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Learning from SkeemSaam's involvement in mediating for the Homeless Informal Recyclers in Suburban Parks: a case study of James and Ethel Gray Park and Albert's Farm Parks

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2020
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FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT
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MASTERS IN URBAN STUDIES: (ARPL7040)

LEARNING FROM SKEEMSAAM'S INVOLVEMENT IN MEDIATING FOR THE HOMELESS INFORMAL RECYCLERS IN SUBURBAN PARKS: A CASE STUDY OF JAMES AND ETHEL GRAY PARK AND ALBERT'S FARM PARK

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

Mfundo Ndumiso Ndovela

October 2019

Supervisor : Associate Professor Sarah Charlton

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree Master of Urban Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I further declare that this research report has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

Signature……  …….. Date…28 October 2019

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Associate Professor Sarah Charlton and Associate Professor Claire Bénit-Gbaffou for their efforts and assistance throughout this research project. This report is a reflection of their zealous commitment and passion for the subject matter. I would further like to thank the Southern Center for inequality Studies (SCIS), Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (JCPZ), National Research Fund (NRF) and Practices of the State and Urban Governance (PSUG) for funding this research project.

My gratitude is extended to the Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo staff for assisting me with information regarding the subject matter. I would also like to thank SkeemSaam. To all my friends and members of the Ndovela family, thank you for being such a supportive structure and always encouraging me whenever I felt overwhelmed.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BRA - Bird Haven Ratepayers Association
CBO – Civil Based Organizations
COJ – City of Johannesburg
CRUM – Citizen Research and Urban Management
CSO – Civil Society Organization
DOJCD - Department of Justice and Constitutional Development
JCPZ - Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo
JMPD – Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department
MNRRA - Melrose North Rate Payers and Residents Associations
NGO- Non-Governmental Organization
NRF - National Research Fund
PSUG - Practices of the State and Urban Governance
SCIS - Southern Center for inequality Studies

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CHAPTER 1- BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1) Introduction

According to Ratau, Phakati, Masilo & Bénit-Gbaffou (2018), the City of Johannesburg does not have the necessary financial resources to address all the issues around park management. In this regard, the state has decided to take a back seat and increase the participation of non-state actors such as residents associations, the business community, and conservancies (Ratau, *et al*., 2018). Bénit-Gbaffou (2016) further states that these various non-state actors have played a key role in terms of shaping urban parks. Increasing the participation of non-state actors in the management of parks has bought about positive outcomes as well as conflicts and tensions. Non-state actors themselves have different perspectives and ideas and this can cause certain clashes.

Ratau *et al.* (2018) further state that while the growth of the participation of non-state actors in urban park management is worth noting we are also beginning to see the growth of homelessness within the suburban parks. According to Mosina (2015) the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association, Johannesburg City Parks (JCPZ) and the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) have been carrying out evictions to remove the homeless who stay in these parks, however, they would still come back. The state has no clear policy or intervention that can tackle the issue of homeless people in suburban parks effectively. Non-state actors have been enforcing by-laws and this has not been an effective method thus far.

Mosina (2015) argues that the City of Johannesburg does not have clear guidelines or strategies in terms of dealing with homelessness; therefore, there is a gap between the state and the homeless especially in suburban parks. The City of Johannesburg has on policy on homelessness; therefore, this gap is therefore very evident in the state. SkeemSaam is trying to bridge this gap by coming up with solutions to deal with homelessness (Koning, 2017). SkeemSaam is the focus of this research. SkeemSaam is an organization that seeks to challenge the state and residents associations to come up with new ways of engaging with informal recyclers that live in suburban parks because enforcing by-laws is not working. SkeemSaam has a broader goal of connecting the informal recyclers with business opportunities. Every eviction results in the homeless coming back to the park. It is important that this research investigate how SkeemSaam is able to mediate for the informal recyclers in the face of various state and non-state actors.

This research report sheds light on the ways in which I conducted the research and the research explored, investigated and learnt from SkeemSaam's involvement in mediating between homeless informal recyclers, the state, and non-state actors.

1.2) Background to the study

The Rosebank & Killarney Gazette newspaper documents communities' practices in and around Rosebank and it has revealed that there are upkeep issues in James and Ethel Gray Park (Mosina, 2015). Residents perceived that homeless individuals were criminals. Residents identified that there were situations where the homeless robbed them in the park. The residents including the councilor indicated that the park was filthy and blamed the homeless people that were in the park. One of the residents stated that although the homeless would call themselves recyclers they would make the park dirty and this would not look aesthetically pleasing. Therefore, homelessness in the eyes of residents was not improving the urban image, which was about safety, security, cleanliness, and attractiveness.

The article in the Rosebank & Killarney Gazette written by Mosina (2015) states that the Johannesburg City Parks (JCPZ) argued that what further compounds the issue of homelessness in the park is the lack of broader policy guidelines in terms of dealing with homelessness. State and non- state actors would struggle in terms of coming up with viable solutions to address homelessness. There is no clear policy that effectively deals with homelessness effectively. The City of Johannesburg has a policy on homelessness (Policy on Assistance and Management of People Living Working on the Streets) however; it is still inadequate in addressing homelessness. The resident's associations mostly rely on eviction measures in suburban parks. The newspaper article in the Rosebank & Killarney Gazette written by Mosina (2015) showed me that while non-state actors such as residents associations and conservancies have been playing a major role in managing the parks there is still a need for the state to provide policy clarification and guidance in terms of managing homelessness.

Ratau *et al*. (2018) indicates that the resident associations and JCPZ have been using the state police to carry out repressive tactics to address homelessness in suburban parks particularly in Johannesburg. The article from the Rosebank Killarney Gazette written by Mosina (2015) highlights how the JCPZ carried out operations with the Johannesburg Metro Police Department (JMPD) to remove what they called illegal housing erections in James and Ethel Gray Park. Urban land by-laws are an instrument used to exclude the homeless from suburban parks.

The homeless would still come back to James and Ethel Gray Park after evictions. The homeless were resisting evictions measures that used by the state in the name of urban land law. Measures around evictions did not really seem to work therefore; there was a need for an alternative solution. Bénit-Gbaffou (2016) highlight that the park manager in James and Ethel Gray Park decided to integrate the homeless individuals by allowing the homeless to use the park as a shelter at night but during the day they would have to remove their own waste. JCPZ gave waste collectors plastic bags to use for picking their own waste during the day.

Koning (2017) state that suburban residents from Melrose then decided to start an organization - SkeemSaam - to mediate for the homeless informal recyclers within suburban parks. SkeemSaam founder Lisa Lowenthal stated that the organization had an aim to bridge a gap between the homeless waste pickers that live in James and Ethel Gray Park, Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association, local recycling centers, JMPD, JCPZ, private businesses and councilors (Koning, 2017). One of the key outcomes of the organization is the practice of separation at source by the residents to ensure that homeless informal recyclers do not have to deal with wet waste during collections. While the organization has, a broader goal of recycling it also helps the recyclers' combat issues of evictions from residents' associations.

According to Fourie (2017a), "the SkeemSaam project has been successfully implemented in areas such as Melrose, Hurlingham, and Parkmore. Koning (2017) recently reported, "Waste collectors and residents of these upmarket suburbs have established a more harmonious relationship thanks to this community project committed to the upliftment of urban waste miners". However, the residents from surrounding communities in Alberts Farm did not endorse SkeemSaam during a meeting set up by the councilor to present the SkeemSaam initiative (Fourie, 2017a). Residents believe that homeless individuals are participating in criminal activities and using drugs. Fourie (2018) argue that SkeemSaam tried to implement its intervention in Albert's Farm Park[1]. The surrounding residents did not endorse the initiative and stated that a fencing intervention would be appropriate. This newspaper article showed me that there are different stakeholders in the two different parks (James & Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park) there will be different pressures and outcomes presented to SkeemSaam.

My research aimed to evaluate and assess the role SkeemSaam played in mediating for the homeless informal recyclers. I assessed the park management mandates of residents associations and the state in relation to SkeemSaam's mediation efforts.

1.3 Problem statement

There have been numerous studies undertaken to analyze the Non-Governmental Organization's mediation process. According to Houtzager, Lavalle, & Acharya (2003) literature that focuses on the role of NGOs as mediators in the development of southern cities has been growing. The mediation process puts NGOs in complex situations in the urban development and management process. NGOs are advocacy agents that represent the interest of the marginalized in the state. Neocosmos (2017) argues that NGOs can represent the issues of those that are at the bottom and not necessarily the state's interests. There are perceptions that the state interests are in line with the

[1]The Friends of Alberts Farm committee represents the surrounding suburbs of Northcliff, Greymont, Albertskroon, Albertsville and Westbury. It spends some of its time removing weeds like kakiebos, blackjacks and bugweed, perpetual problems in any areas that birds fly over, dropping seeds. http://greymont.co.za/alberts-farm/

interests of the political and economic elite. Matthews (2017) states that NGOs are being seen as organizations that can help ensure that African governments are more accountable to their citizens and that they open avenues for citizen participation.

According to Miraftab (2009), society still questions the legitimacy of NGOs to represent the marginalized. The marginalized in society in the case of this research is the homeless informal recyclers. The marginalized calls the NGOs legitimacy into question because NGOs still need funds and resources from the state. The community further questions the legitimacy of the founder and owner of the NGO if they do not come from the community. The community will seek to understand how the NGO leader relates to their issues if the NGO leader is not from the community (Bénit-Gbaffou & Katsaura, 2014). Lastly, the NGO followers question the capacity (skillset and networks) of NGOs to deliver. There has been extensive research around NGO mediation. The literature review highlighted the extensive research on NGO mediation.

The investigation of SkeemSaam opens up an area of inquiry into the ways in which civil society organizations mediate for marginalized groups between the state and residence associations. I further inquired about the relationships between these different actors. While the study is about homelessness homeless individuals were not part of the study because the study focuses on its management. SkeemSaam managers and SkeemSaam's stakeholder relations were the primary focus.

1.4) Rationale

One may ask why is it important to explore the ways in which SkeemSaam forms its interventions around homelessness in suburban parks while mediating for recyclers between residents associations and agencies of the state. According to the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (1996), the right to housing and shelter has been enshrined in the constitution. The South African constitution has also made the participation of the marginalized groups and civil society organizations as one of the tools that local government should use for the realization of the right to housing and shelter in South Africa. The South African marginalized population have not realized their right to social housing. According to the article in the Rosebank Killarney Gazette written by Mosina (2015) the market and property owners helped by the state continue to evict the poor, displaced and homeless from suburban parks as seen in James and Ethel Gray Park without alternative accommodation. Organizations such as SkeemSaam have been instrumental in being the voice of the homeless among residents associations and opening up new avenues of participation in the state. Therefore, it is important that this research examined the efforts of such civil society organizations.

The investigation of SkeemSaam's mediation and its impact on the relationship between homeless informal recyclers, residents associations and the state will help me

understand the systems, associations, power relations and activities that support the participation of SkeemSaam in urban park management. The need for the mediation process already tells me that homeless informal recyclers have not been able to represent themselves in the park management arena. I inquired about how an NGO such as SkeemSaam becomes an advocate for the homeless informal recycler's within the suburban parks.

1.5) Research questions

1.5.1) Primary research question

How does SkeemSaam frame its interventions around homelessness in suburban parks while mediating between recyclers, residents associations and agencies of the state? (A case study of James & Ethel Gray and Alberts Farm Park)

1.5.2) Secondary research questions

a) What are SkeemSaam's goals and objectives?

b) How does SkeemSaam engage with the homeless informal recyclers, residents associations and the state for the management of urban parks?

c) What are the approaches used in James and Ethel Gray Park & Albert's Farm Park to deal with homeless informal recyclers?

1.6) Research aims and objectives

I want to understand the objectives and aims of SkeemSaam in order to investigate how their mediation for homeless informal recycler's links to their broader goals and objectives. My research helps me understand how the NGO SkeemSaam frames its interventions in order to engage with residents' associations and the state on matters of urban park management. I examined the outcomes of SkeemSaam's practices in maintaining these relationships. The aims and objectives of the study are as follows:

a) To understand SkeemSaam's aims and objectives

b) Investigate the relationship that the NGO SkeemSaam has with the state and residents associations on behalf of the homeless informal recyclers.

c) To Identify and investigate diverse approaches used for dealing with homelessness in James and Ethel Gray & Albert's Farm parks

1.7) Context

This section of my research report will present the two case study areas (the two suburban parks- James & Ethel Gray and Alberts Farm Park). The comparative study investigated the different relationships that exist in SkeemSaam's mediation process on the suburban parks. The researcher presented an overview of the two suburban parks and outlined the striking points that validate the selection of these specific suburban parks.

1.7.1) James and Ethel Gray Park

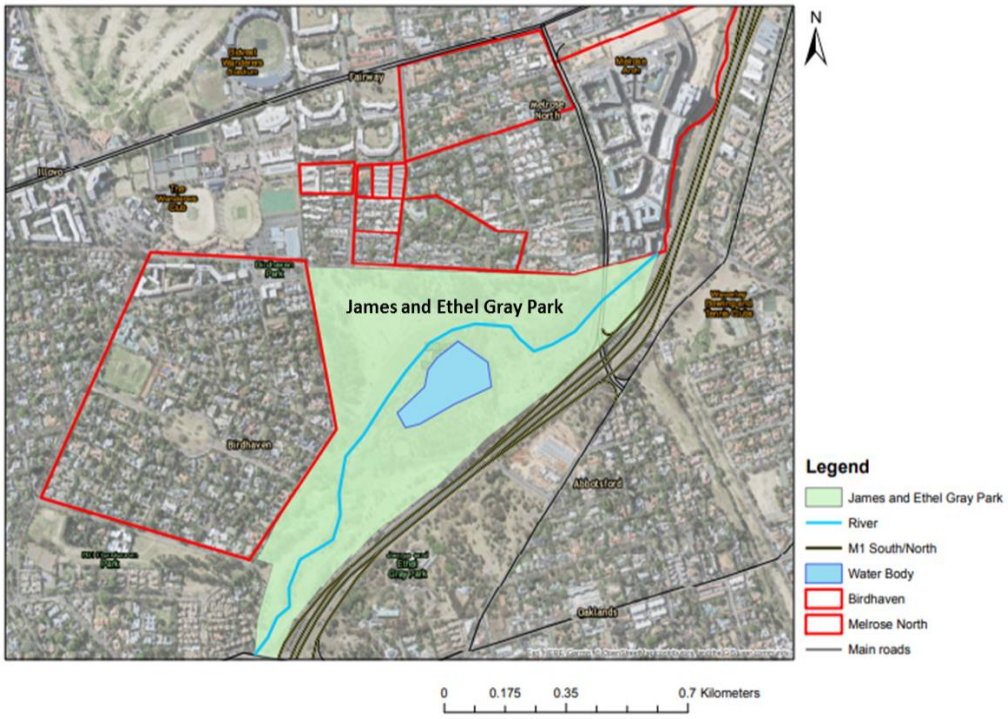


Figure 1 1 Map: James and Ethel Gray Park With Surrounding Neighborhoods

(Source: GIS-Ndovela, 2018)

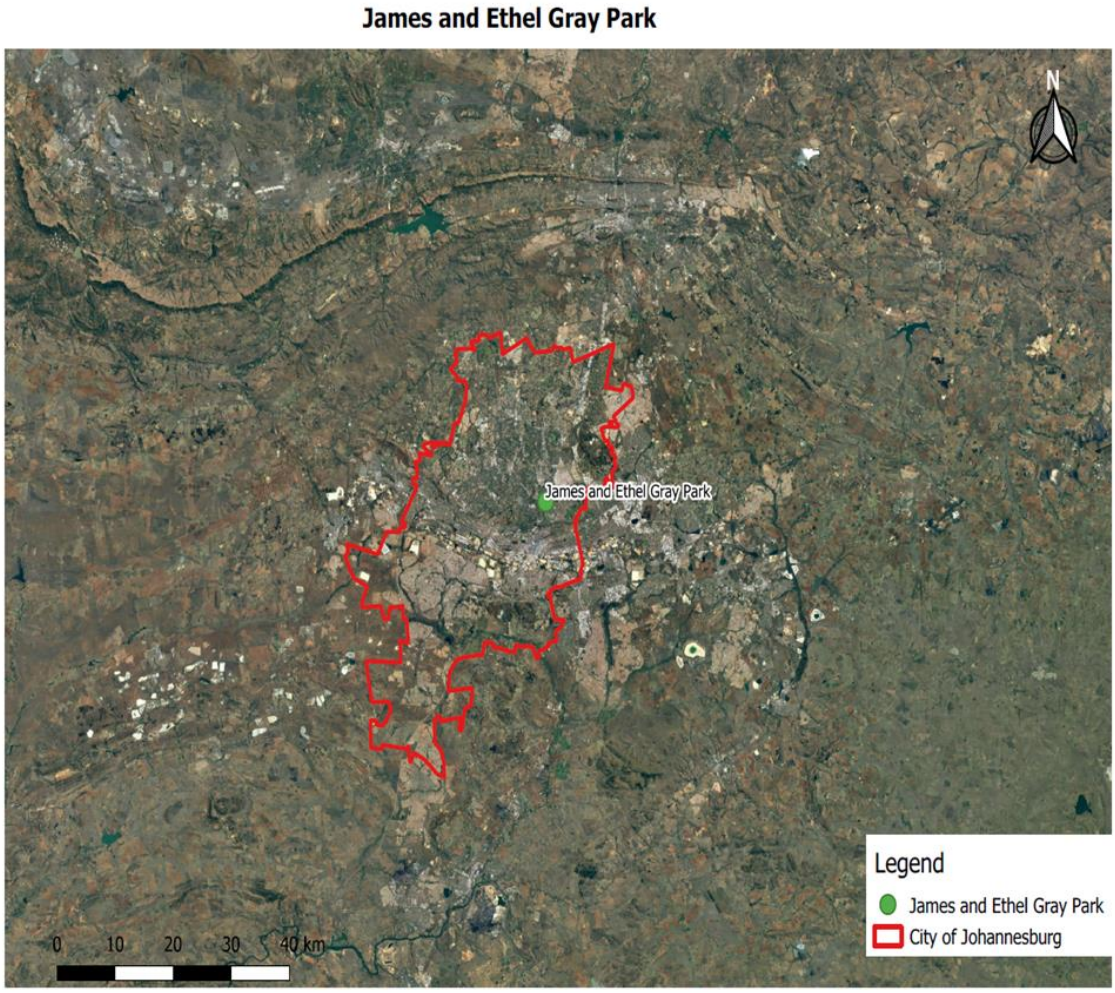


Figure 1 2 Map: James and Ethel Gray Park in Johannesburg

Figure 1.1 shows the map of James and Ethel Gray Park and the surrounding neighborhoods while Figure 1.2 shows James and Ethel Gray Park in the City of Johannesburg. I have chosen this study area because this is where SkeemSaam piloted its mediation processes. The research site has various organizations that take part in the management of the park and SkeemSaam has to manage some of these relationships in order to mediate effectively for their constituency (homeless informal recyclers). Fei (2016) argues that most urban public spaces within the City of Johannesburg local residents play a major role in shaping the accessibility and usability of James and Ethel Gray Park. The Bird Haven Rate Payers Association and Melrose North Rate Payers and Residents Associations have been working closely with the City of Johannesburg authorities in order to maintain the park so that the community enjoys the park amenities.

Fei (2016) reports that the Chairman of Birdhaven Rate Payers Association said that the park needed more focus since vagrants plague the park. The chairperson said that the vagrants are intimidating the residents. The Norwood police and security companies regularly patrolled the area. The Chairman of Birdhaven further stated that there are new initiatives within the park to manage homeless people in the park; Pikitup collaborated with the homeless to clean the park. The homeless stayed in the park as long as they kept it clean. The partnership was also going to encourage recycling initiatives or waste reduction interventions.

SkeemSaam has to coordinate and collaborate with other entities and role-players in managing the park such as iHlathi Melrose and Bird Haven Conservancy. iHlathi Melrose and Bird Haven Conservancy are more like a "residents' association focused on the preservation of the environment, aimed at preserving the trees and enhancing the Birdhaven and Melrose North areas" (Ratau, *et al.,* 2018:22). According to Ratau, *et al*. (2018:24) "the iHlathi Melrose-Birdhaven Conservancy assists the park by developing environmental initiatives and approach sponsors to assist in any way they can". Councilors can also act as intermediaries between the state and residents associations during the process of park management.

This research investigated a new stakeholder that has come into this complex picture of joint park management and that is SkeemSaam. It is essential to understand how other key stakeholders have reacted to SkeemSaam's mediation practices.

