Moore, J., 2003. Routes to home: homelessness and home-making in contrasting societies. Habitat International, 27, 123-141.

Kennett, P. and Marsh, A., 1999. Homelessness: Exploring the New Terrain. Policy Press, Bristol.

Kidd, S., 2012. Invited Commentary: Seeking a coherent strategy in our response to homeless and street-involved youth: a Historical review and suggested future directions. Youth Adolescence, 41, 533-543.

Kok, P., Cross, C & Roux, N., 2010. Towards a demographic profile of the street homeless in South Africa. Development Southern Africa, 27(1), 37-41.

Korosec-Serfaty, P. & Bollitt, D., 1986. Dwelling and the experience of burglary. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 6, 329-344.

Lawrence, R., 1987. Housing, Dwellings and Homes: Design Theory, Research and Practice. Wiley, Brisbane.

Leedy, P. & Ormrod, J., 2005. Practical Research: Planning and Design (8th Edition). Person Educational International and Prentice Hill, New Jersey.

Leger, J., 1985. The prefabricated house: is it really a home? Journal of Environmental Psychology, 5, 345 - 354.
Lighstone Properties, 2011. Property statistics. INTERNET: http://www.lightstone.co.za, accessed November 2011.

Mabin, A., 1990. Limits of urban transition models in understanding South African urbanisation. Development Southern Africa, 7(3), 311-322.

Mallet, S., 2004. Understanding home: a critical review of the literature. The Sociological Review, 52(1), 62-89.

Marcus, C., 1995. House as a mirror of self: Exploring the deeper meaning of home. Conari Press, Berkeley, CA.

Maslow, A., 1943. A theory of motivation. Psychological Review, 50, 370-396.

Mc Donald, D., 1998. Hear no housing, see no housing: Immigration and homelessness in the new South Africa. Cities, 15(6), 449-462.

Moore, J., 2000. Placing home in context. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 20, 207-217.

Morrell, R., 1998. Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in Southern African studies. Journal of Southern African Studies, 24(4), 605-630.

Morrow, S., 2010. The homeless in historical context. Development Southern Africa, 27(1), 51-62.

Neale, J., 1997. Homelessness and theory reconsidered. Housing Studies, 12(1), 47-61.

Nisbett, R. & Ross, L., 1980. Human inferences: Strategies and shortcomings in social judgement. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall.

Olufemi, O. 2002. Barriers that disconnect homeless people and make homelessness difficult to interpret. Development Southern Africa, 19(4), 455-466.

Paulus, P., Nagar, D & Camacho, L., 1991. Environmental and psychological factors in reactions to apartments and mobile homes. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 11, 143-161.

Pennartz, P., 1986. Atmosphere at home: a qualitative approach. Journal of Environmental Pyschology, 6, 135-153.

People Upliftment Programme, 2013. POPUP a Home of Grace, accessed 27 March 2013. INTERNET: www.popup.co.za/news_view.php?id=22.

Porteous, J., 1976. Home: the territorial core. Geographical Review, 66(4), 383-390.

Pretoria Evangelism Nurture, 2013. PEN More about us, accessed 27 March 2013. INTERNET: www.pen.org.za/about-us.html.

Proshansky, H., 1978. The city and self-identity. Environment and Behaviour, 10, 147-169.

Resource Information Service, 2000. 'Homelessness', accessed 28 Feb 2007. INTERNET: http://www.homelesspages.org.uk/subs/subjects.asp?sbid=10.

Sampson, R and Wilson W., 1995. Toward a Theory of Race, Crime, and Urban Inequality. Crime and Inequality. (John Hagan,Peterson, Ruth D., Eds.)., 37-56, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. INTERNET: http://140.247.94.249/soc/faculty/sampson/ articles/ 1995_TheoryOfRace_Wilson.pdf, accessed 10 March 2012.

Sarantakos, S., 2005. Social Research. Third Edition. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Segatti, A & Landau, L. (editors), 2011. Contemporary migration to South Africa: A regional development issue. The World Bank and the Agence Française de Développement. INTERNET: www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContent Server/WDSP.html, accessed 11 March 2012.

Seagert, S., 1985. The role of housing in the experience of dwelling. In Altman, I. and Werner, C. (eds), Home Environments. Pp. 287-309, Plenum Press, New York.