1.7.2) Alberts Farm Park

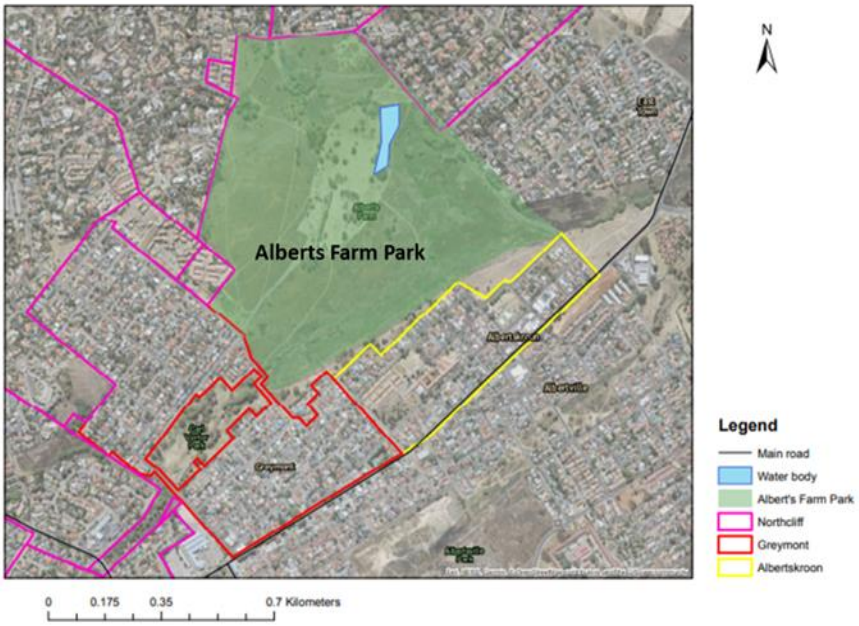


Figure 1.3 Alberts Farm Park with Surrounding Neighborhoods

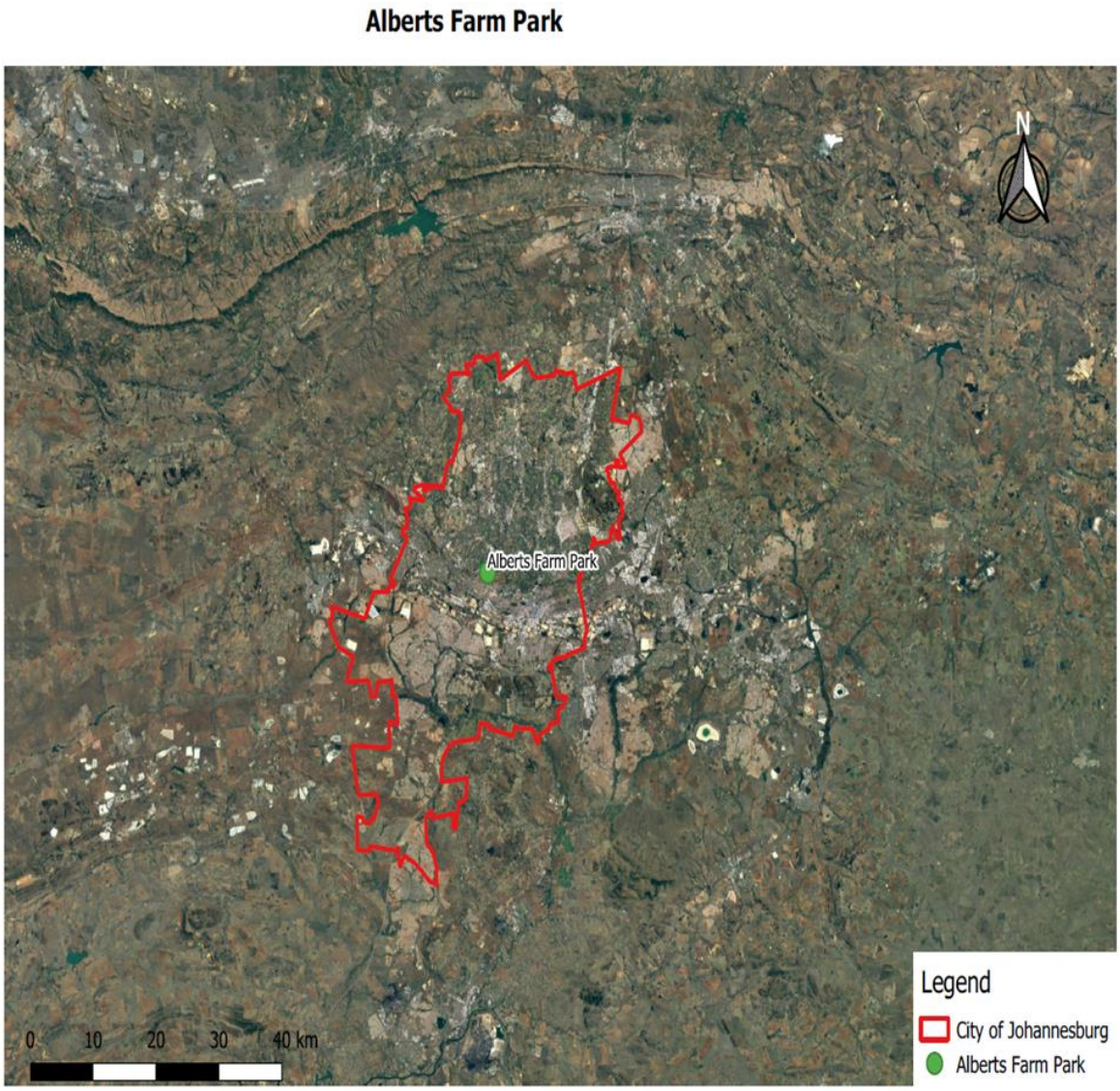


Figure 1.4 Map: Alberts Farm Park in Johannesburg

Figure 1.3 shows Alberts Farm Park within a suburban context and Figure 1.4 shows Alberts Farm Park within the City of Johannesburg. After SkeemSaam piloted its project, it decided to expand its operations into Alberts Farm Park and this is why Alberts Farm Park is part of my research. Similar to the James and Ethel Gray case SkeemSaam has to mediate for its constituency among various organizations that manage the park. According to The Graymont Community Forum (2018), the Friends of Alberts Farm committee is the major stakeholder in the area that represents surrounding suburbs such as Northcliff, Graymont, Albertskroon, Albertsville, and Westbury. The committee plays a crucial role in terms of managing the park and regards it as an asset for its community members.

While the Friends of Alberts Farm Park Conservancy plays a leading role in managing the park on behalf of the residents as stated by the Northcliff Melville Times (2017b) article there are other stakeholders that play their part in the management of the park. During significant events such as Spruit Day where the conservancy gathers volunteers to clean the park, it collaborates with Johannesburg City Parks and Pickitup. The conservancy also collaborates with tertiary institutions such as Wits University to assist in their mandate of park management (The Greymont Community Forum, 2018).

The extract from the Northcliff Melville Times written by Fourie (2017a) reveals the tensions and conflicts that arise when SkeemSaam tries to implement its interventions in Alberts Farm.

"Members of the greater Greymont, Albertskroon, and Albertville community were not keen on the new SkeemSaam project proposed for the waste recyclers who live in Alberts Farm. They were, however, rather keen on fencing off the entire park, convinced this could be a solution to crime and displaced persons living in the open area. Across Joburg, displaced persons set up camp in open spaces and parks. Since the City does not have as many homeless shelters as is needed, alternative solutions were brought to the table by Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy chairperson, Julie Gouws" (Fourie, 2017a).

The SkeemSaam intervention wanted to expand to Alberts Farm Park. The residents from surrounding neighborhoods did not endorse the SkeemSaam intervention for the Alberts Farm Park (Fourie, 2017a). Residents were instead keen on fencing the area in order to ensure that displaced persons are discouraged from settling in the area. It is thus imperative that this research highlights these contexts and assesses the stakeholder relations that exist between SkeemSaam and these various actors in their mediation process. It is also essential to investigate how SkeemSaam navigates these relationships for their constituency.

1.8) Research report structure

The research report consists of six chapters. Following the introduction, the second chapter has a literature review and conceptual framework. The literature review and conceptual framework examine topics relevant to homelessness, park management, NGO mediation, and informal recycling. The conceptual framework that will be further discussed in chapter 2 shows us that SkeemSaam's mediation links these different elements (homelessness, park management, informal recycling) together, however, the relationship between these different components is not linear but it is interdependent, interrelated, correlated and complex. The third chapter describes the research design and methodology for the study on SkeemSaam mediation's processes. The research methods consisted of qualitative research interviews with key stakeholders, documents from organizations, and observations. The third chapter further highlights the analytical

tools and their strengths and limitations in the research process. The fourth chapter spoke more about the study area and investigate the characteristics of the study area. The fifth chapter presented the findings. I found that SkeemSaam has created a vibrant network between residents associations, informal recyclers and the state. SkeemSaam is able to navigate around residents associations in the James and Ethel Gray Park case because they are from the community. Different stakeholders in different contexts create different pressures for SkeemSaam. Lastly, the sixth chapter will summarize the findings, make recommendations and conclude the study.

CHAPTER 2- Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1) Introduction

The literature review and conceptual framework relevant for this research has four thematic areas, namely: homelessness, mediation, park management, and informal recycling. The literature I reviewed gave me a better understanding of homelessness within public open spaces. The state and non-state actor's response to the homelessness issue is unpacked in this section. According to the Canadian perspective Gutberlet, Tremblay, Taylor & Divakarannair (2009) argues that in order for the homeless to make a living they sometimes have to partake in informal recycling activities. The organization called SkeemSaam advocates for the rights of homeless informal recyclers, therefore, the literature on informal recycling and homelessness is important for this research. SkeemSaam advocates for homeless informal recyclers that stay in the suburban parks therefore literature on park management is relevant to the study. The research is about the effectiveness of SkeemSaam's mediation for the homeless informal recyclers; therefore, the literature on mediation was also gathered.

2.2) Complex nature of homelessness

Firstly, I will discuss the complexity of homelessness in this section in terms of its terminology. Secondly, I will look at the causes of homelessness in the South African context. I will then look at the state's position when it comes to homelessness. Lastly, I will present the debates around NGO interventions in homelessness. I will then present the potential link that might exist between those that are homeless and the activity of informal recycling and I will further investigate NGO participation in the informal recycling sector.

According to Clapham (2003), Institutional structures within society or individual's actions can lead to the manifestation of homelessness. According to Jacobs, Kemeny & Manz (1999), the maximalist approach looks at how institutions have caused homelessness. The minimalist approach looks at the individual's actions as a driving force for homelessness. As Olufemi (1998) argues that homelessness is complex in nature. Institutional issues such as policy ineffectiveness to deal with poverty and housing issues compounds the issue of homelessness therefore an institutional response is needed. At the same time, homelessness can be associated with the individuals themselves facing issues such as mental illness and substance abuse; therefore, a creation of interventions at the individual level is essential (Jacobs, et al., 1999).

In addition, *Clapham (2003: 119) argues, "the minimalist construction is predicated on a conception of the causes of homelessness as being the individual pathology of homeless people. This construction can be contrasted with a maximalist approach,*

which places emphasis on the structural causes of homelessness such as conditions in the employment and housing markets and public policies such as on social security"

Understandings of the extent to which structural and individual barriers that cause homelessness matter because they inform the suitable interventions that can be adopted by Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) to tackle the issue. This is important in my research because SkeemSaam in its attempt to deal with homelessness could be adopting the minimalist approach in terms of dealing with homelessness and focus on building the individual capabilities of the homeless informal recyclers.

Obeng-Odoom (2011) argues that inadequate housing or poverty are not the only determining factors that cause homelessness. Clapham (2003) and Obeng-Odoom, (2011) argue that homelessness links to broader issues concerning social, political, cultural and economic factors. These factors can cause or intensify homelessness; therefore, homelessness is a complex concept (Tipple & Speak, 2009). The maximalist approach highlights the institutional actions that lead to homelessness (Clapham, 2003). Policies, strategies and institutional frameworks adopted by the state can potentially drive people towards homelessness. This is relevant for the research because policies adopted by the state and strategies used by residents associations to deal with homelessness can have unintended consequences and further have a negative impact on homelessness in James and Ethel Gray and Albert's Farm Park.

Olufemi (1998), Somerville (1992) and Tipple & Speak (2009) argue that scholars and academics contest and argue about the definition of homelessness. The conceptualization of the term homelessness sometimes depended on the housing conditions of individuals. According to Jacobs *et al.* (1999:10), "the definition of homelessness can include rooflessness (that is, sleeping rough), houselessness (that is, living in institutions or short-term guest accommodation); insecure accommodation; and inferior or sub-standard housing. It is easy for one to get lost trying to find the concept of homelessness; therefore, it is important for a researcher to know which concept of homelessness they are looking at. In this research, I do not look at homelessness in terms of unsatisfactory accommodation. I looked at rough sleepers that stay in the park.

According to Arapoglou (2004), the conceptualization of homelessness depends on the homelessness intervention used by the civil society organization. Jacobs *et al.* (1999) note that there is difficulty in defining homelessness because of the competing interests among different stakeholders within different localities. "The definition of homelessness in Britain has changed over the last 30 years as vested interests have struggled to impose their particular definition on policy debates" (Jacobs, *et al*., 1999:2). Those who stay in unsatisfactory accommodation might want to be included in the definition of homelessness in order to reap housing benefits. Somerville (1992) further states that

there is a link between the definition of homelessness and access to particular state/ civil society resources/programmes. The definition of homelessness can lead to the exclusion of certain groups in society. The local authorities might have a restricted budget and therefore restrict the term homelessness to rough sleepers and not individuals with unsatisfactory accommodation. NGO intervention for homelessness relies on the context or situation of the homeless person they want to target and assist. In my research, I particularly focused on how SkeemSaam defines homelessness. SkeemSaam frames homelessness as individuals who stay in the parks that partake in informal recycling activities. SkeemSaam frames this definition because these are individuals are their targeted beneficiaries since they fulfill SkeemSaam's objective of a clean park and promoting a sustainable environment.

De Beer & Vally (2015) highlight the various reasons that push individuals to homelessness in the South African context. In the South African context, Individuals go looking for work opportunities in the city and after failing to secure employment, they may find themselves homeless. There are homeless individuals who might be working, however, due to limited access to affordable housing and high transport costs they end up being homeless (Braiterman, Jacobs & Murray, 2017). Triple & Speak (2009) show us that informal recyclers become homeless because they have to stay close to their recyclables and transportation to their homes is expensive. According to Welle (2018), social issues and social ills can bring about situational homelessness. The individual might be facing conflict within their community or household and therefore homelessness provides an escape from the harsh reality. Glendinning (2016) highlights that there is chronic homelessness that is associated with mental health and substance abuse issues. Francis (2018) states that access to housing also improves access to employment opportunities. Homeless individuals who do not have access to housing are constantly facing issues of unemployment. It is imperative to understand these dynamics because in a way SkeemSaam creates its interventions to respond to the growing complexity of homelessness.

Allen (2016) argues that NGO's role should not only focus on delivering interventions to the homeless but also engage in homeless research in order to have a broader understanding of the implications of their interventions. This literature is essential for my research because SkeemSaam is creating interventions to assist homeless informal recyclers in the parks. The homeless informal recyclers are not a homogenous group and therefore it was important to observe SkeemSaam try to create interventions that respond to these diverse groupings who might be homeless because of various reasons.

2.2.1) Homelessness in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa

In this section, I will highlight that homelessness in the South African context is the result of ineffective policies of the apartheid and post-apartheid state. Social,

environmental and economic issues can bring about homelessness. One needs to move away from thinking that poverty is the only factor that leads to homelessness. These societal factors may inform SkeemSaam's interventions and therefore I had to include them in this literature review.

Homelessness is one of the historical injustices of apartheid. Hendler (1988) and Stuart (2014) argue that race-based policies and interventions made it hard for the homeless blacks to access formal housing. Olufemi (1998) and Huchzermeyer (2001) state that homelessness in the South African context can be linked to inefficient housing and urbanization policies of the apartheid state. Black South Africans received inadequate housing within the outskirts and their movement was restrict in urban spaces during apartheid. (Morrow, 2010). This is relevant for my research because I investigate how SkeemSaam tackles the legacy of homelessness that takes a particular shape due to apartheid injustices amongst poor blacks and it is evident that they make the bulk of the homeless in the James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park.

The post-apartheid government abolished the laws of influx control and this lead to an increase in rural-urban migration (Olufemi, 1998). According to Huchzermeyer (2001), the state could not provide adequate low-cost housing to meet the demand. The housing backlog is a major concern for the City. "The formal dwelling backlog (number of households not living in a formal dwelling) is currently at 21.5%" (City of Johannesburg , 2019). There was an urban housing backlog within cities. Parliamentary Liaison Office (2014) state that the housing backlog led to an increase in homelessness within cities. Every year there is an increase in the number of individuals that come to the city to look for work and better access to livelihoods. The City government is unable to meet the high demand of housing therefore this compound the issue of homelessness. (City of Johannesburg, 2018). This is important for my research because SkeemSaam might frame its interventions based on the current socio-political context in Johannesburg.

Olufemi (1998) and Clapham (2003) argue that there are factors that perpetuate homelessness within cities in South Africa, apart from the lack of low-cost housing. In my research, in certain instances, the homeless recyclers might be staying in the park because they want to watch over their recyclables. According to De Beer & Vally (2015), the homeless live in spaces not designated for residence due to a number of reasons that span from social issues, racial tensions, and economic factors that have made homeless people occupy available open spaces. Daya & Wilkins (2013: 358) argue that in the South African context "homelessness is not just about a lack of housing. It is about a lack of connectedness with friends, family and the community, and a lack of control over one's own environment". An individual's powerlessness to change their circumstances in terms of social, economic or cultural factors can cause homelessness. (Clapham, 2003). According to Charlton (2014), it might happen that individuals who are in informal recycling have their own houses outside the city and they are only

homeless because they want to protect and watch over their waste piles because they are protecting their goods e.g. from competitors. These individuals might tell SkeemSaam that they do not need long term; permanent homes and rather need another kind of accommodation such as rental accommodation.

The lack of policies and institutional measures to deal with homelessness can perpetuate homelessness in South Africa. Cross, Seager, Erasmus, Ward & O'Donovan (2010:12) argue that “in South Africa, the size of the expanding shack population has attracted the most systematic policy attention and sidelined the question of addressing homelessness”. This comes back to the maximalist approach indicated by Clapham (2003). Hirsch (2005) further states that South Africa broadly aspires to European social standards, but it is incapable of affording an equally inclusive safety net for the homeless and poor population. According to Cross *et al*. (2010), South Africa has adopted policies around urban competitiveness that are anti-homeless and draw resources away from essential services that can alleviate poverty and homelessness. Therefore, the fundamental question is in the absence of political and institutional measures how does SkeemSaam deal with homelessness.

According to the City of Johannesburg (2002), there are tensions between the national priorities of attracting investment in the cities on the one hand, and achieving poverty and homelessness reduction on the other. Huchzermeyer (2011) argues that the Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework 2030 and Growth Development Strategy 2040 highlight the need to attract investment in the City of Johannesburg. The priority has been to create world-class cities by attracting investors at the expense of the poor, marginalized and homeless. Social movements have been vocal against market-driven developments that displace those who are already disadvantaged (Huchzermeyer, 2011). It is imperative to investigate how SkeemSaam is able to respond to growing pressures from the state that homelessness and informality should not be part of a world-class city.

The socio-economic environment in South Africa creates a conducive environment for homelessness. Cross, *et al.* (2010) state that unemployment is on the rise in South Africa and therefore people are falling into poverty and homelessness. The marginalized live on state-funded social grants and rely on casual work; from there, they may descend into homelessness. Olufemi (1998) argues that the largest number of homeless individuals within Johannesburg are black. The racial composition of those who are homeless is a reflection of South Africans deeply radicalized economy and past. Therefore, organizations such as SkeemSaam might be creating poverty relief programmes that have the potential of addressing poverty and homelessness that exists in this deeply racialized society.

Cross *et al*. (2010: 5) highlight that “South Africa is not well prepared for dealing with the issues bought by homelessness”. Olufemi (1998) argues that Government and

policymakers have failed to address the issue concerning homelessness within the post-apartheid state. We can even see that currently, the Johannesburg government and policymakers are still failing to address homelessness (Tayob, 2014). There has been no clear policy response or decision about dealing with homelessness (Rosebank Killarney Gazette, 2015). Currently there is exclusion of the homeless from meaningful opportunities to participate in any decision-making process in park management (Mosina, 2015). It is therefore essential to investigate how SkeemSaam is able to represent the homeless when the state does not have sufficient capacity and political will to respond to the issue of homelessness.

Having discussed the key aspects regarding homelessness in South Africa and Johannesburg the next section will look at government responses to homelessness.

2.2.2) City governments' responses to homelessness: international and national contexts

It is important to investigate state responses to homelessness because SkeemSaam at the end of the day wants to challenge the traditional stance of the state. When I refer to the state I am talking about municipalities/city governments and therefore I was looking at the literature around cities' responses to homelessness. As a researcher, I want to learn from SkeemSaam's mediation. I want to understand whether SkeemSaam's mediation has been effective and possibly develop alternative responses to government policies. If the City of Johannesburg embrace integration or relocation, what does this mean for the homeless informal recyclers and would it be beneficial or detrimental to them.

There are various diverging and converging responses from the state/city governments regarding homelessness. According to Ellickson (2001), city governments would carry out evictions in order to remove displaced persons from public spaces because they are compelled to enforce labor laws by residents. The homeless are removed through the enforcement of laws that drive an anti-homelessness agenda such as municipal by-laws. Foscarinis (1996) argues that local institutions are using criminal laws to discourage the presence of homeless people in public places. The city would penalize activities, which are associated with homelessness such as begging. Ratau *et al*. (2018) argue that evicting the homeless from public spaces such as parks has not worked because the homeless end up coming back to the park and this is the position I adopt in this research. Anti-homelessness policies are not adequately addressing issues around homelessness (Ratau, *et al*., 2018). Mitchell (1997) argues that city officials should not target the homeless in order to improve the image of the city. It is therefore essential for my research to investigate and highlight these diverging and converging positions regarding homelessness and how SkeemSaam responds to the states various positions regarding homelessness in parks. I will further look at the City of Johannesburg position in terms of dealing with homelessness and this would be crucial because SkeemSaam

might mediate between the city officials/departments and recyclers. This section continues to show me that there are different stances and actions that city governments can take in relation to homelessness, based on some literature from different contexts across the world.

Wright (2017) reveals that American city governments would sometimes use relocation as a method to relocate homeless individuals to temporary shelters or permanent housing. In my research, I reveal that this method is not sufficient for the homeless informal recyclers because they need to watch over their stockpiles of waste in the park as indicated by Charlton (2014). According to Schenck & Blaauw (2011), the trolley is also the reason why many waste pickers have to sleep on the street as they cannot take the trolley and the collected goods back to their homes. It is therefore essential to understand these dynamics when trying to create interventions to assist homeless informal recyclers. If the state or possibly SkeemSaam prefers relocation as a method of dealing with homelessness then what are the various implications this intervention can have on the informal recyclers. Judging by the literature from Schenck & Blaauw (2011) relocation might not be a sensible solution to deal with homelessness because the recyclers have to watch over their stockpiles since they cannot take it with them to a temporary or permanent shelter.

In cases where the state wants to evict the homeless, organizations such as SkeemSaam play a crucial role in finding new ways of dealing with homelessness through negotiated arrangements with the city (Koning, 2017). Winkler (2008) states that civil society organizations seem to be better placed than the state to address urban poverty and facilitate grass-roots regeneration that tackles issues such as homelessness. Civil Society Organizations are able to adapt and assimilate into the local conditions and are very responsive to the needs of the communities and the state. In terms of the Hungary and Slovenia case, Hrast *et al.* (2009: 108) argues that “NGOs including religious charities play a very substantial role in the provision of homeless services”. The provision of homeless services can take many forms and these can involve access to specialized institutions such as night and temporary shelters, rehabilitation homes and day centers. Homelessness NGOs use their own central budget, local government contributions or an annually defined central grant. (Hrast, *et al*., 2009). It is therefore important to highlight that this research investigates how SkeemSaam provides services to the homeless and whether or not the state/city assists the organization in providing essential services to the homeless.

Laurenson (2006) argues that even the state can play an active role in addressing anti-homeless behavior in public spaces. According to Mitchell (1997), institutions and planners must reject methods that have an aim of effectively criminalizing homelessness. Therefore, policies that encourage inclusive use of public spaces should be encouraged. Homelessness is a complex issue and requires a solution that responds to its complex nature (Hrast, *et al*., 2009). Simply evicting the homeless individuals from

urban spaces will not solve the issue (Mitchell, 1997). State acknowledgement of the homeless as being part of the community is required in order to drive an anti-homelessness agenda. However, the literature is not clear on the ways that this integration should happen. The research paper by Ratau *et al*. (2018) shows us that the Johannesburg City Parks (JCPZ) allowed homeless individuals in James and Ethel Gray Park to use the park as a shelter at night while making sure that they clean their waste. It is therefore essential to investigate in this research to what extent has the stance of JCPZ persisted in terms of allowing the homeless to reside in James and Ethel Gray Park.

This literature in this section revealed to me that the state plays a powerful role in shaping interventions in homelessness in urban spaces and that organizations such as SkeemSaam have to respond to the state's position and this is what I want to investigate.

2.2.3) City of Johannesburg responses to homelessness

Alberts Farm Park, James, and Ethel Gray Park both are located in the City of Johannesburg. It is fitting that the researcher investigates literature on the interventions of the City of Johannesburg in addressing homelessness in public open spaces. SkeemSaam, therefore, would try to tackle some of these policies and strategies since the informal recyclers are homeless.

According to the City of Johannesburg (2017), COJ is a responsive and pro-poor government, and therefore established a number of key programs in order to address the issue of homelessness. As part of the City's comprehensive strategy to assist the homeless, it has interventions to break the cycle of people living on the streets and transition them back into society. The key interventions managed by the City's Department of Social Development are; shelter management, awareness and prevention, community reintegration, family reunification, skills development, medical services, counseling, shelter placement and enrolment in drug rehabilitation assessment. The Social Development Department targets hotspots that have street and homeless people and then offers outreach services. The Social Development Department further provides education about the services at the homeless.

According to Tayob (2014), research reported that there are inefficiencies about the interventions/ government responses to homelessness in Johannesburg. Tayob (2014: 91) argues that "the Department of Social Development is failing to recognize and accredit smaller organizations (NGOs, CSOs, CBOs) as eligible for government subsidies even though smaller organizations are incremental in their approach, their programmes show positive results with regards to helping the homeless find routes out of their current living". SkeemSaam's lack of accreditation with the Social Development Department might hinder it from accessing state funds. What seems to be evident is the

lack of coordination among departments within the city that are supposed to be involved in managing the homelessness issue within the city.

Tayob (2014) states that the City of Johannesburg has further adopted urban competitiveness policies that are centered on building a World Class African City however these polices rarely focus on dealing with issues that arise from informal activities such as recycling and social issues such as homelessness. These policies prioritize property development that leads to evictions and further compounds the issue of homelessness. However, Wilson (2015:283) argues that the City of Johannesburg is compelled to address evictions and that the municipality has a general constitutional duty to provide accommodation to people facing homelessness due to eviction.

"The Blue Moonlight Court held that it does not matter who or what causes someone to be deprived of their home. The municipality bears the primary responsibility for addressing the housing needs of those persons who, after an eviction, are unable to find accommodation on their own. In response to Blue Moonlight, the municipality has adopted what it calls a 'managed care' policy. In terms of this policy, people facing homelessness as a result of eviction will be relocated to a 'managed care' facility and provided with therapeutic support"

The City of Johannesburg still evicts the homeless despite the court case ruling. The Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department evicts the homeless in the Johannesburg parks without provision of alternative accommodation and adequate support. During raids, those who stay in the park lose the little possession they did have including Identity Documents that could have been used to potentially access shelter and other state services. There quote below highlights the mismatch that exist between policy and practice.

"According to Ward 74 councilor Jack Cooper, I feel the City of Joburg has no clear policy on vagrants/homeless people or the political will to face up and deal with the issue." Jenny Moodley, spokesperson of City Parks confirmed that the utility had worked closely with Metro police to assist in carrying out random operations to remove illegal housing structures in green spaces such as the James and Ethel Gray Park. "This often results in the displaced person relocating to a more concealed part of the park or the spruit," (Rosebank Killarney Gazette, 2015)

2.3) Non-governmental Organization's role in homelessness mediation

In this section, I will firstly define NGO and mediation then I will look at NGOs role in terms of dealing with homelessness in public spaces. This is important because SkeemSaam is advocating for the rights of homeless informal recyclers that stay in suburban parks of James and Ethel Gray and Alberts Farm Park. The organization may appear as an NGO based on its characteristics. I will look at NGOs significance in terms

of advocating for the rights of the marginalized. In this research, I will be looking at how mediation thrives as non-neutral in the case of SkeemSaam because SkeemSaam founders are also part of the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association (Press Reader, 2017). I will also investigate the different cases of NGOs that advocate for the rights of homeless and assess their interventions.

2.3.1) Brief history and definition of non-governmental organizations

According to Arapoglou (2004), the growth of NGOs since the 1980s has increased their attention to the ideas of human and social rights. NGOs' efforts have led to increased public attention and public funding directed to forgotten spaces and people within the city. NGOs, therefore, try to be the voice of the powerless in society. Houtzager and Lavalle (2009) found that mediatory practices, while they are mostly used in São Paolo, they are used by the latest forms of NGO's. I focused on SkeemSaam's ability to be the voice of the marginalized homeless informal recyclers through its mediatory role (Koning, 2017).

This section addresses the debates around the definitions and categorizations of non-governmental organizations. Richmond's (2003) definition of NGO broadly defines NGOs as any non-profit organization that is independent of government. Willetts (2015) further highlights that an NGO is not a political party. An NGO will be a non-profitmaking organization and it will not be a criminal group, in particular, it will be non-violent. Fischer (2006) sees NGOs as advocacy agencies or entities however for this paper, I prefer to look at NGOs as mediators and I will highlight the reason in the definition of mediation.

2.3.2) Definition of Mediation

There are various definitions and categorizations of mediation and they need to be unpacked in this section before I highlight the preferred definition. According to Garrigues (2015), the mediator's job is to assist two or more parties in conflict to develop a mutually acceptable agreement. The mediator only comes in because communication and negotiations between the conflicting parties fail therefore mediation is often a chance to resolve the conflict. Liebmann (2000) further supports Garrigues (2015) by arguing that mediation is a systematic process by which an impartial third party helps two (or more) disputants work out how to resolve a conflict. The disputants, not the mediators, decide the terms of any agreement reached. Mediation pays attention to the future rather than past behavior. To further define mediation, it is imperative to understand what it is not. According to Ilieva (2006) advocacy is helping a particular side or party in the process of resolving conflict while mediation is a dynamic, structured, interactive process where a neutral third party (NGO) assists in resolving disputes between two or more parties (Democratic Progress Institute, 2012). Mediators can be non-neutral and use the mediation process to put forward certain issues they

regard as urgent. Forester's (1987) concept of mediation as non-neutral is therefore preferred for this research because SkeemSaam founders are members of the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association. SkeemSaam wants to meet the needs of the informal recyclers (Press Reader, 2017).

The concept of mediation is imperative in this research because I am going to assess the outcome of SkeemSaam's mediation in the two different contexts. According to Houtzager and Lavalle (2009), mediation has become an important vehicle for increasing citizen's access to public institutions and resources when they are not accessible. We can conceptualization mediation as the act of addressing inequality by increasing the accessibility of state resources, networks, and capabilities to the public. While Piper and von Lieres (2015) conceptualize mediation as the third-party representation of citizens to the state and the state to citizens, I argue that SkeemSaam cannot be neutral in the process of mediation as explained in the previous paragraph.

2.3.3) Implications of civil society mediatory practices in addressing homelessness

SkeemSaam's aims are to legitimize the homeless informal recyclers and bridge the gap between the ratepayers' associations and homeless informal recyclers. It was, therefore, essential to also investigate the implications that the practices of civil society mediation might bring to their constituents/followers and other stakeholders.

Mediation has emerged as a prominent avenue "that provides access to public decision--making institutions, that otherwise would remain inaccessible" (Houtzager and Lavalle 2009:21). SkeemSaam interventions through its mediatory practices are trying to give informal recyclers access to park decision-making institutions such as residents associations that were not previously available to them. As indicated in the Ratau, *et al*. (2018) report residents associations at first used eviction as a method to deal with the homeless that stayed in James and Ethel Gray Park. Civil society organizations such as SkeemSaam create local arrangements that benefit all the stakeholders' i.e. informal recyclers clean the park and residents associations will not evict them. The SkeemSaam intervention has an element of brokerage. SkeemSaam is determined to try to come up with a solution that would benefit all the stakeholders (from the residents and ratepayers to officials from the City of Johannesburg, most importantly, the homeless recycler's men, including itself). SkeemSaam, therefore, might have an aim of brokering a relationship that will have a set of conditions for the parties involved, the homeless men will clean up the parks and make the neighborhood safe and clean. This requires that the recyclers work within certain rules to keep the community safe and the public spaces clean. In return, SkeemSaam negotiates better prices for them at the recycling plants and arranges transport to collect their waste, as opposed to the recyclers having to push their trolleys long distances to the buy-back centers. It also offers workshops on hygiene and money management.

According to Houtzager and Lavalle, (2009:6) “the proliferation of representative practices such as mediation in institutional participatory arenas reveals, "Many participatory institutions are designed for civil society associations, rather than individual citizens”. In the urban sector, substantive participation in institutional processes requires a degree of technical knowledge/expertise about elements of the built environment, as it is often concerned with policy and material interventions for greater access/provision of public goods. SkeemSaam’s mediatory practices might require individuals with technical knowledge relating to the urban sector. SkeemSaam’s ability to mobilize individuals with skills and the waste pickers to promote environmental sustainable outcomes of City Parks and the resident's associations could be essential in the end in addressing homelessness.

One of the key issues for NGOs is their ability to draw legitimacy from the bottom. Matlala (2019) and Houtzager and Lavalle (2009) argue that civil society organizations do not fulfill the traditional conditions for representativeness such as a clearly defined membership, holding regular elections of leadership and a clear, explicit or formal ‘mandate. Houtzager and Lavalle (2009) further argue that there is a new understanding of representation, which revolves around mediation. Mediation is a remedy for addressing the inequality in terms of accessing the state. SkeemSaam might draw its legitimacy through its ability to deliver to its beneficiaries (i.e. homeless informal recyclers). According to Bailey (2001), representativeness is also about being the most qualified or efficient to defend the followers’ interests, a ‘problem-solver”. Matlala (2019) and Bénit Gbaffou & Katsaura (2014) confront the attainment of legitimacy by informal local leaders, who act as intermediaries/brokers between their constituencies and formal institutions such as the state, in the absence of formal elections and mandate. Using Bourdieu's concept of double-dealing, the authors demonstrate how local leaders often have to be legitimized from below by a relationship with constituencies and an ability to deliver public goods/services, and from the top through a recognition by 'resource holders', institutions such as the state or political parties (Bénit Gbaffou and Katsaura 2014).

The literature on NGO mediation in homelessness relates to my research because I want to find out how the organization called SkeemSaam mediates for homeless informal recyclers in James and Ethel Gray Park and Albert’s Farm Parks. There are tensions and contradictions that exist when NGOs mediate therefore literature on double-dealings was important.

2.4) Civil society participation in the informal recycling sector

The homeless individuals that the NGO SkeemSaam mediates for are informal recyclers/waste collectors. The NGO founder also facilitates relationships between recycling companies and the homeless informal recyclers. It was therefore imperative to

investigate literature that focuses on civil society's efforts in the informal recycling sector and the various implications this might bring.

According to Rajamanikam, Poyyamoli, Kumar & Lekshmi (2014) Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other civil society organizations have increasingly started to get involved in improving waste management services (Joseph, 2006). Municipal solid waste management is a governmental function; however, there has been a rise in the contribution of NGOs in the sector. In the Indian context, Rajamanikam *et al*. (2014) and Colon and Fawcett (2006) argue that NGO-mediated solid waste management is important in promoting much-needed awareness and education, encouraging source separation, enhancing the door-to-door collection, utilized wastes as raw materials and generated more job opportunities. This literature is relevant for my research because SkeemSaam assists the informal recyclers render services related to waste management within suburban parks. One of the key functions of SkeemSaam is to create a functional relationship between the recyclers and the community in order to promote easy access to recyclables for the informal recyclers. The SkeemSaam project creates relationships with businesses such as Melrose Arch in order to access recyclables for the informal recyclers. SkeemSaam also aims to improve collection rates by making transport available for the delivery of informal recycler's stockpiles to the recyclers. Educating residents to separate their waste for the informal recyclers has been one of the features of SkeemSaam.

According to Dlamini (2016), the role that waste pickers/informal recyclers play is often under-recognized. Dlamini (2016) stresses that local municipalities should support and strengthen waste pickers through organizing them into co-operatives and this can be done through the assistance of civil society organizations (Wilson, Velis & Cheeseman, 2006). Co-operatives are a powerful means of promoting grassroots development of the informal sector. Wilson *et al*. (2006) argue that civil society organizations should facilitate the implementation of capacity building and training programmes, while providing informal recyclers with opportunities for effective enforcement of health, safety and quality standards (Wilson *et al*., 2006). NGOs and CBOs can be a platform for municipalities to create potential jobs associated with waste management and recycling. In addition, waste management and recycling can attract technical innovations, leading to the creation of small and medium-sized businesses. This literature is relevant because the cooperative formation is quite evident in the NGO SkeemSaam; therefore, this literature was relevant for the study. The NGO sees the informal recyclers as micro-entrepreneurs and organizes them into a cooperative so the resident's associations and the state can recognize them.

Integration of the informal recyclers to the municipal waste management system is essential for this research. Many scholars (Dias, 2011d; Kashyap & Visvanathan, 2014) think of and view integration as a process, which encompasses extensive inclusive programmes, which progress positively towards integrating reclaimers/ informal

recyclers into municipal waste management systems. Integrative waste management systems depend on national, state or local level laws, and regulations to solidify the process of integration (Dias, 2011). In Dias' (2011) view, successful integration programmes use a people-centered approach, which focuses on involving informal reclaimers in decision making regarding the collection of recyclable materials and putting them in the recycling chain. Integration can also take the form of institutionalization. The institutionalization process makes reclaiming a common practice; this is where the integration of the informal sector occurs through organizing reclaimers into cooperatives with assistance from NGOs or the public sector (Kashyap & Visvanathan, 2014).

2.5) Stakeholder participation in park management

In this section, I will address a number of issues concerning park management. The sustainability vs social welfare discourse is visible in the area of park management in James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park. According to Walker (2008) during South African colonial times, the land dispossession process led to the creation of conservation areas such as parks. The management of these parks was largely seen as a white middle to the upper class issue. Cock (2015:6) states that "during the rule of the apartheid regime, environmentalism operated effectively as a conservation strategy but neglected social needs". What has been evident is the continuing discourse of environmental sustainability over social needs in parks. The removal of the homeless from suburban parks further supports the continuing discourse of environmental sustainability over social needs in parks (Ratau, *et al*., 2018). The residents in the area view parks as spaces of leisure and recreation, while the homeless informal recyclers see parks as spaces that are important for their livelihoods (Ratau, *et al*., 2018). This has created tensions and contradictions and civil society organizations such as SkeemSaam in this regard are trying to broker a truce between these groups that are at odds with each other. Bénit-Gbaffou (2017) states that civil society needs to participate in the park management field in order to address some of the inefficiencies of the state in terms of dealing with issues such as homelessness. SkeemSaam is part of civil society and their participation is at the center of this research.

According Bénit-Gbaffou (2017) and Ratau *et al.* (2018) Johannesburg City Parks have limited operational budgets and therefore this has forced JCPZ to look for other stakeholders to assist in the operations of the park. The limited operational budget means that Johannesburg City Parks has limited resources to fund projects that will assist in the maintenance and upgrade of park facilities. Johannesburg City Parks has the aim of creating relationships with key stakeholders within communities surrounding the parks in order to manage parks effectively. The Johannesburg City Parks has decided to use park user groups, residents associations, councilors and other state entities to manage parks effectively. There are many stakeholders that are involved in the management of the park and there are tensions and contradictions that manifest.

Residents associations have been instrumental in raising issues concerning the inadequacies of the state to deliver services within the parks (Ratau, *et al.,* 2018). Organizations such as SkeemSaam try to fill in some of the gaps of the state in terms of park management.

According to Cock (1991), the environmental justice concept represents an important shift away from this traditional authoritarian concept of environmentalism, which was mainly concerned, with the conservation of threatened plants, animals and wilderness areas, to include urban, health, labor and development issues. There is a need to rethink park management along with the needs of social welfare and social needs. According to Mavuso (2016), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that address social development problems can play an intermediary role as they have knowledge on the issues and needs of the more vulnerable park users. NGOs could therefore practically mediate to assess needs and capacity and involve a variety of informal groups into the management of the park (Mavuso, 2016). NGOs or civil society groups are the most proficient in identifying possible problems and opportunities that the park will present based on their knowledge of their various fields of social development. Consulting the homeless with regards to park management (perhaps mediated through social workers and NGOs) can, therefore, allow for an agreement to be reached on how best they can use the park in certain times of the day and night without infringing on children's activities.

This literature is relevant for my research because SkeemSaam functions in a world where there are different stakeholders, interested and affected parties that manage the park. It will be interesting to find out how they mediate for homeless informal recyclers amongst different stakeholder groups that have different mandates.

2.6) Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework will highlight a number of key concepts that are relevant for answering the research question. The key concepts for my research include homelessness, park management, informal recycling, and NGO mediation. These concepts are imperative because they form part of the core of my research. These concepts are interdependent, interrelated and interlinked.

2.6.1) Homelessness

According to Sanchez (2010), civil society responses to homelessness revealed that the kind of services the civil society organizations provide depends on how they understand homelessness. SkeemSaam is intrigued by informal recyclers (who happen to be homeless) because the organization has a broad aim of promoting recycling initiatives in suburban parks. The intended beneficiaries (informal recyclers) of SkeemSaam's intervention are at the center of the definition of homelessness in the research. Olufemi

(2002) argues that it is definitely hard to come up with a single universal definition of homelessness, therefore, one needs to contextualize it and that is why investigating SkeemSaam's definition by looking at its interventions is important.

There is a policy (Policy on Assistance and Management of People Living Working on the Streets) that speaks on homelessness/ displaced person within the City of Johannesburg however, it is inadequate in dealing with the problem. This has led to uncoordinated efforts within the city to deal with homelessness. Due to limited policy, certainty regarding homelessness City Parks so far has been reliant on residents surrounding the parks to determine the suitable method to use in dealing with vagrants. The most popular method that is used are raids and evictions, however, in this research, I argue that these methods have not helped and therefore SkeemSaam provides an alternative in the form of integration.

2.6.2) Informal Recycling

SkeemSaam wants to assist informal recyclers therefore, the concept of informal recycling is imperative for this research. They are informal recyclers because the work they do is unregulated and not taxed. SkeemSaam tries to create relationships between the informal recyclers and various formal recycling companies within their localities. This research investigates the viability and outcomes of these relationships.

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (2000) conceptualizes recycling as related processes of resource recovery, waste re-use and the processing of recyclable materials recovered from waste streams. There are two types of sectors that address recycling and they are informal and formal sector. In this research, I focused on the informal recycling sector. Mamphitha (2011) state that Informal recycling refers to the waste recycling activities of waste pickers that are not taxed or state-regulated.

2.6.3) Stakeholder participation in park management

In this research, I focus on the concept of park management. SkeemSaam mediates between the informal recyclers, the state and residents associations in the context of park management. The case studies that I have selected are both parks that have a decision-making terrain that consists of various stakeholders that SkeemSaam has to navigate around for their constituency. In this research, I want to find out how SkeemSaam is able to create and mediate around these complex stakeholder relationships and how they are able to navigate around these relationships to accomplish their objectives.