Seamon, D., 1979. A Geography of the Life World: Movement, Rest and Encounter. Croom-Helm, London.
Sebba, R. & Churchman, A., 1986. The uniqueness of the home. Architecture and Behaviour, 3(1), 7-24.

Shefer, T., 2003. Heterosexuality. In Ratele, K & Duncan, N. (eds), Social Psychology: Identities and Relationships. Pp. 289-302, UCT Press, Republic of South Africa.

Sixsmith, J., 1986. The meaning of home: An exploratory study of environmental experience. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 6, 281-298.

Smith, S., 1994. The essential qualities of a home. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 14, 31-46.

Sommerville, P., 1998. Explanations of social exclusion: Where does housing fit in? Housing Studies, 13(6), 761-780.

Springer, S., 2000. Homelessness: A proposal for a global definition and classification. Habitat International, 24(4), 475-484.

Statistics South Africa, South African Community Profiles 2001, www.quantec.co.za, accessed 27 May 2012.

Statistics South Africa, Census 2011 Data, SuperCross 1993-2013 Space Time Research Pty Ltd, accessed 20 & 22 January 2013.

Statistics South Africa, Census 2011 Spatial Data, received November 2012.

Richter, L. and Swart-Kruger, J., 1997. Aids-related knowledge, attitudes and behaviour among South African street youth: Reflections on power, sexuality and the autonomous self. Soc. Sci. Med., 45(6), 957-966.

The Housing Development Agency, 2012. The Housing Development Agency Five Year Strategic Plan 2012/13 to 2016/17. The Housing Development Agency, Johannesburg, accessed October 2012, www.thehda.co.za.

The Presidency, undated. Annexure A: Outcome 8 Delivery Agreement: Sustainable Human Settlements and Improved Quality of Household Life, http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=135746, accessed August 2012.

The Presidency, 2009. National Youth Policy 2009 – 2014, http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/MediaLib/Downloads/Home/Publications/YouthPublications/NationalYouthPolicyPDF/NYP.pdf, accessed March 2013.

Thorsen, D., 2006. Child migrants in transit: Strategies to assert new identities in rural Burkina Faso. In Christiansen, C., Utas, M. & Vigh, H. (eds), Navigating Youth Generating Adulthood: Social Becoming in an African Context. Pp. 88 – 116, Elanders Gotab AB, Stockholm.

Tipple, G. and Speak, S., 2009. The hidden millions: homelessness in developing countries. Routledge, London and New York.

Tognoli, J., 1987. Residential environmentals. In Stokols, D., & Altman, I. (eds), Handbook of Environmental Psychology. Pp. 655-690, Wiley, New York.

Tuan, Y., 1980. Rootedness versus sense of place. Landscape, 24, 3-8.

UNCESCR, 1991. General Comment 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art 11 (1)), United Nations Committee of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 13 Dec.

UN Centre for Human Settlements, 1990. Shelter: From Projects to National Strategies. United Nations, Geneva.

Vawda, A., 2008. From land rights to property markets: a perspective. Presentation to Urban LandMark Conference 'From Land Rights to Property Markets', Pretoria, 27-28 August.

Watson, V., 2003. Conflicting rationalities: Implications for Planning Theory and Ethics. Planning Theory and Practice, 4(4), 395-407.
Weisner, T. & Weibel, J., 1981. Home environments and family lifestyles in California. Environment and Behaviour, 13(4), 417-460.

Whitehead, T., 1997. Urban low-income African-American men, HIV/AIDS, and gender identity. Medical Anthropology Quarterly, 11(4), 411-447.

Yeakey, C., 2002. America's disposable children: Setting the stage. The Journal of Negro Education, 71(3), 97-107.

Yin, R., 1994. Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 2nd Edition. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Zufferey, C. and Kerr, L., 2004. Identity and everyday experiences of homelessness: some implications for social work. Australian social work, 57, 343-353.