According to Ratau *et al*. (2018), park management is a process where civil society and the business community play a major role in the management and maintenance of the park, the state, on the other hand, plays a small role in this picture due to its financial

and fiscal constraints (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). This definition is quite relevant due to the context of the research, due to state failures on park management issues such as homelessness SkeemSaam has stepped in to bridge the gap and play a key role in park management.

2.6.4) Mediation

Another key concept in my research is mediation. The residents association, the state and the homeless men that stayed in the park were at odds with each other and therefore SkeemSaam needed to mediate between these stakeholders. SkeemSaam's mediation is at the center of my research. Mediators can facilitate relationships in a neutral way as indicated by Garrigues (2015) however; in this research, I am more interested in Forester's (1987) conceptualization of mediation as being non-neutral. In my research, I highlight how SkeemSaam is able to mediate in the interests of the homeless informal recyclers between the state and residents associations. SkeemSaam is not a neutral mediator because they represent their constituency and have their own interests; therefore, it is essential to investigate how they are able to thrive in non-neutral mediation. They also non-neutral in the sense that the NGO founders are part of the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association.

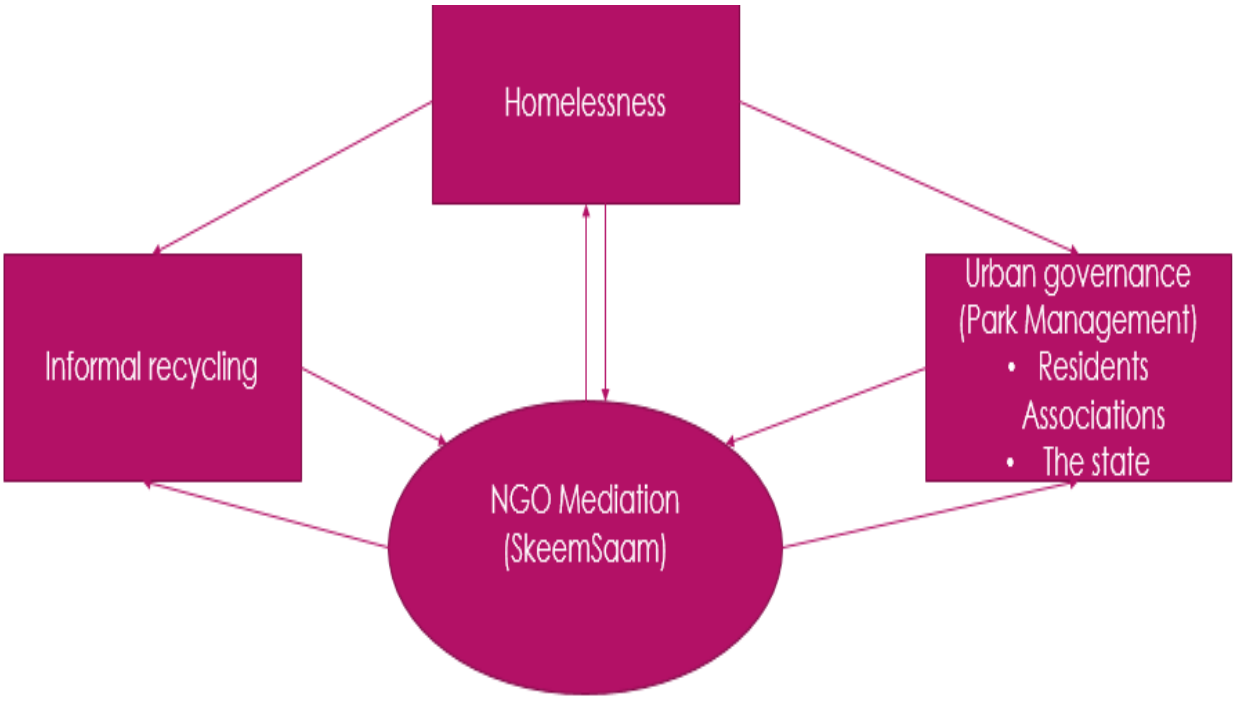


Figure 2 1 Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.1 shows the various interlinked and interrelated components of the research. Suburban parks within the case study have a homelessness issue. Some of the

homeless in the park happen to partake in informal recycling activities in order to make a living. We can see the residents associations are not happy that the homeless stay in the park because based on by-laws the parks are a recreational area. Therefore, the residents call the state (Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department) in order to carry out raids. The homeless end up coming back to the park in order to resume their informal recycling activities. SkeemSaam observes their tensions and futile eviction measures and proposes a solution. The solutions require a multistakeholder approach. The approach adopted by SkeemSaam takes into account the realities of the resident's associations, homeless informal recyclers and the state.

2.7) Conclusion

Four thematic areas were covered in the literature review namely homelessness, mediation, park management, and informal recycling. The literature revealed that the conceptualization of homelessness depends on civil societies framing of interventions. NGOs play a crucial role in challenging the states eviction measures on the homeless in public spaces. NGOs can create informal-recycling cooperatives that are recognizable by the state and residents associations. Mediation can be non-neutral in certain cases where organizations such as SkeemSaam have their own interests in the stakeholder engagement process.

CHAPTER 3- RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1) Introduction

According to Kallet (2004), the research methodology chapter defines the methods employed by the researcher to investigate a research question or research problem. The researcher used methods in order to investigate how SkeemSaam frames its interventions around homelessness in suburban parks while mediating between recyclers, residents associations and agencies of the state.

Kallet (2004) further states that the research methodology consists of the specific procedures or techniques that are used by the researcher to identify, select, process, and analyze information applied in order to understand the research problem, thereby, allowing the reader to critically evaluate a study's overall validity and reliability.

3.2) Research strategy

Saunders Lewis & Thornhill (2009) reveals that the research strategy allows the researcher to answer the primary and secondary research questions. Therefore, the researcher should pick a research strategy/s that complements the aims and objectives of the study. Datt (2016) state that "the extent of existing knowledge, the availability of the amount of time, as well as philosophical underpinnings, is also important". There are several types of research strategies as indicated by Saunders *et al*. (2009) and these several types of research strategies consist of experiments, surveys, case studies, ethnography, grounded theory, action research, and archival research.

I used the case study research strategy in my research. The case study approach helped me understand how mediation takes place in different contexts, where there might be different stakeholders. I looked at two case studies in this research, which is James & Ethel Gray Park and Albert's Farm Park. The two case studies allowed me to analyze the occurrences and phenomena that take place in different urban spaces in terms of homelessness mediation. My research built on work done by Ntshangase (2017) and Ratau *et al*. (2018) on James and Ethel Gray Park. The research, however, focused on a new case study, which is Albert's Farm Park. The two case studies form the bases of a comparative study. A case study involves practical investigations as indicated by Robson (2002) therefore it involves studying current issues by using several sources of evidence. Selecting a case study is appropriate when the researcher wants to gain in-depth understanding of the research context. It is important for me to compare these two case studies because I wanted to understand how SkeemSaam frames its interventions in these two contexts, what are the similarities and differences in terms of the interventions they use. I believe that the stakeholders in James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park present certain challenges for SkeemSaam's

mediation efforts. Homeless informal recyclers are not a homogenous group of individuals themselves and this adds to the layer of issues SkeemSaam has to grapple with. This means that the NGO has to adapt and contextualize its interventions.

I could face challenges when conducting my research; therefore, I needed to have a strategy on how to address challenges that may arise. Firstly, I needed different strategies for engaging with different stakeholders. I first had to understand about the working relationships SkeemSaam has with its stakeholders and once I understood the working relationships SkeemSaam had with the various organizations then I needed to ensure that I create different strategies on how to approach these different organizations. Where there was a good working relationship, I asked SkeemSaam to introduce me to the stakeholders. If the working relationship between SkeemSaam and a particular organization is bad then I introduced myself directly to the stakeholder. One of my research supervisors Claire Bénit-Gbaffou had working relationships with state officials who had a key interest in the research; therefore, they were more than happy to contribute to the research through interviews. . I also needed to familiarize myself with the institutional setting of these various organizations. If the corporate culture is formal and neat then I could not wear smart casual to the interview because I would have been out of place. I tried to attend residence association meetings, which consisted of white residents, I needed to wear formal and hang my student card on my neck to ensure that individuals can see that I am a university student. I believe that my formal dress code helped me to taken seriously by white residents as a young Black South African.

3.3) Reflections on fieldwork and the data collection process

I obtained email addresses from online newspaper articles and organization websites. I sent emails to various participants and I introduced myself, including the purpose of the research and the need for the participant's input to the research. I highlighted the key ethical considerations of the research and I attended to any additional questions concerning the research.

I interviewed the Melrose North councilor on 17 July 2018 and the head of Melrose and Birdhaven Conservancy on 18 July 2018. I interviewed the Alberts Farm councilor on 23 July 2018 and I interviewed the Chairman of Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association (MNRRA) on 24 July 2018. The Friends of Alberts Farm Chair was not available for the interview. I had to send the interview guideline via email to the Friends of Alberts Farm Chair and this was very productive because within 4 days I got an attachment with the responses.

SkeemSaam has a small network of state officials. It was therefore difficult to get state officials that would comment on their interactions or engagements with SkeemSaam. I

sent numerous emails to various state officials especially to those at Johannesburg City Parks.

I interviewed the Vice-Chair of the Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy on 8 August 2018. The engagement was very insightful because I went for a tour of Alberts Farm Park. The Vice-chairperson showed me around, I saw where the homeless were staying, and she even raised important points from the interview during the site visit. The homeless were using the alien invasive species as a barrier to shield them and hide them from Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo officials, the South African Police Services and the other park users such as residents. I interviewed the SkeemSaam director on 17 September 2018. I interviewed the stakeholder liaison officer from Johannesburg City Parks on 26 September 2018. I carried out research interviews smoothly because the respondents were very forthcoming with information. As indicated earlier that I have sent numerous emails to various individuals from various organizations to comment on the research however other organizations were not keen on being interviewed or did not reply to the emails at all.

I asked respondents if they had read the personal information sheet. If the respondent did not read the personal information sheet then I had to go through it and ensure that they understood the purpose of the research and ethical considerations. The interviews were a success because the participants were very forthcoming with information that I requested during the time of the interview. I drew Interesting parallels between the duties of the different respondents that manage James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park. I went to the interviews thirty minutes before time and this was very essential because the respondents did not have to rush through their answers and therefore they could elaborate further and give detail explanations.

I could pick up during interviews that the framework of stakeholders in Alberts Farm was very different from what I initially thought; therefore, I had to adjust to the stakeholders I had to interview. SkeemSaam has not yet implemented their interventions in Alberts Farm Park and the number of interactions it has in the area is therefore limited however, it yielded important information on what is hampering its progress.

One of the SkeemSaam managing partners was very concerned with the information I received from the SkeemSaam Director because it might potentially discredit the organization however, the SkeemSaam Director was very open and honest and stated that she would like the researcher to write a research that is honest and straight to the point. This would help SkeemSaam identify the flaws of the organizations and address any issues. This might pose a conflict in the future when I have to publish the research online due to this contestation.

I used Google Maps in order to find the route to the destination. I then had to look for transportation routes that would get me closer to my destination. Since some of the taxi

routes were not familiar, I had to consult friends and local taxi offices. Public transport would not drop me near the destination of the interview so I had to use the navigator in order to find the location. In order to arrive on time, I had to travel early just in case I got lost and I still had time to spare.

I sent emails requesting the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association to invite me to RA meetings but I did not receive an invite to any although the Chairman did get back to me regarding the research interview. Birdhaven Ratepayers Association had an Annual General Meeting on the 12 of November 2018 however; I could not attend because I had an exam. I have been visiting the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association and Birdhaven Ratepayers Association website in order to find out if there are potential meetings. It seems that MNNR has not made an update but BRA has made an update regarding the AGM.

Since I have not been able to get in contact with anyone from residents associations (Greymont, Albertskroon, Albertsville, and Montgomery Park Residents Association) in Alberts Farm, it has been very difficult in terms of finding out about their RA meetings. Their website barely reflects an update about their future RA meetings because currently it only dates to 2016 and their websites have old RA meeting minutes that do not seem to address anything concerning homelessness.

SkeemSaam invited me when they had meetings and they have called me during one occasion in order to assist translate communication between the informal recyclers and the SkeemSaam Director on 27 September 2018. As a researcher I observed that the informal recyclers seem to be multilingual in indigenous languages but do not know IsiZulu, which is the only native language I speak, therefore the quick arrival of the ADT Security Official that is multilingual in various native languages bridged the communication gap and helped relay the message from Johannesburg City Parks.

I got meeting minutes of two public meetings from the Friends of Alberts Farm Park that looked at the presentation of the SkeemSaam intervention. I also looked at newspaper articles that highlighted information regarding the meetings that took place in Alberts Farm Park and their resolutions. I verified information from the media by using meeting minutes.

I accessed meeting minutes of the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association through the director of SkeemSaam who happens to be part of the secretary and maintenance portfolio of MNNR. The BRA meeting minutes that are available on-site seem to date back to 2014 before the implementation of SkeemSaam. The meeting minutes provided me with information about past interventions to deal with the homeless.

3.4) Data Collection

In this section, I explained the sampling technique, sample size and methods (semi-structured interview, documents, observations) I used for my data collection in this section. The process of collecting data was imperative to the researcher and therefore it should be highlighted that during the initial stages of the research process.

3.4.1) Sampling technique

I used the purposive sampling method/technique because the respondents I interviewed already have a predefined characteristic. The respondent had to be part of SkeemSaam mediation process. I intended on getting data from specific organizations/ state bodies. I did not randomly pick organizations. I did my sampling based on a specific purpose.

3.4.2) Sample Size

In order to understand SkeemSaam's involvement in mediating for the homeless informal recyclers I had to assess other organizations that interact with them. I had respondents from other organizations as indicated in the table below that SkeemSaam had interacted with in the mediation process in James and Ethel Gray Park and Albert's Farm Parks. It was important to get their views about their interactions with SkeemSaam. I conducted approximately nine interviews as shown in the table below. I have tried getting more interviews from other potential respondents for the research but they did not respond.

James and Ethel Gray Park and Albert's Farm Park		***Outcome of Interview***
Organization/ State Body	**Respondents**	
NGO		
SkeemSaam	SkeemSaam Director	Interviewed- 28/09/2018
	SkeemSaam PR Marketing Manager	Spoke informally but referred me to SkeemSaam Director- 28/09/2018
	SkeemSaam Financial Manager	Referred me to SkeemSaam Director
Residents Associations(RA)		
James and Ethel Gray Park		
Birdhaven Residents	Chairman of Bird	Replied to several email

Association	Haven Residents Association	requests
	Ihlati Conservancy Liaison	Referred me to the Chairman of Birdhaven Residents Association Invited me to the BRA AGM Meeting on the 12th of November 2018 at Bellavista School (5h00pm to 6h30pm) However, couldn't attend because of exam
Melrose North Residents Association	Chairman of Melrose North Residents Association	Interviewed
Alberts Farm Park		
Greymont Residents Association	Pikitup and City Parks Liaison	Did not reply to several emails
The Montgomery Park Rate Payers Association	Chairman of the Montgomery Park Rate Payers Association	Not replied back to the email
Albertsville Residents Association	Chairman of Albertsville Residents Association	Not replied back to the email
Northcliff Residents Association	Security Portfolio Manager of the Northcliff Residents Association	Not replied back to the email
	Vice-Chairperson of the Northcliff Residents Association	Not replied back to the email
	Chairperson of the Northcliff	Not replied back to the email

	Residents Association	
Councilors		
James and Ethel Gray Park		
Councilor for Melrose North	Ward 74 Councilor	Interviewed- 17/07/2018
Alberts Farm Park		
Ward Councilor for Alberts Farm	Ward 86 Councilor	Interviewed- 23/07/2018
Conservancies		
Friends of Albert's Farm Conservancy	Chair of the Friends of Albert's Farm Conservancy	Interviewed – 27/07/2018
	Vice-Chair of the Friends of Albert's Farm Conservancy	Interviewed – 28/09/2018
Melrose-Bird haven Conservancy	Head of Melrose-Bird haven Conservancy	Interviewed – 18/07/2018
The State		
Johannesburg City Parks	Park manager at James & Ethel Gray Park Raymond	Replied to email and agreed but did not send a location or meeting time. I also sent additional emails to set up a meeting but that did not work

	Park manager at Albert's Farm Park	There is no local park manager at Alberts Farm there is a general worker and the Friends of Alberts Farm Park is present to bridge this gap and manage the park. There was no park manager to approach.
Johannesburg City Parks	Stakeholder Liaison Officer	Interviewed – 28/10/2018
Johannesburg City Parks	Region E Manager- James and Ethel Gray- Alberts Farm Park	Not replied to the email
Johannesburg City Parks	General manager- Research	Interviewed – 3/11/2018
Security companies		
SCP Security - Greymont	Head of Security Company - Clive Maher	Not replied to the email

Table 3. 1 Key respondents for the research

3.4.3) Semi-structured Interview

I used semi-structured interviews in the form of face-to-face in-depth interviews as a data collection method in this research. Melville & Goddard, (1999) and Welman *et al*. (2006) argue that semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to probe the interviewee. If the researcher needs further clarity, the researcher can always ask additional questions to the respondent during the course of the interview. The weakness of interviews is that it depends on the willingness of the respondent to answer questions.

Welman, *et al*. (2006) argues that one uses a semi-structured interview when topics are sensitive in nature and respondents come from divergent backgrounds. My research is

about investigating the strategies used by SkeemSaam to advocate for the rights of the homeless informal recyclers between the state and residents associations in suburban parks. Homelessness is a sensitive issue; therefore, I believe that semi-structured interviews were the correct tool to use. Semi-structured interviews are interview guides that allow a conversation type of situation where the researcher can probe respondent's answers.

According to Mathers *et al*. (1998), semi-structured interviews are advantageous when the research is exploratory in nature. My research is exploratory in nature and therefore it was essential to use semi-structured interviews. The questions from the interview ranged from understanding the individual's role in park management, their perceptions regarding homelessness in the park and their perceptions and interactions with SkeemSaam.

3.4.4) Documents

Firstly, I used documents from the internet and from my interviewed respondents from SkeemSaam and the state in order to expand further on my research topic. Secondly, I used planning and legal documents concerning suburban parks. Newspapers articles also played a key role in this research. Bowen (2009) argues that documents are easily accessible because they are in the public domain. I requested documents from my respondents during interviews and they helped justify their statements such as meeting minutes and meeting statements. Research documents from the Wits Governance of Parks webpage from the Center of Urbanism and Built Environment were essential.

Bowen (2009) argues that essential documents are sometimes not available and to a certain extent biased. Certain organizations restrict public access based on their internal communication policies. Documents can sometimes be biased and reflect a certain image of an organization to hide the facts. The documents in the public domain may not truly reflect the organization’s reality; therefore, it is essential for the research to assess the validity of the documents. Bowen (2009) state that one needs to view the documents with a critical eye. One should not easily accept information in the documents without evaluating its authenticity. The researcher needs to unpack the meaning behind the document and its input to the research topic.

3.4.5) Direct Observation

I observed SkeemSaam while they conducted their interventions with the recyclers. I conducted these observations first informally and that was during 10 - 12 February 2018. I also conducted observations during September 2018. I went to see the challenges that SkeemSaam is facing with informal recyclers. The researcher captured the discussions between SkeemSaam and the informal recyclers. Kawulich (2005) argues that observations help the researchers gain a detailed description of behaviors,

intentions, situations, and events. Welman *et al*. (2006) argue that direct observations help the researcher capture relevant behavior for their research topic.

Welman *et al* (2006) state that observations can be time-consuming therefore the researcher needs to be patient. There is a potential for bias during observations. According to Kawulich (2005), the researcher may collect data that is of his/her interest instead of giving a true picture of events. It is important to reflect on the discussions in detail without bias. Social sciences to a certain degree can be bias and the researcher should be aware of this bias and work against it. I captured the interactions of the SkeemSaam and other stakeholders as they happened and did not portray the interaction in a different manner to suit my individual or any organizations research interests. I conducted observations in both James and Ethel Grey Park and Albert Farm Park in order to understand the context. After the visits, I could have a deeper understanding of the issues the homeless face.

3.5) Ethical Considerations

I needed to ensure that I gain permission from the ethics committee under the jurisdiction of the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand before I conducted my research. I completed the ethics application process under the guidance of my supervisor's. I had a process/strategy of ensuring that I gained consent from the respondents including confidentiality and anonymity.

I sent emails to ask the various organization leaders, members or state officials whether they would like to be part of the study. If they agree then I interviewed the respective leader, member or state official. I asked for formal consent. During observations in the resident association meetings, I requested the chairperson to inform the residents who I am and the intention behind the observations and if they want to participate, they can be part of the meeting.

I told the respondent that the interview would take no longer than 45 minutes to an hour-long. I informed the respondents that I selected them to participate in this study because they have engaged with the NGO SkeemSaam in terms of park management. I informed the respondents that their participation is voluntary, they may refuse to answer any questions that make them uncomfortable, and they may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. I provided further details that they will receive no payment or other incentives for their participation. One can identify their organization in the research report. An individual cannot identify the association of a respondent to a particular organization unless the respondent requested otherwise. I locked the interview transcripts in a steel cabinet and digital copies were stored in a password-protected computer.

3.6) Limitations of the Study

I encountered a variety of limitations during my study. These limitations were practical and methodological. I had over a small amount of time to complete and therefore I had to produce the research report in that space of time. Conducting interviews and transcribing interviews was time-consuming exercise as highlighted in the data collection methods section. When I was conducting observations the subjects that respondents might have felt uncomfortable to express themselves freely, therefore, the data I obtain during these engagements might not be truly reflective of the issues. I cannot draw substantive generalization based on the research data because of the small size of the respondents. Where I could not get an interview I looked at research documents, newspaper articles and meeting minutes in order to understand their views and perspectives regarding SkeemSaam. As a young researcher, I still lack adequate experience in the research field that can also be a hindrance.

Due to the limited time I had for the research, I could not undertake a detail theoretical assessment of the findings for my fifth chapter. I believe that there was a need for more empirical evidence to support some of the statements I made in my fifth chapter relating to low wages however due to insufficient time I could not address this issue. I could not write certain items in the research report that I gathered from SkeemSaam's meetings because they were confidential to the organization. I believe that the items that I could not include would have made a vital contribution to the study so this negatively affected the research findings.

3.7) Conclusion

The research methodology that I used for the study consisted of a number of research methods. The researcher did come across a number of key challenges due to the delay in ethical clearance submissions. Nevertheless, the Practices of the State and Urban Governance website and CUBES website has been of great assistance in terms of accessing archival data and various forms of research done before me on suburban parks in terms of homelessness[2].

[2] The Governance of Urban Parks - the Practices of the State and Urban Governance website and CUBES website https://www.wits.ac.za/cubes/projects/practices-of-the-state-in-urban-governance/focus-areas/governance-of-urban-parks/

Chapter 4 Locating James & Ethel Gray and Alberts Farm Park in their own environments

4.1) Introduction

This case study review is an introduction to the sites and the state and non-state actors that are part of SkeemSaam's mediation process. I explored the characteristics, which make this research worth studying. I selected James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park because they were sites that SkeemSaam selected for its interventions. In this chapter, I introduced the key actors in various state and non-state entities that are at the center of decision-making processes regarding the management of homelessness in the park. This chapter important because it sets the scene and paints the picture of the institutional landscape that SkeemSaam operates in.

4.2) Setting the scene

The case study sites are in Johannesburg therefore this section looks at the general historical context of Johannesburg in relation to the formation of northern suburbs. I will then highlight the historical and contemporary nature of park management in the South African context because the case studies are parks. I will further unpack the history and contemporary nature of James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park.

4.2.1) The historical context of Johannesburg's northern suburbs

In order to understand parks in the South African context, it is important to highlight some of the historical power dynamics. Johannesburg has the north and south residential divide. Mubiwa & Annegarn (2013) state that the south of Johannesburg has poor areas largely black townships and the wealthy largely white residential areas make up the north of Johannesburg. Historical geopolitical factors perpetuated the racialized spatial divide in Johannesburg. Past racially discriminatory laws facilitated the creation of the north-south divide of Johannesburg residential areas.

According to Mubiwa & Annegarn (2013) by the late 1930s and again during the post-World War II period, there was the development of northward residential areas in Johannesburg. There was a further northward expansion of Johannesburg residential areas due to the era of the motor vehicles, which increased the accessibility of many of these northern suburbs to the zones of work towards the south. The absence of traditional forms of transportation such as the railway lines to provide transportation services to northern residents increased their dependence on private vehicles for transport to work. The 1960s to the 1990s saw the formation of exclusively white suburbs within the northern parts of Johannesburg.

Bénit-Gbaffou (2017) argues that white middle class to white upper-class individuals have managed the parks in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. Residents associations and civil society organizations that manage parks are white dominated.

4.2.2) The historical and contemporary nature of park management in South Africa

According to Cock & Fig (2000), White communities shape the history of park management in the South African context. White communities controlled park management organizations therefore parks reflected white superiority and the practices of apartheid. The parks reflected the power relations bought by apartheid and privilege, which have shaped South African society. Black South Africans did not use parks during the apartheid era due to segregation. Exclusion as consumers of the parks' recreational and educational opportunities and exclusion from decision-making. Access to parks as a recreational resource was restricted to White South Africans. Park management was an expression of white power, and white authority.

Bénit-Gbaffou (2017) argues that the City of Johannesburg has not been creating sufficient opportunities of community engagement to transform the parks in favor of the previously disadvantaged because they do not have the financial capability to do so. The state has shifted the responsibility of park management to non-state actors that apparently have a conservative outlook regarding park management to a certain extent. Blacks play a menial role in decision-making meetings regarding suburban park management. We see cases where white privilege over park management decisions take center stage despite the South African government’s legislated commitment to transform these spaces.

4.2.3) The historical context and current issues in James and Ethel Gray Park

According to Fei (2016), “James and Ethel Gray Park was named after the 1946 City of Johannesburg Mayor James Gray and his spouse Ethel”. Gauteng Tourism Authority (2018) state that the “James and Ethel Gray Park covers an area of approximately 36 hectares”. Johannesburg City Parks (2007) notes that the park is located amongst one of Johannesburg’s northern suburbs, which is Melrose North. James and Ethel Gray Park is between Melrose Street and Edgewood Road. SA-Venues.com (2018) state that in the heart of the park is the 1981 Katyn Forest Memorial, It is the most important Polish-founded monument within South Africa. The monument symbolizes the bonds between South African and Polish communities. The park is located south of the Melrose Arch development.

According to Fei (2016), any urban spaces in the City of Johannesburg residents assert their efforts in maintaining the accessibility and usability of the park. In earlier years, the Birdhaven Rate Payers’ Association, which is a residents association in Birdhaven, has

been in contact with city officials in order to ensure the park's upkeep and availability to the community at large. The Johannesburg City Parks officials state that the park has been a favorite of residents. James and Ethel Gray have had, over the recent years, aided through extensive upgrades.

According to Fei (2016) Patrick Campbell, Chairman of the Birdhaven Residents' Association recalls that the off cast dirt and gravel from the Melrose Arch building site assisted in the building of James and Ethel Gray Park. The Chairman of Birdhaven Rate Payers' Association notes that parts of the park are now in need of attention. The bricks along the pathways are coming loose and vagrants who on occasion intimidate members of the public sometimes plague the vicinity.

Ratau *et al*. (2018) reveal that there is a need for concrete and comprehensive methods for dealing with the homelessness issue in the James and Ethel Gray Park. Evictions have failed to eradicate the problem. Ratau *et al.* (2018) show us that there is a need for the creation of locally working arrangements in order to develop working relationships. Local stakeholders know the key issues within their own parks and therefore they are better suited to offer solutions. It is argued by Ratau *et al.* (2018) that the decision making process would acknowledge the homeless if they were to become visible. The formation of partnerships between the homeless and park management structures to manage the park is essential in giving recognition to the homeless as a stakeholder.

While residents associations are happy to assist in park management they would still like to see the state take an active role in managing the park. Ratau, *et al*. (2018) state that the residents continue to make an active contribution to the management of the park and are grateful for local officials' input and vision despite budget constraints. In certain instances there is an antagonistic situation existing between residents associations and City Parks, beyond the park manager level. This antagonism is readable in residents associations' very critical (at time disillusioned) statements against the City – that could perhaps shift towards a more pragmatic acknowledgment of City Parks and municipal budgetary limitations in contemporary Johannesburg".

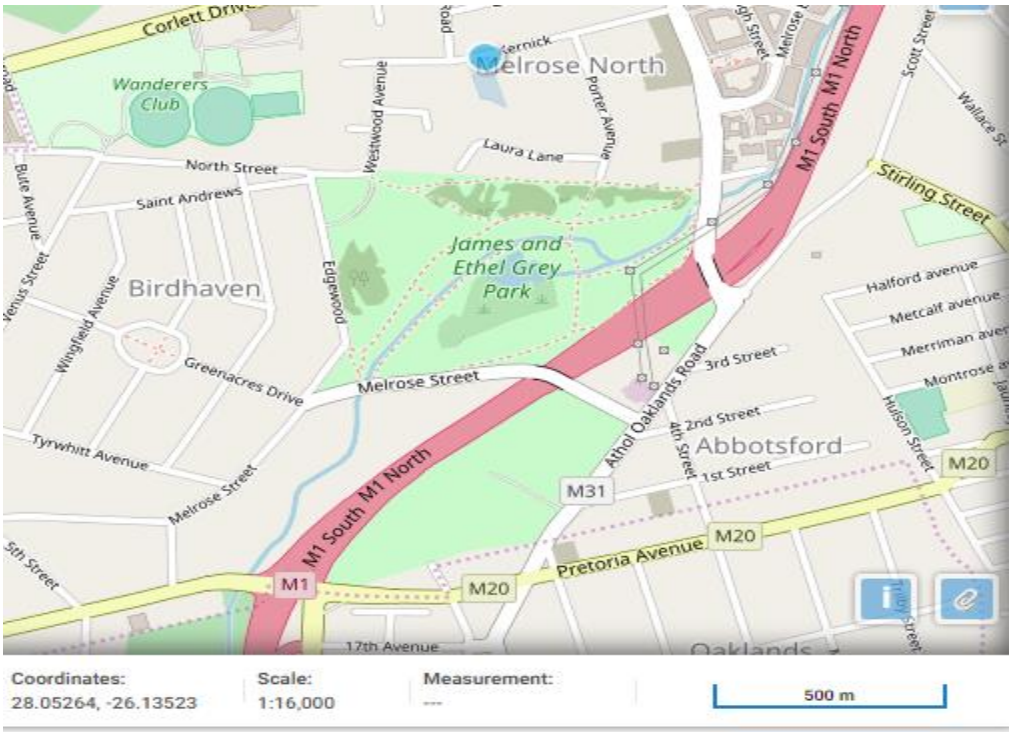


Figure 4 1Map: James and Ethel Gray Park (1Map)

(James &Ethel Gray Park- Source: 1Map)

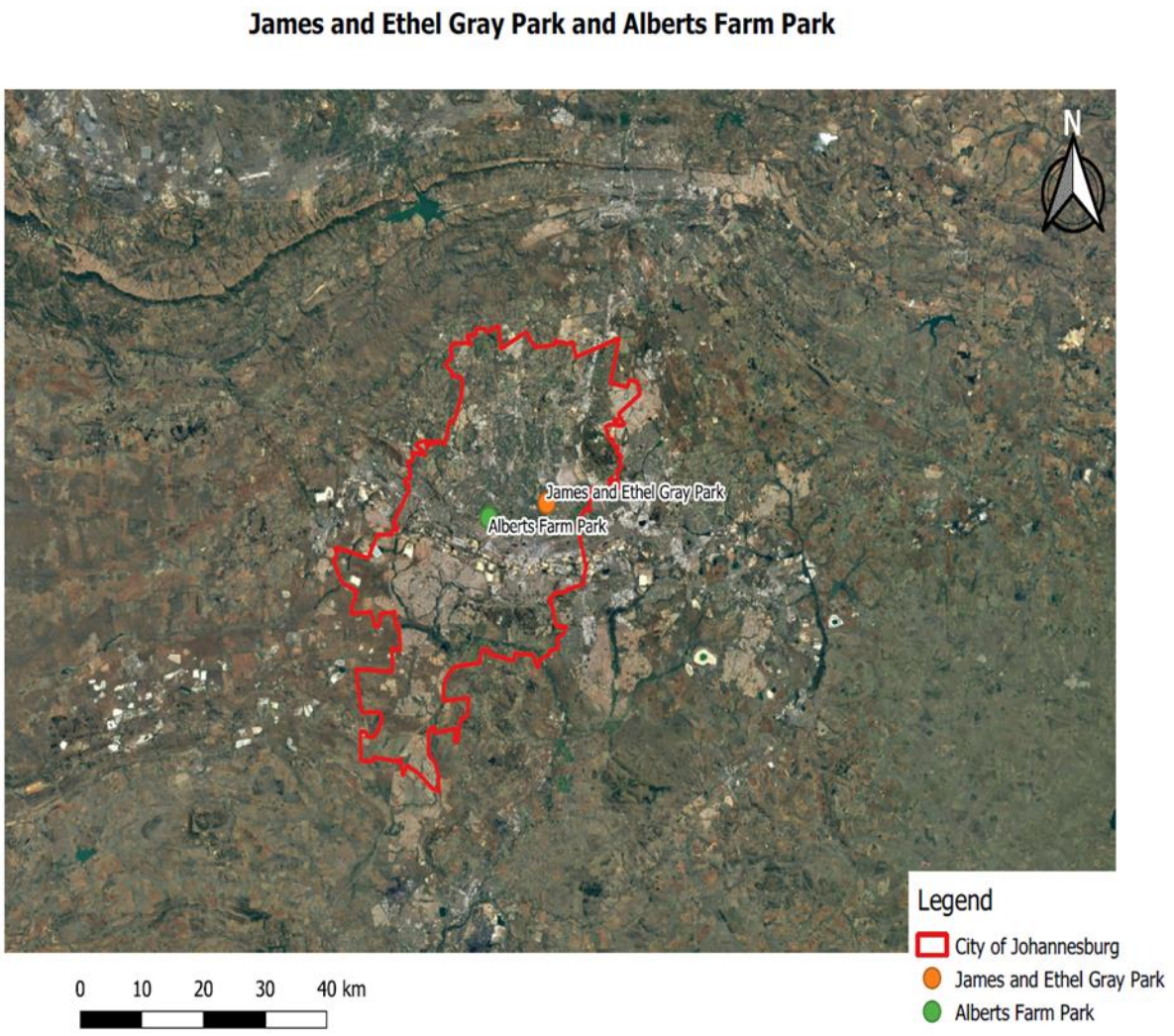


Figure 4 2James and Ethel Gray and Alberts Farm Park in the City of Johannesburg

4.2.4) Historical background and current issues of Alberts Farm Park

According to Fourie (2016), the Alberts Farm Park dates back to the 1890s when Hendrik Abraham Alberts leased a 114-acre farm called Waterval. In the year of 1946, the Alberts family sold part of the land to the City of Johannesburg for public use. The historical significance of the Alberts Farm Park is still under investigation. According to Fourie (2016) the Greymont Community Forum, with various partners such as the Green Academy of Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, the chairperson of Friends of Alberts Farm and heritage experts are trying to find out more about the history of the park.

Due to the financial constraints of the City of Johannesburg, various actors have decided to step in in terms of managing the park in the past (Fourie, 2016). The Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy has therefore carried out remediation processes that involved the community, residents, businesses and the city. The remediation of the park involved drafting environmental management plans that would chart a course on the management of the park. It is quite interesting how the state has shrunk and civil society and business have taken a leading role in terms of managing the parks.

While the civil society and businesses have been active in managing the park it is imperative to highlight the contributions made by the City of Johannesburg. The City's Environment and Infrastructure Services Department has acknowledged that they have to play a key role in managing the park through remediation efforts (the action of remedying something, in particular of reversing or stopping environmental damage). The environmental sustainability discourse has been imperative because we can see it shaping how the various civil society organizations, businesses and government departments interact with each other.

According to Fourie (2017a), one of the growing issues within the City of Johannesburg has been finding a sustainable and viable solution in dealing with displaced persons settling in public spaces such as parks. While there are plans to integrate the homeless and the park management through the SkeemSaam initiative residents believe that fencing Albert Farm Park would be an ideal solution.

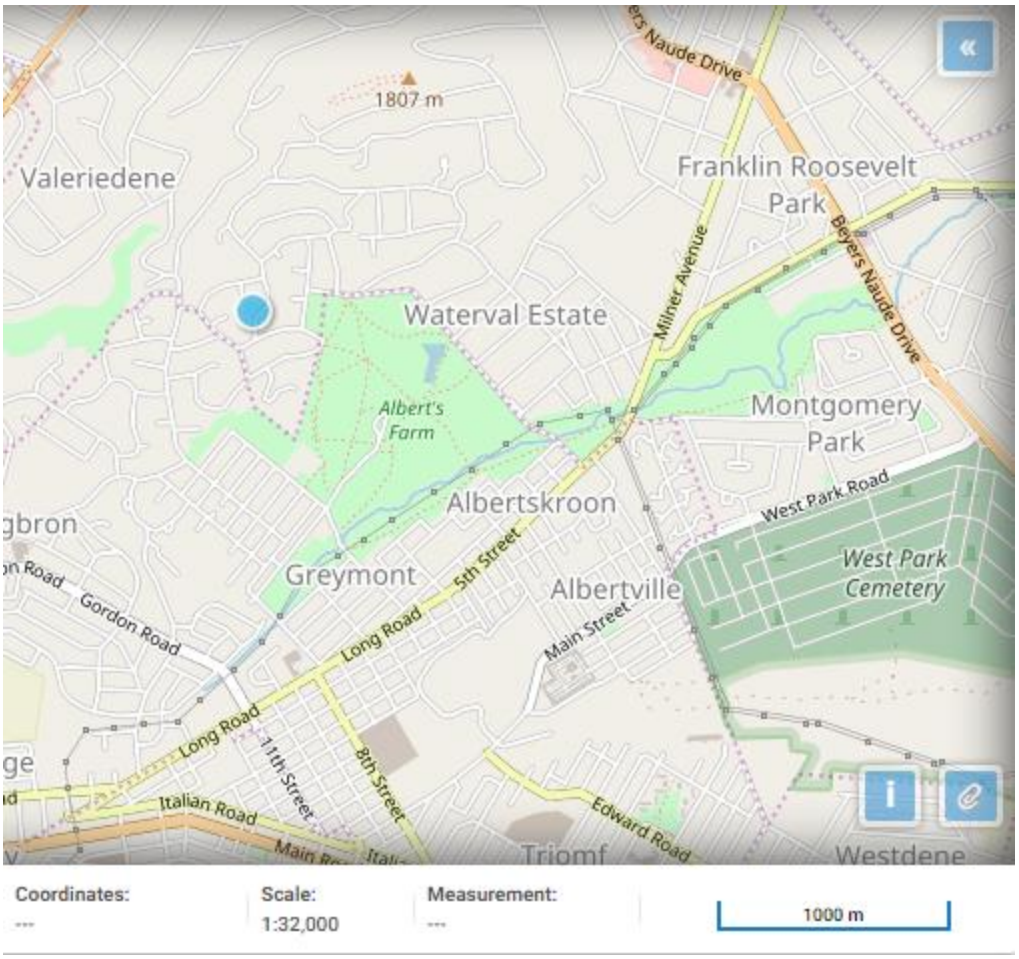


Figure 4 3Map: Alberts Farm Park with Surrounding Neighborhoods

4.3) The institutional landscape: mapping out the decision-making terrain

This section will investigate various organizations that are part of SkeemSaam's mediation process. The organization range from state and non-state actors. This section unpacks the distinctive case of the NGO leaders, their organization, institution, and the relevant departments for this study.

4.3.1) Framework of stakeholders involved in James and Ethel Gray

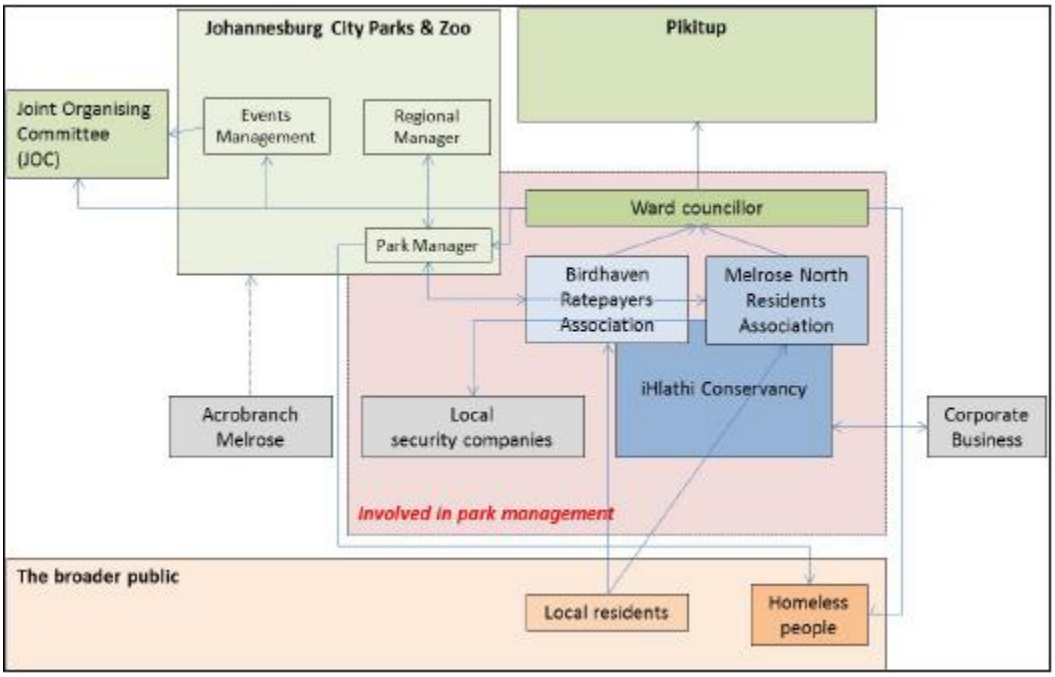


Figure 4 4James and Ethel Gray Park Stakeholder Framework

The diagram in figure 4.4 shows me the different relationships that exist in terms of the governance of James and Ethel Gray Park. The conceptual framework helped me understand the relationships that exist between different park users and how they interact or engage with other key stakeholders. Once I understood the overall picture, I used it to understand where SkeemSaam as an organization fits in when analyzing research data in Chapter 5.

According to Ratau *et al*. (2018) The management of James & Ethel Gray Park is not state-centered; this can be attributed to the good governance discourse where the state plays a menial role compared to the non-state actors and residents associations[3]. This chapter looks at the various non-state and state actors that control the park management of James and Ethel Gray Park. Ratau *et al.* (2018) further state that the development of James and Ethel Gray Park depended on the infrastructure development of Melrose Arch during 2007. The leftover material from the Melrose Arch developments, therefore, assisted in upgrading the park.