Personal Communications

Chauke, P. (8 November, 2012) Resident of Pretoria Central, Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

Direro, P. (25 November, 2012) Resident of Pretoria Central, Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

Kwena, E. (2 December, 2012) Resident of Pretoria Central (northern belt), Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

Mashishi, I. (9 October, 2012) Resident of Arcadia in Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

Matlala, M. (16 November, 2012) Resident of Salvokop as a backyard shack tenant, Pretoria, Republic of South Africa

Nero, G. (15 October, 2012) Resident of Sunnyside, Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

Nkosi, M. (21 October, 2012) Resident of Zama Zama house for homeless men, Pretoria West in Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

Tshwete, S. (11 November, 2012) Resident of Salvokop Informal Settlement, Salvokop in Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

Tuku, V. (3 October, 2012) Resident of Zama Zama house for homeless men, Pretoria West in Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

ANNEXURE A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Semi-structured Interview Schedule

Personal Background

1. Please tell me a bit about yourself, such as who you are, where you come from, your age, ethnic/cultural and family background.

2. Can you tell me about how you began to live in the Inner City of Pretoria, how long you have been living here and why you choose to live here currently?

3. Please tell me about your mobility patterns. Do you sometimes live outside of the Inner City and if so for how long? How have you moved around in the inner city since you've been living here and why? How do you feel about your mobility patterns?

4. What do you currently do on a daily basis? For example do you work or study and is it done on a full-time or part-time basis? What other activities occupy your time while living in the inner city?

5. What forms of income and livelihoods do you obtain to sustain yourself with regards to your living expenses (food, rent, etc.)? The sources should include money through work, government subsidies/grants, family support, charities, any other activities etc.? How much do you estimate is your monthly income and your monthly living expenses?

Current Housing Situation

Hard Issues

6. Have you actively tried to access government housing subsidy and other government grants? What has been the result of that effort and does it play a role in why you choose to live in the Inner City?

7. Where do you currently live and how long have you been living there? Can you describe to me how your place of residence looks; including what facilities it has (e.g. type of structure, sleeping and wash facilities, spaces for leisure and cooking)? Would it be possible to see your place of residence and take some photos of it?

Soft Issues

8. What is your opinion of the place you live? In other words, do you like it or not, and can you give reasons for your answers. Given that you have decided to live in the inner city and that you choose to live here for certain reasons of personal growth, what housing set-up do you aspire to while living in the inner city?

9. What are some of the elements about your place of residence and your neighbourhood or building that you really like, value or appreciate? (E.g. safety, enough basic needs and facilities, privacy, social networks etc.)

10. What are some of the elements about your place of residence and your neighbourhood or building that you really dislike and how would you improve it if you could? (E.g. noise, overcrowded rooms, health risks, violence, drug and alcohol abuse, crime, prostitution, peer pressure)

Quality of Life

11. Would you say your overall quality of life has improved or worsened since moving to the Inner City and why?

12. Would you say your overall quality of life has improved or worsened since moving to your current place of residence and why?

Behaviour Patterns & Living Environment

13. Do you think you have picked up any bad habits or negative behaviour from living in the Inner City and/or your living situation? Or do you think you have picked up some good habits or positive behaviour? Please explain what these are and to what extent it has affected you as a person. (E.g. smoking, drinking, sexual behaviour, crime, actively looking for work/business opportunities, social networking, reached higher levels of education/skills acquirements etc.)

14. As a young man and person what do you think is important for your self-growth and self-actualisation, for you to enjoy life but also to achieve the goals you have set for yourself – if any (what are they)? In other words what would you say are your greatest needs to be successful in life and do you think your current living situation meets these needs and why?

15. Do you feel that your environment gives you the freedom to be who you want to be and to do what you want to do? In other words do you feel that you are able to express yourself and achieve your goals? Do you feel a sense of independence and do you consider it to be a valuable characteristic of your environment, despite any hardships you may face as a result of your environment? Please explain.

Home and Homelessness/Houselessness

16. What do you understand by the word ‘home’? Do you consider the Inner City and your current place of residence as your home and do you think it is important that you perceive or feel that it is your home? Whether yes or no, can you explain why you say so?

17. What do you understand by the words ‘homeless’ and ‘houseless’ and can you differentiate between the two terms? Do you consider yourself to be any one or both of these and why?

18. For your individual needs now and in the future, do you think that your current place of residence is adequate/enough? If not what recommendations would you give to the government or any organization that wants to assist you in providing you with housing, as to what they should assist you with so that you feel that you are housed adequately? Your answer can relate to the physical structure and/or socio-economic needs that you perceive to be important to have a support base and strong foundation to reach your goals of residing in the inner city.