[3] Ratepayer associations (also called resident associations) are membership-based groups that represent the interests of people living in a particular neighborhood. Most are not registered legal entities but have a constitution and work as voluntary associations. Website: https://www.groundup.org.za/article/are-residents-associations-being-captured-property-industry/

The Chairperson from Birdhaven Ratepayers Association noted that the City of Johannesburg assumed control of the park when Admec ran out of financial capital and essential resources to manage the park in 2008. While the Johannesburg City Parks is responsible for maintaining the parks, the resident's associations are not happy with the level of service delivery due to the limited capacity of the state. The Birdhaven Ratepayers Association and Melrose North Ratepayers and Residents Associations have decided to take matters into their own hand by assisting the City manage and maintain the park (Ratau, *et al*., 2018). Birdhaven residents formed the Birdhaven Ratepayers Association in order to address emerging issues within their Birdhaven community. The Birdhaven Ratepayers Association has a 10-member committee that also consists of the ward councilor. The members from the committee have duties linked to fundraising, security and community mobilization. The residents association has been involved in all facets of park management. The BRA also interacts and engages with the park managers and city officials. The BRA mostly funds its structures through subscription from residents and they intend to be a structure that represents their community's needs (Ratau, *et al*., 2018).

The other residents association found near James and Ethel Gray Park is the Melrose North Residents Association. The Melrose North Residents Association is a community or resident organization. The resident association is mostly concerned with the protection of the heritage of the area and therefore maintaining it. The activities that take place in the park affects the Melrose North since it is in close proximity to the park.
While Melrose North Residents Association plays a role in managing the park, BRA actually does the most. Melrose North Residents Association and Birdhaven Ratepayers Association complement each other in terms of their outlook on park management (Ratau, *et al*., 2018).

While residents associations have played a pivotal role in managing the park there are other non-state actors that contribute to managing the park. The iHlathi Melrose-Birdhaven Conservancy is a voluntary association, which is interested in the environmental management of the Birdhaven and Melrose areas. The aim of the conservancy is to develop a green corridor between the urban nodes of Rosebank and Melrose Arch. The iHlathi Melrose-Birdhaven Conservancy is mostly like a residents association that focusses on the management and conservation of the James and Ethel Gray Park. The conservancy also assists in the running of the park by fundraising from businesses (Ratau, *et al*., 2018).

There is a park management steering committee, which mostly reflects the comprehensive range of residents associations and elected representatives such as the ward councilor and members from the Community Policing Forum (CPF). There are also environmental experts (including representatives of the Endangered Wildlife Trust) within the steering committee. The steering committee is therefore imperative for

mobilizing the resources of environmental professionals and forms a base for networking and fundraising capacity and grounding in the local community.

The JCPZ park manager is responsible for managing the park. One of the key issues that Johannesburg City Parks is facing is that they are under-staffed in terms of maintaining and managing the park; this is why Johannesburg City Parks needs for civil society and businesses in the area to play a role in managing the park.

4.3.2) Framework of stakeholders involved in Alberts Farm Park

The Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy (2000) argues that the Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy is primarily a volunteer community body. The association renders voluntary service by its members for the preservation, public use and enjoyment of Alberts Farm Park as well as its sustainable development.

According to Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy (2000), the Conservancy has a number of key objectives in terms of managing the park. The association aims to provide the community with an easily accessible nature area for recreation, education, and devotion. The conservancy also has an objective focused on stimulating and fostering public awareness and interest in the need for the conservation of Alberts Farm inter alia through sustainable development. The conservancy strives to create platforms for communities to participate in decision making in terms of park management. Fourie (2017b) states that the Friends of Alberts Farm Park Conservancy works alongside elected representatives such as councilors in order to manage and maintain the park.

The City of Johannesburg also has a keen interest in managing the park. The City of Johannesburg Park Manager shares an interest in maintaining the pristine nature of the Alberts Farm Park. “We don’t manage all parks like a bowling green, but rather we look at the natural environment to maintain the biodiversity of the park” (Alberts Farm Conservancy, 2018). The City of Johannesburg also creates educational campaigns in order to raise public awareness around the parks.

4.4) Conclusion

James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park have a sensitive environment with a rich history. The case studies, therefore, fall into the larger framework of just sustainability. The development of park opportunities needs to be inclusive of socio-economic issues. It is therefore critical for SkeemSaam to seek a balanced approach in mediating for the homeless informal recyclers and the development of parks.

Parks in the suburban areas such as Melrose and Greymont are not just environmentally spaces but there are social issues such as crime and safety hazards in the area. This section has also revealed the fact that SkeemSaam does not make

decisions in a vacuum and they need to maneuver through a number of institutional and organizational structures. My research interest is not to point out the overstated fact of over-lapping mandates but rather to highlight the influence that SkeemSaam has on park management and the issue of homelessness in the park.

Chapter 5 Research Findings and Analysis



Figure 5 1SkeemSaam Informal Recyclers- (702,2017)

5.1) Introduction

It seems that due to various reasons which may be structural (poor economic growth, job losses, inefficient housing delivery process, poor educational system, etc.) or individualistic (drug consumption etc.) there is a growing homelessness population in cities around South Africa such as Johannesburg. Johannesburg parks seem to attract the homeless population since there is an available space of land. The immediate reaction from surrounding residents has been to remove the homeless from the parks and I think there is a need to rethink the methods used to deal with homelessness in Johannesburg Parks. SkeemSaam's intervention seeks to challenge the traditional approach (eviction) to address issues pertaining to homelessness through integrative processes. The role SkeemSaam plays is very important in this regard, therefore, it is the focus of this research. This section critically evaluates research data and the findings from the study.

5.2) Restatement of research questions

It is of paramount importance to restate the primary and secondary research questions in this chapter to ensure that the researcher addresses the research question.

5.2.1) Restatement primary research question

How does SkeemSaam frame its interventions around homelessness in suburban parks while mediating between recyclers, residents associations and agencies of the state? (A case study of James & Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park)

5.2.2) Restatement Secondary research questions

a) What are SkeemSaam's Goals and Objectives?

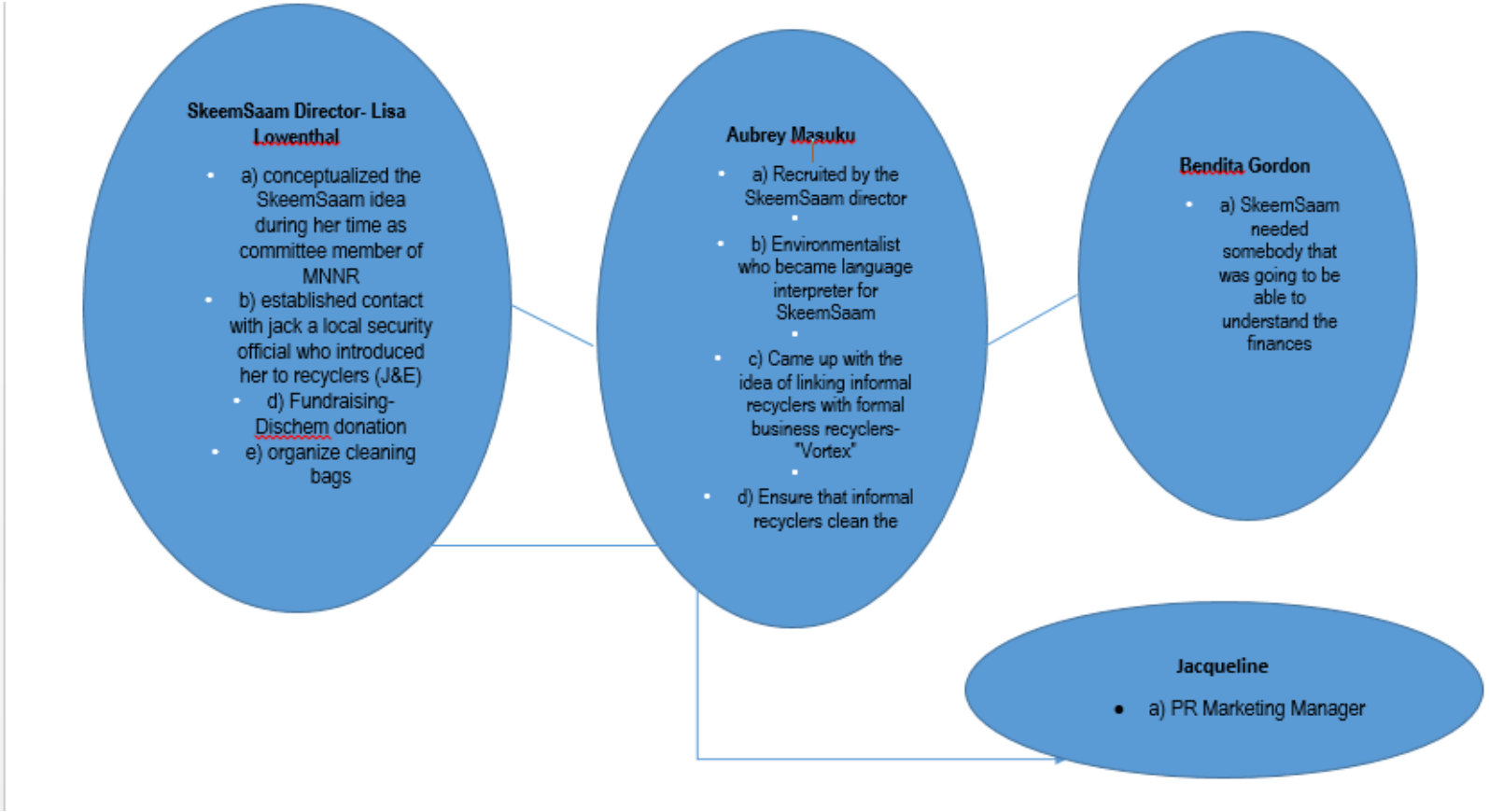
b) How does SkeemSaam engage with the homeless informal recyclers, residents associations and the state for the management of urban parks?

c) What are the approaches used in James and Ethel Gray Park and Albert's Farm Park to deal with homeless informal recyclers?

Background into SkeemSaam: The origins

Firstly, I would like to give a brief background into the nature or organization of SkeemSaam. Further, along with the chapter, I will look at the park management structure that exists in James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park. Stakeholder perceptions regarding homelessness will be further unpacked. I also looked at the approaches used to deal with homelessness in these suburban parks. Lastly, I will unpack SkeemSaam's mediatory practices. The diagram below is an organogram is very essential in terms of ordering the flow of an organization in terms of its nature and responsibilities

Figure 5 2SkeemSaam Organogram



According to interviewee 006 and the above figure, a committee member from the Melrose North Residents Association and Rate Payers Association started the SkeemSaam intervention. The SkeemSaam Director found a man who was passionate about the environment. The environmentalist was passionate about parks and he was a good interpreter for SkeemSaam since the informal recyclers present in the parks were multilingual. Prior to the environmentalist, the director had Jack who was an ADT security guard who worked around the area who was multilingual and helped the director communicate with the informal recyclers. The environmentalist told the director that they would make a fortune in recycling and SkeemSaam could become a business.

The initial strategy for SkeemSaam was to engage or help informal recyclers sell their recyclable material to the buy-back centers. SkeemSaam was going to earn a commission from the recyclables sold in order to maintain the truck and other administrative costs in running the organization. The SkeemSaam Director and the environmentalist were at first very enthusiastic about the financial gain that can come from SkeemSaam. SkeemSaam, however, struggled in gaining a sufficient commission from the items informal recyclers sold to buy-back centers, therefore, the director decided to get Bendita Gordon who had financial expertise. The environmentalist, the director, and Bendita Gordon were going to be equal business partners. The SkeemSaam Director decided to pay a stipend to ensure that SkeemSaam would function as it is. Aubrey would ensure that the informal recyclers kept the rivers clean.

Interviewee 006 indicated that the environmentalist used to go to the buy-back centers and take the commission that belonged to the SkeemSaam project that would help it to grow into a business or an NGO. The SkeemSaam Director and Bendita Gordon confronted environmentalist for stealing money from the SkeemSaam account (income generated by the sale of the recyclable materials). The money in the SkeemSaam account (commissions) had a purpose of covering the operational costs and management of SkeemSaam.

More conflicts stemmed from decisions regarding financial management as indicated by interviewee 006. Dischem gave SkeemSaam R50 000 and the director used that full R50 000 plus extra to make sure the 126 informal recyclers that are part of SkeemSaam had uniforms, a pair of boots, a pair of gloves, a hat mask and embroidery. While the director spent more than R50 000 Aubrey was furious because they did not keep any of the money for administration. On a financial management perspective the director, emphasized that although they were a start-up business, SkeemSaam firstly is an intervention for the informal recyclers. What is further harming SkeemSaam is the perception that the organization has a lot of money. Interviewee 006 indicated that the homeless informal recyclers thought that the organization made sixteen million Rands.

The managing partners of SkeemSaam had a fall out with the environmentalist and then there was Bendita and the director left to run the organization. The financial mismanagement that existed in the organization further eroded the trust between the informal recyclers and the director. The director points out that she regained it by being accountable to the informal recyclers regarding the financial health of the organization. The managing director of SkeemSaam then met Jackie (Melrose North resident) who would help grow SkeemSaam regarding its public relations and certification.

At the beginning of the SkeemSaam intervention, there has been a lot of confusion between the partners about what it is. In my own analysis, I find that this can stem from the fact that they do not have a clear-cut constitution that clearly states the nature of the organization. It is easy for various actors within the organization to misunderstand its intentions, if SkeemSaam does not have a constitution.

5.3) Park management: James & Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park

Before going into detail about SkeemSaam's mediation practices and the various implications this might have, it is essential to highlight the various stakeholders that are part of SkeemSaam's mediatory practices and where SkeemSaam fits in their picture based on the research data. I first discuss the park management stakeholders in James and Ethel Gray Park and then I highlight the stakeholder structures in Alberts Farm Park.

5.3.1) who manages James and Ethel Gray Park?

Melrose North Ratepayers and Residents Association (MNRRA) and the Birdhaven Ratepayers Association (BRA) manage the park. James and Ethel Gray do have grounded and local representatives such as the councilor and the Johannesburg City Parks Manager. There is no friends of the park structure like in the Alberts Farm Park case however; there is a Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy that is sort of a residents association of the park. All these stakeholders play an integral role in managing the park and therefore SkeemSaam mostly navigates around these stakeholders in order to mediate for the homeless informal recyclers. Through understanding these stakeholders and their position on homeless, we get to understand the various forces that shape SkeemSaam mediatory practices.

5.3.1.1) Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association

"*We are a go-between the residents and we are the voice of the residents. We try to coordinate with organizations such as City Parks or JMPD or any of those kind of guys. So we are a sort of mouthpiece for the residents into those organization". [Melrose North Ratepayers Association Member- Interview 004]*

The Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers association identifies itself as a “mouthpiece” or a representative of the residents in the Melrose North area. According to Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association (2018), the resident association is involved with addressing issues concerning the suburb Melrose North, which range from traffic patterns, events, water pressure, missing manhole covers to rezoning, security to electricity. Residents decided to form the association, which would give it the legal status to address these matters and negotiate with the relevant authorities. The creation of a founding committee and the adoption of a constitution is essential for the formation of the residents association. The City Manager received notification about the creation of the Association by registered post. Residents that join the association are able to raise matters that affect them and reap the benefits of having addressed by a concerted and concerned, legally constituted body (Press Reader, 2017)

James and Ethel Gray Park is part of the Melrose North suburb and over the years, MNNR has been concerned with the safety, security, and cleanliness of the park because these are the concerns of their constituency. According to Press Reader (2017), “residents have been complaining over the years to Metro-watch about the recyclers in the park, the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association has come up with an innovative solution. The Chairman of the association has stated that a committee member has created waste management and environmental pilot project in collaboration with residents that are represented by the association, CAP Security, Joburg City Parks and Zoo, Waste Buyers and the waste pickers.

5.3.1.2) Melrose North Councilor

The Melrose North suburb is part of Ward 74 is an elected representative from the Democratic Alliance (DA). The local elected representative indicated that although his election into office depended on the endorsement of Melrose North residents he believes that the homeless that stay in the park are part of his constituency. He has to try to be a mouthpiece of both constituencies [interview 001, 17 July 2018]. He indicated that the residents have been trying to move informal recyclers out of the park and as a councilor; he has been trying to bridge the gap between the two stakeholders within his ward. The Melrose North councilor knows about the socio-economic dynamics in the South African as well as in the Johannesburg context. He advocates for an inclusive approach in terms of dealing with the homeless people in the park by accepting them to be part of the community.

The Melrose North councilor indicates that City Parks has the legal mandate to manage the park. City Parks consults neighboring communities including the councilor on park management decisions. The executive (which is the mayor and the mayoral committee) and the councilor does give City Park’s guidance in terms of managing the park. The councilor has to navigate this complex system of governance in order to address issues

that are of paramount importance to his constituency. The councilor additionally states that the absence of a clear policy on homelessness in the city has resulted in uncoordinated efforts to deal with the issue. Currently, the council is working on the homelessness policy and therefore it might bring some certainty on how to approach the issue. The Melrose North councilor recognizes his role as a problem solver and mediator. He indicates that he has to face a steep battle between raising the needs of both the residents and the homeless within the council.

The homelessness issue is definitely a key issue within the park as noted by this respondent. The councilor understands that quick fixes such as evictions and the provision of shelters will not solve the homelessness issues in James and Ethel Gray Park. The councilor recognizes the failures of evictions and states that the raids (Carried out by City Parks and JMPD) are futile exercises because the homeless individuals end up coming back to the park later on. Instead of endorsing evictions, he advocates for an inclusive approach and believes that SkeemSaam is the first step in the right direction; however, he still believes that while there are micro-level interventions to solve the issue there is a need for macro-level interventions. The need to improve the economy and education is essential to battle homelessness in the parks. The councilor states that his role as a councilor is an oversight role in terms of service delivery within his ward.

In order to represent his constituency, the councilor indicates that he has developed a number of interpersonal relationships with officials within the organizations that manage the park. He works closely with the park manager including the regional manager and Birdhaven Ratepayers Association (BRA) in order to manage the park effectively.

5.3.1.3) Ihlathi Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy

"I have developed an interest in civic activism in mostly environmental matters. 4 years ago I set up the Melrose Birdhaven Conservancy. This was the first urban conservancy in South Africa to essentially protect the environment in Melrose and Birdhaven" [Ihlathi Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy Member-Interview 002]

According to the Birdhaven Ratepayers Association (2015), The Gauteng Conservancy and Stewardship Association registered the IHlati Melrose-Birdhaven Conservancy. As highlighted from the quotation from the transcript the conservancy has a mission or aim of preserving the diverse natural heritage and give access to parks and wetlands to all residents via a green corridor from Rosebank to Melrose Arch. As part of the plans for this area, Ihlati has been focusing on initiatives such as tree planting and conservation. The conservancy also fights against the negative developmental pressures on the environment and trees around Melrose North (The Heritage Portal, 2017).

“The conservancy is separate from the resident's associations such as the Melrose North Residents Association and the Birdhaven Ratepayers Association but it does bring them into the committee” [Ihlathi Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy Member-Interview 002]

While the James and Ethel Gray Park does not have a Friends of the Park structure the park does have the Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy and the conservancy has a committee that consults and engages the Melrose North and Birdhaven Ratepayers Association regarding planned activities of the conservancy. The committee encourages stakeholder participation in managing the park and fostering collaboration and co-production in the management of James & Ethel Gray Park.

“Issue number one is the management of City Parks. As I have mentioned that City Parks is underfunded and it is understaffed as well. There is one park ranger that comes once every three or four days to the park. There are not enough resources available. The second issue is the issue of vagrancy because of the set-up of the park there is a stream called the Sand Spruit and it runs through it, there is a dam it is thus a fairly convenient place to set up shop [squat]” [Ihlathi Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy Member-Interview 002]

The conservancy does recognize that Johannesburg City Parks has the legal mandate of managing the parks; however, the key issue is that they have been under-resourced. . The conservancy further identifies that James and Ethel Gray Park is a large tract of land, therefore, it is not easy to manage. Due to the City Parks being under-resourced, the conservancy believes that there is a need to find some form of donor support for the management of the park. The conservancy further recognizes that City Parks is quite open and responsive to outside participation. While the conservancy has relationships with the city, it does have relationships with the Johannesburg Forest Alliance that is concerned with park management.

The Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy official identified that homelessness is also one of the key issues besides the low capacity and budget constraints of the Johannesburg City Parks. The conservancy official recognized that SkeemSaam plays an integral role in managing the park and ensuring that there is some level of control among the homeless in the park by preventing recyclers from trashing bits and pieces of litter during their recycling interventions. The third issue is the crime in the park and the IHlathi conservancy official/member indicated that residents tend to associate crime with the vagrants and this has created a tense relationship between SkeemSaam and Birdhaven Ratepayers Association. The IHlathi Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy are more concerned about the preservation of the environment and that the homeless should not damage the trees for firewood during winter.

5.3.1.4) Birdhaven Rate Payers Association

According to Birdhaven Rate Payers Association (2018), the BRA focuses on making the Birdhaven community a vibrant place to live for visitors and residents. The BRA will prevent illegal dumping; the infrastructure, roads, and paths are clean and safe, and the natural environment is safe and unpolluted. The BRA normally organizes regular meetings to update the residents about upcoming events.

Birdhaven works alongside various stakeholders that help manage and maintain the park. In 2014, the BRA's was working alongside the Melrose-Birdhaven Conservancy (iHlathi) to review development proposals that might have an adverse impact on the environment and the James and Ethel Gray Park.

According to Koning (2018a), the Birdhaven Rate Payers Association (BRA) states that it wants a solution that works for the informal recyclers that stay in James and Ethel Gray Park but at the same time that is within the confines and parameters of the law.

5.3.1.5) Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo: Park Manager

According to Ratau *et al*. (2018), the park manager for James and Ethel Gray Park is Mr. Raymond Makananise. The park manager does agree that to a certain extent the park is short-staffed because Johannesburg City Parks to a certain degree is underfunded. The park has approximately three staff members. It is therefore shocking that James and Ethel Gray Park has three staff members who manage and maintain 32 hectares. The fact that the park is understaffed it contributes to inefficiency when it comes to managing and maintaining the park. The park manager does agree that working with the residents association is particularly difficult because of the inefficiencies regarding the management of the park however the residents association need to take into account that there are little resources available.

5.3.1.5) Informal Recyclers

The SkeemSaam Director indicated that she has approximately 309 informal recyclers and they are in the SkeemSaam registration books whereas the director started with two. This is largely due to SkeemSaam's ability to mediate for the informal recyclers in the park. The membership continues to grow to its ability to SkeemSaam ability to mediate between the various stakeholders in terms of accessing much-needed resources however. I will discuss the growth of SkeemSaam's membership later in SkeemSaam mediation section.

5.3.2) who manages Alberts Farm Park?

The Alberts Farm Park has Friends of the Alberts Farm structure; therefore, it is very important to note that this distinguishes it from the James and Ethel Gray Park. The Friends of Alberts Farm Park has a committee that combines all of the various stakeholders in and around the Alberts Farm Park area and this consists the members of the greater Greymont, Albertskroon, and Albertville community. The Friends of Alberts Farm also involves individuals from political structures such as the Ward 86 councilor and surrounding communities around Alberts Farm. In the Alberts Farm Park case there is no park manager. The Friends of Alberts Farm Park forms as an integral role in the management of the park.

5.3.2.1) Friends of Alberts Farm

"We are a volunteer organization made up of a group of residents/environmentalists who look to assist the City of Joburg to improve the park. This encompasses all issues from general maintenance, encouraging the broader community to be aware of the unique aspects of the park, biodiversity, sustainable use of the park by residents as well as the more complex social problems. We are not alone in encountering such as sewerage contamination, drug use in open spaces, homelessness, displaced people and waste recyclers and associated pollution issues" [Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy Member-Interview 005]

The Friends of Alberts Farm is mostly concerned about the environmental sustainability and conservation of the park. According to interview 005 and The Greymont Community Forum (2018), the Friends of Alberts Farm committee represents the surrounding suburbs of Northcliff, Greymont, Albertskroon, Albertsville, and Westbury. It spends some of its time removing weeds/ invasive alien species like kakiebos, blackjacks, and bugweed. The committee of the Friends of Alberts Farm, therefore, is a mouthpiece of the residents concerning the environmental management of the park. While Alberts Farm Park is concerned with the environmental management of the park, it does recognize the complex social issues such as homelessness.(The Greymont Community Forum, 2018)

"The main issues in the park are alien vegetation, people living in the park, insufficient budget allocation from JCPZ to improve infrastructure, contaminated wetlands, inadequate stormwater attenuation, leaking dam wall, pollution (badly maintained sewers, litter, dumping, waste recyclers' debris), apathetic community that like to complain but not be part of the solution/won't contribute with time and or fundraising initiatives" [Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy Member-Interview 005]

The official from the Friends of the Alberts Farm Conservancy indicated that there are a number of key issues that needs considerable attention in Alberts Farm Park and It

seems that that the complex social and environmental issues are perpetuated by City Parks insufficient resources to manage Alberts Farm Park. The Friends of Alberts Farm as a volunteer organization has dedicated itself to play a key role in managing the park through a number of key interventions. The number of key interventions that the Friends of Alberts Farm Park implement range from general maintenance, encouraging the broader community to be aware of the unique aspects of the park, biodiversity, sustainable use of the park and including awareness around homelessness. The Friends of Alberts Park plays these various roles because of the City Parks' inability to access the needed resources to manage the park [Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy Member-Interview 005].

The Friends of Alberts Farm Chairperson believes that homelessness is one of the key issues that are evident in the park because alien vegetation provides space for a large number of homeless people to be virtually unnoticed by the larger community. Initially, the park had mainly waste recyclers. "Many of the original waste recyclers had been there for many years then there was another group of homeless individuals of "Nyaope" addicts who moved in and there was quite a lot of violence (including one attempted rape of a waste recycler's "wife") … as a result, many of the original people left" [Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy Member-Interview 005]. There was also an upturn in petty crime as the Nyaope smokers became more numerous. Gradually new waste recyclers have returned to Alberts Farm Park.

5.3.2.2) Ward 86 Councilor- Alberts Farm

"The councilors in this city do oversight. We do not do service delivery. Service delivery is done by the entity and in this case Alberts Farm will fall on City Parks who do the horticultural maintenance and then JRA they will do the stormwater, the stream that goes through Alberts Farm and then also the Department Infrastructure and Environmental Services and they are the departments they deal with the City" [Ward 86 Councilor-Interview 003]

The councilor of ward 86 stated that his role in Alberts Farm is to conduct oversight therefore when something goes wrong in ward 86 the councilor would then speak to the departments and escalate the issue to the responsible authority in the City of Johannesburg. The councilor does not only work with the city departments such as City Parks and the Department of Infrastructure and Environmental Services he also works with the Friends of Alberts Farm Park to address park management and conservation issues. He is part of the Alberts Farm committee as indicated in the meeting minutes from the Alberts Farm AGM (Gouws, 2016).

He has highlighted a number of key issues that are evident in the park and they range from poor infrastructure maintenance, environmental degradation, and homeless persons that squat in the park. For the purpose of this research, I am more interested in

displaced person who are recyclers in the park. He indicated that homelessness is a complex issue and that a one size fits all approach will not work. He is experienced enough to know that eviction measures used to address homelessness in the park would not work and therefore he recognizes that an initiative or intervention such as SkeemSaam would assist in tackling the issue. Instead of chasing the homeless recyclers away, the councilor states that their presence should be recognized and integrated into the community through the SkeemSaam intervention. He even highlights that with the help of Alberts Farm and SkeemSaam he was able to present the idea to the surrounding residents during a public meeting; however, the residents shut it down due to various reasons he cannot comprehend [Interview 003, 23 July 2018].

5.3.2.3) Johannesburg City Parks Technical Manager

According to Alberts Farm Conservancy (2018), The Alberts Farm Park Technical Manager stated that the Alberts Farm Park is currently in its natural state. The Johannesburg City Parks does not manage all parks that it has but rather looks at the natural state of the environment and then maintains the biodiversity of the park.

5.4) Stakeholder perceptions regarding the causes of homelessness

After highlighting park management structures I now turn to stakeholder perceptions relating to the causes of homelessness in James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park. There seems to be a consensus among the respondents that homelessness is one of the key issues that are evident in James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park. There seem to be diverse perceptions concerning the causes of homelessness within the parks. It should be noted that the way in which stakeholders perceive the causes of homelessness also have an impact on the type of intervention they would prefer to implement on the park and this will be made clear in the section on ‘approaches to deal with homelessness.

5.4.1) Stakeholder perceptions regarding the causes of homelessness in James and Ethel Gray Park

> *“Our economy is in a mess. We do not have depth in our economy and these poor people are there because they can’t get jobs. The reason they cannot get jobs is because they suffered from Bantu Education and we also have to admit that 1994 onwards we haven’t done a good job in solving some of the issues” [Melrose North Councilor Interview-001]*

The above quotation firstly highlights the macro-level causes that push individuals to homelessness and the informal sector e.g. informal recycling activities. The councilor indicated that the reason there is a homelessness issue in James and Ethel Gray Park is due to structural issues within South Africa. Individuals have flocked to the parks to

look for alternative livelihood strategies such as informal recycling activities because the economy is not doing well so there are not enough job opportunities. There is a crisis in the education system due to inefficiencies of the apartheid and post-apartheid government, therefore, this makes it hard for individuals to access the job market and therefore this pushes individuals further into homelessness.

While there are structural, barriers that compound homelessness their physical, appearance might further compound the homelessness issue. Public servants or residents might be discouraged to engage the homeless due to their physical appearance and mental state of mind (psychology and personality).

"As much as people will try to resolve housing issues and in the city, you have large numbers of people coming in as well. It is going to be a continuous problem" [Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association Member Interview 004]

There is a recognition among some of the respondents that housing backlogs within the City of Johannesburg are compounding the issue of homelessness. Since there is a backlog of state housing provision, the homeless individuals occupy available open space within the city and the fact that parks are not properly fenced further attracts the vagrants to these open spaces [Interview 004, 17 July 2018]

"For one it is the available space and it is very essential. It is convenient because there are hiding spots, the reeds around the reservoir and the dam are very good in setting yourself up" [Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy Member Interview 002]

James and Ethel Gray and Alberts Farm Park provide a particular environment or terrain that the homeless use to hide from authorities when they carry out raids. In James and Ethel Gray Park, there are particular hiding spots such as reeds, vegetation in an around the dam that pose good hiding spots for the homeless. The homeless have created methods to conceal themselves from future or possible raids/evictions. "There is a sandspruit in James and Ethel Gray Park that goes into the reservoir and you have the diversion canal and for some reason over the years the City of Johannesburg thought it would be good to fence off the reservoir however this actually allows for everyone to hide inside that fence" [Interview 002 – 18 July 2018]

"There is a problem where a small group of people usually men that have fallen into a homelessness lifestyle, it is usually linked to misfortune in their lives, excessive alcohol consumption and dagga you name it and these are the people we have in the area. It doesn't mean that they [homeless men] sit around idly every day although a lot of them actually do, some of them are engaged in the recycling business but certainly, once the day is done the booze flows readily" [Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy Member Interview 002]

The Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy Member highlighted issues such as alcohol consumption, drug consumption, and homelessness that reinforce each other within Rosebank James and Ethel Gray Park area. The drug and alcohol consumption fueled by the misfortune that is probably linked to job retrenchment issues and the reality that they are homeless vagrants living in the park [Interview 002 - 18 July 2018].

5.4.2) Stakeholder perception regarding the causes of homelessness in Alberts Farm Park

"It all boils down to a broken economy which sees City resources stretched to their limits and a lack of jobs. Very few people sleep in the veld by choice" [Friends of Alberts Farm Park Member Interview 005]

The Friends of Alberts Farm Park Member seems to be blaming the structural issues for the homelessness evident in the park. The poor economy of South Africa is the leading cause of homelessness. There are less employment opportunities therefore, there is bound to be a homelessness issue in the park. The Friends of Alberts Farm stresses that SkeemSaam does agree that people staying in the park is not okay however due to the structural issues that are present and persistent within society the individuals are pushed into homelessness. By understanding that the homeless are not there by choice SkeemSaam and the Friends of Alberts Farm become sympathetic to the homeless recyclers plight.

"There is quite a few of them, you can break them into three groups because so you have your displaced people they are mostly the recyclers and then you also have a small group of people that are homeless and that is a different category and in a certain part of the park there are also people that are drug users but they are separate groups and they don't meet, mingle or mix with each other" [Ward 86 Councilor Interview 003]

In the Alberts Farm Park case study is the Ward 86 councilor distinguishes between the three types of displaced persons within the park. The councilor does view informal recyclers as displaced persons because they are rough sleepers in the park. It is also worth noting that some of the informal recyclers have homes nearby however it might be expensive to go back home on a daily basis, therefore, it is only feasible to squat in the park [Interview 003, 23 July 2018]. While the councilor argues that, there are homeless individuals who are in the park because of drug and mental related issues however, they do not mingle with the informal recyclers.

"There is a massive shortage of social housing and emergency housing. You have to balance what the law says and what they expect from humanity and it is very difficult. The law says that you cannot sleep in Alberts Farm Park but if the homeless are chased out they will go and squat in someone else's porch". [Ward 86 Councilor Interview 003]

There is a mismatch between policy and practice. While the city aims to provide the poor with social housing and shelters, they cannot meet the increasing demand for such housing. During raids, the city should be able to provide temporary emergency housing for the homeless.

5.5) Approaches to deal with homelessness in James and Ethel Gray and Alberts Farm Park

There seems to be a recognition that traditional measures used by the resident's associations and the state in the past have not been fruitful in both case study areas, therefore, there is a call from SkeemSaam for different measures to address the homelessness issue. It has been evident that James and Ethel Gray Park has adopted and welcomed the SkeemSaam intervention as reflected by the responses from the Melrose North Ratepayers and Residents Association that shape the management of James and Ethel Gray Park.

On the other hand, the adoption of the SkeemSaam intervention in the case of Alberts Farm Park has not been fruitful. The residents from Greymont, Albertskroon, and Albertville community contested the adoption of the SkeemSaam intervention. While the Friends of Alberts Farm committee members have endorsed it, however residents buy-in was crucial. The residents of Greymont, Albertskroon, and Albertville community have rather argued for the adoption of the fencing and eviction measures to deal with the vagrancy issue.

While there are local-level interventions in both cases there still seems to be a yearning for state intervention and this can happen through housing delivery and job creation to solve the homelessness issue.

5.5.1) Approaches to deal with homelessness in James and Ethel Gray

The residents in and around James and Ethel Gray Park endorsed the SkeemSaam project. There is more traction in this park compared to Alberts Farm Park. There is a general recognition that eviction measures have do not work and they are time-consuming, resource consuming and futile exercises that do not help solve the homelessness issue. There is a recognition that SkeemSaam’s work is groundbreaking however, there is still a need for state intervention from the City of Johannesburg through housing delivery. It is through the state’s failure to deliver housing that homelessness has become an issue, therefore, the state needs to address this speedily as argued by some of the respondents [Interview 001 and 006].

5.5.1.1) Eviction measures

"We go to the park and clean up and these guys [homeless informal recyclers] get upset, they run away and that other night they are back again and they continue living in there" [Melrose North Councilor Interview 001]

The Melrose North Councilor has identified that eviction of homeless informal recyclers carried out in James and Ethel Gray Park by the City of Johannesburg do not work because the homeless informal recyclers move right back into the park after the raids. What mostly fuels these evictions is the fact that the crime and the dirty state of the park are associated with the homeless informal recyclers. The newspaper abstract below highlight the negative association between criminal activities; the dirty state of the park and homelessness.

"One only has to walk through the park to see the dirty state it is in," said Beata Gadziwski, a resident in the area.

Gadziwski added that she walked through the park daily with her dog, and many times would leave the park with a full bag of litter.

"There are countless litter dumps hidden in-between long grass and littered into the stream running across the park by those claiming to be re-cyclists," she said.

"Many homeless people stay here, one even threatened me with a brick. Some of the homeless people attack people, you can't go there alone."

According to Ward 74 councillor Jack Cooper, the littering in the park has been an issue since 2011 when he was elected councillor.

Figure 5 3Rosebank Killarney Gazette Abstract: Upkeep Issues in James and Ethel Gray Park

I am quite hamstrung because there is no coordinated effort. "I think in the council they are trying to get a cohesive policy but I don't know if it will have any teeth to it" [Melrose North Councilor Interview 001]

While there have been micro-interventions in the form of evictions there has not been enough clarity on macro level interventions to address homelessness. The Melrose North councilor including the Alberts Farm councilor can both agree that this is a widespread issue within the city and therefore without clarity, the most popular method has been evictions. Residents favor eviction measures however, they have not worked within the city because it has become apparent that the same individuals that are evicted come back to the park as indicated by the Friends of Alberts Farm members.

According to Ward 74 councilor Jack Cooper

"I feel the City of Joburg has no clear policy on vagrants/homeless people or the political will to face up and deal with the issue."

Jenny Moodley, spokesperson of City Parks confirmed that the utility had worked closely with Metro police to assist in carrying out random operations to remove illegal housing structures in green spaces such as the James and Ethel Gray Park.

Figure 5 4Rosebank Killarney Abstract: Upkeep Issues in James and Ethel Gray Park

What is also of concern is that during these raids the homeless individuals end up losing the little possession that they had that formed part of their livelihoods because during raids their possessions are set alight. Setting the possessions of the homeless alight pushes them deeper into homelessness because it hinders their inability to accumulate resources so they can move away from homelessness.

5.5.1.2) The politics of relocation

The politics of relocation is significant in the continuing discussion of homelessness of the informal recyclers because the waste-pickers do not have permanent residence in the park and do not have the means to access accommodation in the area. It is also worth noting that the homeless also need to stay in the park in order to watch over their waste stockpiles.

"I want to make sure that these guys get out of the park. They are living in the parks in the first place because their commodity, which is their big bags of waste, recyclable waste, can't be stored in a normal situation" [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

While SkeemSaam has an aim of preventing homeless informal recycler's eviction from the park by mediating between the recyclers, the state and residents associations the SkeemSaam Director still sees it as a temporary solution. However, the key issue is stockpiling. The Melrose North councilor stated that the homeless informal recyclers like to sleep next to their trolleys. They are very possessive of their "turf" The informal recyclers have to protect their commodity and if their place of residence is far from their commodity. The recyclers are in constant fear that someone will steal their commodity therefore, they have to watch over their stockpiles. While the SkeemSaam Director thinks that relocation is a good strategy she highlights that the high costs of property near the park and the fact that the NGO runs on limited funding might prevent her from relocating the men. At the moment, she has to mediate in terms of allowing the men to stay in the park. However, the waste-pickers remain powerless in the spaces they

occupy. A fundamental question becomes central: does this form of community participation provide the homeless waste-pickers with voice and power?

5.5.1.3) Integration: the minimalist approach

"The public tends to regard them as an urban nuisance and a traffic hindrance, a perception borne out of ignorance. Lowenthal says this is slowly changing, as the presence of the men becomes a permanent feature in our parks and on our streets, and people become aware of what they do. "In some residential areas, they are getting some credit for the work they do in cleaning the city's streets and parks and for waste recycling," says Lowenthal" (South African Jewish Report, 2018)

An informal recycler said "Before SkeemSaam, police would arrive and burn all their belongings, but thanks to the organization, the men are now protected" (Koning, 2018b)

Relocation to temporary accommodation and eviction measures have not and will not work as indicated earlier, it seems that SkeemSaam has been arguing instead for the recognition and integration of the informal recyclers into the park and surrounding communities. By making residents aware of the importance of the informal recyclers in the environmental sustainability of the park and the surrounding community then they would accept them in the end as part of the community and not resort to eviction measures. The SkeemSaam Director from the above quote even hints that the residents begin to contribute to the separation at source initiatives; therefore, this will be beneficial to the recyclers.

5.5.1.4) Provision of housing

"The solution could be to find homes for the homeless people and stop them being homeless and give them a home but that is a much bigger picture. This bigger picture involves lots of money from the government, social welfare and a whole chain of putting people into lists and getting them housing"[Melrose North Residents and Rate Payers Association Member Interview 003]

"I think there is a need for inclusionary housing, especially in wealthier suburbs. The state needs to build housing because the private sector will not do it. There is a need for state intervention" [Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy Interview 002]

Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association member first praised the minimalist and micro-level intervention, which is the SkeemSaam intervention but believes that there should be macro-level intervention such as the allocation of housing. The Melrose North Conservancy Chair highlight that the state is the key driver of the allocation of housing and inclusionary housing that could address homelessness. The City of Johannesburg does not have the capacity to meet the growing demand for

housing. Inclusionary housing has also received opposition from the privileged communities however; it has implemented various interventions in the south of Johannesburg.

I think in the council they are trying to get a cohesive policy but I don't know if it will have any teeth to it. [Melrose North Councilor- Interview 001]

There seems to be uncertainty regarding the draft policy regarding homelessness. By the above quotation, the councilor is expressing his uncertainty regarding the homelessness policy.

5.5.2) Approaches to deal with homelessness in Alberts Farm Park

The committee member of Alberts Farm Park does agree that traditional measures have not worked in addressing homelessness in the Alberts Farm Park case therefore there needs to be a SkeemSaam intervention that is implemented in the park. There seems to be strong resistant among the conservative members of the surrounding communities because the homeless are viewed as criminals. The Ward 86 councilor argues that SkeemSaam needs to reformulate their mediation methods in order to win over the residents associations.

5.5.2.1) Eviction Measures

Residents Associations and the state used eviction measures in Alberts Farm Park in order to deal with the homeless informal recyclers. Greymont Residents Forum with the City of Johannesburg organized evictions in order to enforce by-laws in their community.

Clive arranged for Park Ranger and Metro Police to do a blitz two Saturday's ago to enforce by-laws, particularly pertaining to alcohol and drug use, littering and vagrants using the stream. We thank them for walking through the Park and they have agreed to do this on a regular basis.

Figure 5 5Greymont Residents Forum Meeting Minutes Quote, June 10, 2014

"Via 2 different ward councilors, various arms of the City of Johannesburg have been consulted –Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD), Citizen Relationship and Urban Management (CRUM), etc. SAPS have been engaged by the community safety bodies. Various raids and operations have been planned. All have been overwhelming failures" [Friends of Alberts Farm Park Member Interview 005]

"For the last 10 years I can assume the residents would make an appointment with the JMPD and with SAPs and with the environmental health department and they would go in and do a raid, they would take whatever little possession that the homeless had and they would set it on fire" [Ward 86 Councilor Interview 002]

Similar to the James and Ethel Gray Park case the traditional measures such as evictions have not worked properly in dealing with homelessness in Alberts Farm Park as indicated by the interviewee 002. The Friends of Alberts Farm Park member stated they would rather like to see a programme in place where the homeless receive assistance from the community in order to try to improve their situation rather than see people chased off and terrorized simply because they are poor. In the last 10 years, the homeless experienced evictions and raids; however, they would come back to Alberts Farm Park as indicated by the Councilor of Ward 86. Similar to the James and Ethel Gray Park case the homeless would lose their possession during these raids because they would be set alight and some of these possessions consisted of their ID documents that could be used to access state services that would have helped them out of poverty and homelessness.

5.5.2.2) Integration and social-upliftment

"We believed as a committee that the SkeemSaam initiative was worth a try. Unfortunately, we are surrounded by a very conservative middle-class community who simply shot it down in 2 public meetings. This was due largely to a few well-known community members who agitated behind the scenes causing panic by saying we were going to be allowing homeless people to live in Alberts Farm permanently. So obviously the community freaked and did everything they could to block us" [Friends of Alberts Farm Park Member Interview 005]

The Friends of Alberts Farm Park endorsed the SkeemSaam intervention because eviction measures were not working. For the intervention to be implemented the SkeemSaam intervention also needed to be endorsed by the surrounding residents of Alberts Farm. It seems that the conservative elements in the community did not agree in implementing the intervention. The conservative elements within the community still believe that raids and evictions are important in dealing with the homelessness issue in the park. According to the Ward 86 Councilor, the SkeemSaam intervention recognizes and acknowledges the recyclers however, the other categories of the displaced person within the park are not the focus of the intervention.

The Ward 86 councilor argued that the aim to implement the SkeemSaam intervention is not entirely lost in Alberts Farm Park. The SkeemSaam intervention needs reformulation and repackaging. The councilor believes that an endorsement of the SkeemSaam intervention by the City of Johannesburg could potentially assist their plan to implement it.

"As a committee, we would rather help them and uplift them. As we have done in the past, we give them an odd job. There is a fellow called Oscar who lives in the park and he picks up the dog poo for example. People are welcome to give him donations. We have security guards for the park run Eric is one of the guys and people give him donations but generally, people are negative. We invited SkeemSaam to come to assist these people and we got a very negative response from the community, they thought that by helping them through giving them a financial footing that therefore we will encourage more vagrancy into the park." [Friends of Alberts Farm Committee-Interviewee 007]

While SkeemSaam failed to garner endorsements from the surrounding community, SkeemSaam notified the informal recyclers to keep the park clean so that the residents will be less inclined to call for raids and evictions in the Alberts Farm Park area. The Friends of Alberts Farm Park also engage with the homeless informal recyclers on a constant basis but cannot create employment opportunities since they are a volunteer organization and do not have resources to do so. The organization, therefore, creates opportunities, where the homeless could assist during parks, runs or in the maintenance of the park and asks the community to make donations as part of the compensation package.

"I think that one of the problems that should be added is that there is no recycling site that is close by. They actually have to walk quite a distance. I think that is a problem. Another issue is that the people around here have a negative attitude and they end up not helping the recyclers by making recyclable materials accessible. I think over here there is not much recycling compared to wealthier areas such as Melrose. I think because the recyclers here do not make a lot of money they have become less active. Therefore they are a bit more lazy and do not do much work. I think SkeemSaam is a good initiative but you have to look at the levels of recycling that can make SkeemSaam successful. I think that for SkeemSaam to work the community has to have total buy in to support these men on a regular basis" [Friends of Alberts Farm Committee-Interviewee 007]

There are still shortcomings that will potentially affect SkeemSaam's operations in Alberts Farm Park even if SkeemSaam acquires the key endorsements from residents. The recycling companies are far away therefore it would cost more to transport their recyclables. Unlike Melrose North where the recycling companies are close by and Melrose Arch presents further recycling opportunities.

5.5.2.3) Fencing the park

"The residents are trying to raise funds to fence the park. That would mean that you would have one or two access points open from 6 to 6 then after that, you will close it

and lock it with the help of the security companies then it would be very easy to do access control because people cannot enter" [Ward 86 Councilor- Interview 003]

The residents are in support of the fencing intervention since the eviction measures are not working and there is little support for the SkeemSaam intervention. Some of the residents view the homeless as criminals therefore fencing the park will help restrict the access of the homeless individuals.

"In November last year, the surrounding community voted in favor of fencing the park to prevent increased displaced people and homeless people relocating to the site, as well as drug users, potential criminals, thieves of the indigenous plants, excessive noise at night, illegal dumping and general no adherence to by-laws (Fourie, 2018)"

"At the organization's monthly managing committee meeting on 12 February, frustrations grew. Some felt that not enough community members are helping to keep the park going and fear the worst – a lost dam, overgrowing alien invasive species, and increased crime" (Fourie, 2018)

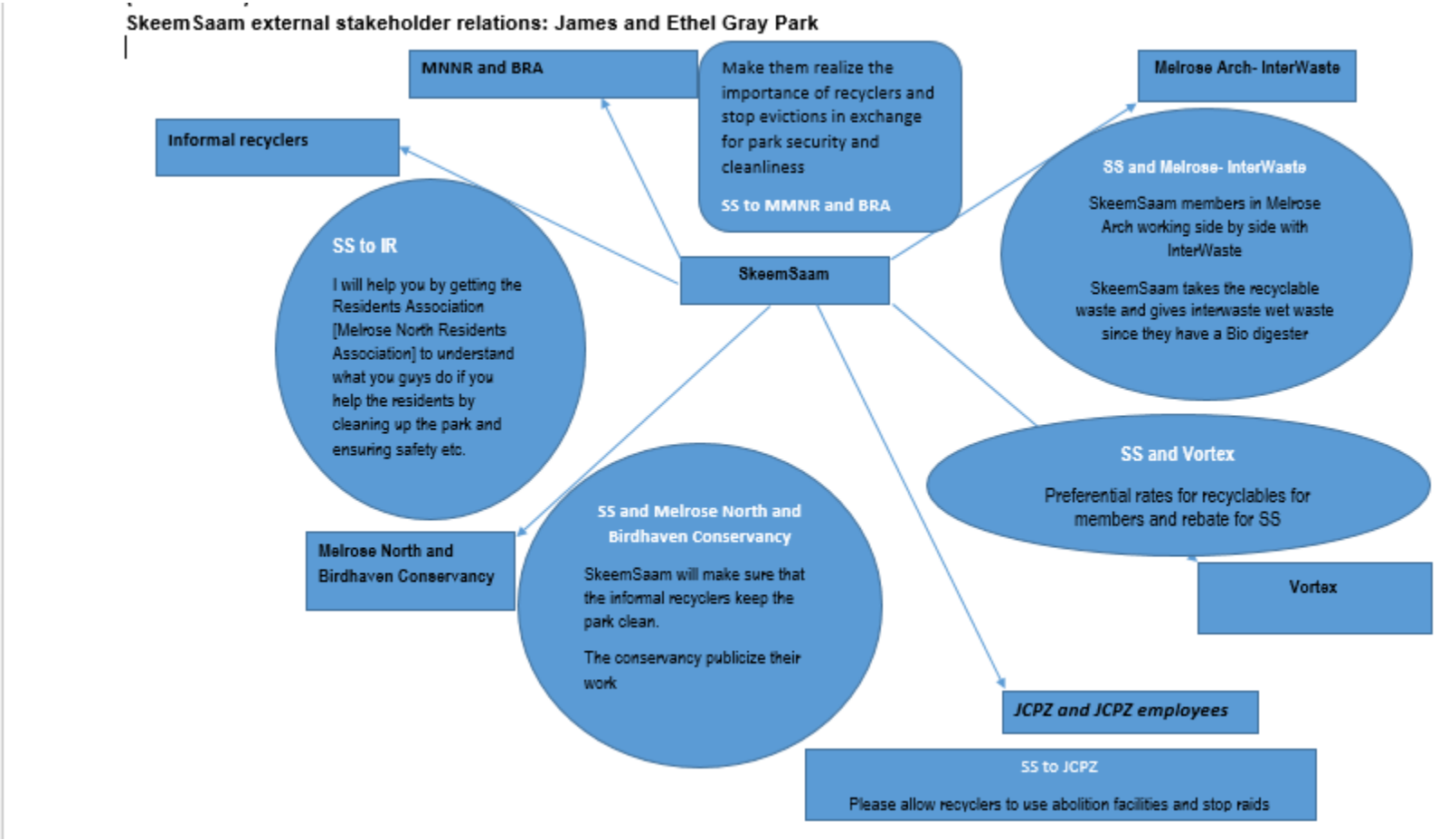
According to Fourie (2018), there needs to be fundraising involved in order to put in place the 1.5 million rand fence around the park however there has only been a 3000-rand donation. The Friends of Alberts Farm Park committee member expressed her frustration at the residents for complaining about homeless individuals but not coming up with strategic and feasible actions to deal with the issue. The Ward councilor of Ward 86 believes that a follow-up meeting with SkeemSaam is crucial for the development of a strategy to get the buy-in from residents.

During the 2017 November managing committee the local security company, SCP Security, was also on board to monitor the park to help keep it safe. They will also lock and unlock the gates every day.

5.6) SkeemSaam's mediation practices

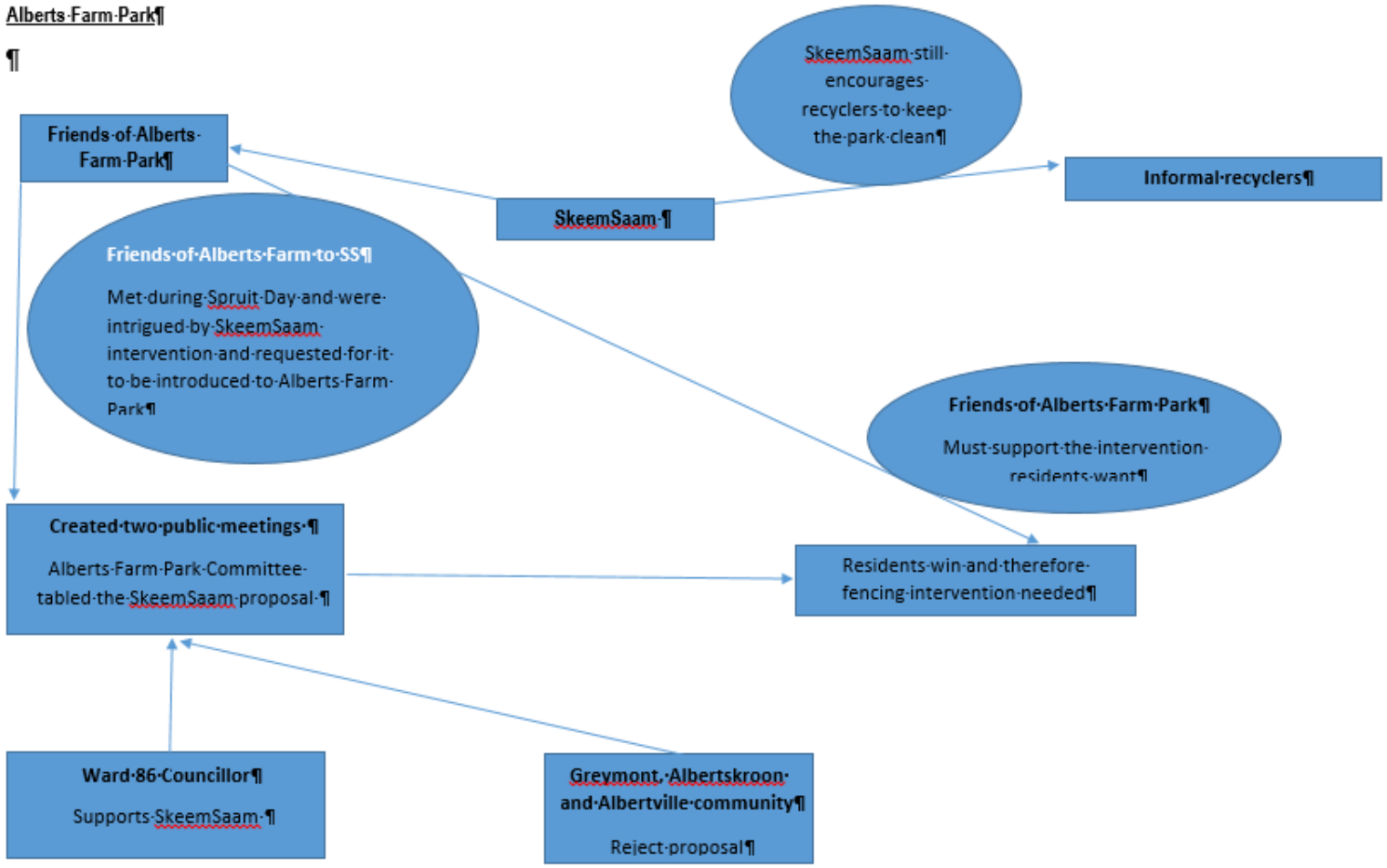
SkeemSaam works with a variety of stakeholders that exist in James and Ethel Gray Park and these interactions will be unpacked thoroughly in this section. The diagrams below show a summary of the interactions and it seems that SkeemSaam has a complex interaction in Melrose North compared to Greymont.

Figure 5 6SkeemSaam external stakeholder relations: James and Ethel Gray Park



The diagram below shows the interaction between SkeemSaam and stakeholders in Alberts Farm Park. SkeemSaam, did not receive endorsements from the residents who are around the park, therefore, the intervention has not made much progress as the Melrose North case study.

Figure 5 7SkeemSaam external stakeholder relations: Alberts Farm Park



In analyzing the interviews, this report sets out an argument around the effectiveness of SkeemSaam through the processes of mediation. This section looks at certain themes such as competing claims, building legitimacy from the bottom and from the top, positionality and the instrumentalization of participation. Through the exploration of these themes, through Lisa's narrative, it becomes clear that she is an effective leader; however, the analysis will also evaluate her community leadership capabilities.

5.6.1) Competing claims and the need for mediation

There is a recurring theme around competing claims for the park among the various different stakeholders involved with managing the parks. In the case of James & Ethel Gray Park, the resident's associations wanted a safe and clean park and their claims gained support from the state because they live in close proximity to the park and they use it daily. The Melrose North Ratepayers and Residents Association (MNNR) at first did not want homeless people in their park because they were associated with criminal activities and the recyclers were trashing the area. In the past MNNR with the help of Johannesburg City Parks (JCPZ) and the Johannesburg Metro Police Department (JMPD) has been evicting the homeless within the park. However, the homeless waste pickers would find their way back to the park and claim that staying in the park was critical for their livelihood. Importantly, these claims represent vast gaps in power. Therefore, a discussion on rights vs. favors becomes central, the residents' associations seem to tolerate the urban miners in the parks and frame this tolerance as a favor and in exchange, they have to keep the park clean and watch out for any criminal elements.

"SkeemSaam started with [Lisa] working for the Melrose North Residents and Rate Payers Association (MNNR), we didn't like guys living in our park, and so what we used to do is phone up the JMPD and get the guys kicked out. The guys still ended up coming to the park to sleep so it kept on being like a catch 22 situation, like a hamster wheel experience, I decided the only way to understand what's going on is to make something different so I went and approached the guys and asked why exactly are you here and they explained that they are recyclers." [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

SkeemSaam acts as a mediator between various stakeholders. The residents association is visible to the state because their residents own property around the area and therefore could easily demand their rights from the city. We can see this by residents in the past being able to call upon raids on informal recyclers in James and Ethel Gray Park. Therefore, this 'catch 22' situation arises because of the conflict between two different groups of people. Both the urban miners and the residents exist in the same geographical space, but the spaces in which each participates are very different. It is therefore essential that SkeemSaam appeared through the MNNR that was the major power holder in this regard. The SkeemSaam Director is part of MNNR and therefore it is easier to advance the SkeemSaam intervention and mandate.

5.6.2) Invented and Invited spaces: having a voice

"Melrose North has a monthly meeting, our guys in the park it's random. I do not talk to the Bird haven's Association. If there's a huge problem we all communicate via city parks" [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

"So now there was a meeting, a whole lot of the RA's get together and the biggest challenge for most of the RAs is to keep their spruit clean. So it is something called Spruit Day. Spruit Day heard about what's happening in James and Ethel Grey and they invited me to their meeting on the Spruit Day challenge and I told them [Friends of Alberts Farm] what was happening here in Melrose North and they asked me to come and bring SkeemSaam to their areas" [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

SkeemSaam plays an important role within different spaces of participation and the concepts of invited and invented spaces become useful. It is important to recognize that these spaces are not dichotomous and they exist on a spectrum. Miraftab (2004) states that invented and invited spaces are mutually constitutive. Power holders create invited spaces of participation and the stakeholders from the bottom invent spaces of participation. SkeemSaam plays a critical role in the navigation of both of these spaces. The MNNR meetings, Spruit Day Events and other meetings with conservancies such as the Friends of Alberts Farm meetings generally exist in invited spaces, and it is clear that not everyone is welcome in these spaces. The waste-pickers do not enter these spaces and therefore SkeemSaam enters this space on their behalf. Invited spaces are useful for SkeemSaam because they enable it to expand the ideologies of SkeemSaam. Waste pickers invent spaces of participation because they are within an informal setting in the park.

5.6.3) Legitimacy from the top and the bottom

Legitimacy is a core idea in understanding the role SkeemSaam plays in Johannesburg parks. Building these two forms of legitimacy happens through extremely different channels and they reinforce each other. Interviewee 006 highlights the different channels she uses to create legitimacy in the eyes of the residents association and the waste-pickers. It is significant that Lisa places equal emphasis on both of these groups and both mandates are important to her.

<u>Legitimacy from the top: environmental sustainability and safety</u>

"The recyclers were cleaning the parks and helping to be the eyes and ears of the community by watching the comings and goings of all those frequenting the park," says Lowenthal. "In turn, residents have been encouraged to separate their domestic waste

at home to make it easier, healthier and more dignified for the men to collect" (South African Jewish Report, 2018)



Figure 5 8SkeemSaam Clean Up (702,2017)

SkeemSaam creates legitimacy from the top as a mediator and it begins with knowing the concerns that various stakeholders have concerning the park. SkeemSaam knows and can acknowledge that the resident's associations and conservancies care a lot about the pristine environment including safety issues in the park. There were perceptions among the residents that homeless informal recyclers are trashing the area through their recycling interventions and perpetuate crime, therefore, this fueled eviction measures in the past in James and Ethel Gray Park. The conservancies such as the iHlathi are concerned that recyclers light fires by using trees in the area during winter. SkeemSaam had to take into account all of these concerns and mobilize the homeless informal recyclers to deal with these issues and in doing so there was cooperation concerning resident's waste separation at source that benefited the recyclers. By addressing concerns of the residents association and conservancies especially in the case of James and Ethel Gray Park, SkeemSaam is able to advocate for the needs of the waste pickers. We can see this when the resident's associations, Dischem and the

state through Pikitup are allocated certain donations and resources (uniforms, plastic bags) to SkeemSaam.

"Educate people as to why people are living in the park and also educate people as to the benefits of the guys living in the park." [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

SkeemSaam has an environmental education objective and how this further advances the director's legitimacy of SkeemSaam at the top is important. As indicated earlier that residents, conservancies and City Parks care about the pristine environment of the park. SkeemSaam through its objective of environmental education gives resident's, conservancies and City Parks a deeper understanding of the importance of the homeless informal recyclers in the park they can stop evicting them and regard them as essential members of the community. The mindset shift is very evident in James and Ethel Gray Park as indicated by the SkeemSaam Director. She further publicizes the work SkeemSaam does in the parks in order to educate the public about the importance of the homeless informal recyclers being in the park. The previous sentence highlights the theme titled production of knowledge, which debunks conservative outlooks among the residents concerning homeless informal recyclers.

Her effectiveness to gain legitimacy from the top (MNRRA, JCPZ and JMPD) has increased the popularity of SkeemSaam. Gaining legitimacy from the top meant that MNRRA, JCPZ and JMPD are less hostile to the homeless informal recyclers and therefore this bolstered her credibility at the bottom among her constituency.

Legitimacy from the bottom: family and representativeness

In creating legitimacy from the bottom, Interview 006 deploys the emotive rhetoric around family and she argues that SkeemSaam is ultimately a family – that is what defines the organization. During the interview, it was very clear that SkeemSaam means family.

"Once we had a family and people just want to be part of a family. That's what SkeemSaam is, SkeemSaam is a family and the minute somebody feels connected, that's probably why the guys wanted to be part of SkeemSaam." [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

"We [SkeemSaam followers] have developed and built a relationship and I think it's because of the honesty, because we fight because we scream at each other" [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

Interview 006 emphasizes that SkeemSaam is able to drive change because of its ability to build relationships and trust. The SkeemSaam Director states that they argue with each other, which is the quality of a family. Family's fight because of the element of

unconditionally, that even if there is an argument, the bonds forged will become stronger. In her focus on relationship building and trust, she builds legitimacy which points to Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura's (2014) idea of the personalization of the representatives. Although she is completely different from the waste-pickers, she includes herself in the proclamation – we are a family, she aligns herself with the men, creating an extremely genuine form of legitimacy. Therefore, informal bonds can be useful; Interview 006 is there because she is part of the family and shares in their struggle.

Therefore, Interview 006 use of the word 'family' instead of 'organization' is significant. Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura (2014) highlight the fact that legitimacy from the bottom involves issues of representativeness. There are two meanings of representativeness; the first is about reflecting the identity and experiences of followers, the leader as being 'one of us'. Interestingly, Lisa is by no means one of the waste-pickers and cannot relate to their experiences, but the theme family is so pertinent. 'Family' implies that even if she wanted to leave, she could not do this. The second meaning is about being the most "qualified and efficient', one who is "able to advance our agenda". We can see in the below quotation that her legitimacy as a mediator is being strengthened by her ability to prevent further evictions of the homeless informal recyclers. These two meanings are important because interview 006 has shown the capacity to exist in both spaces. Her 'outsider' status may be conflicting with the idea of the family but it is clear that she has been effective in building legitimacy from below.

"[prospective members] started approaching me and saying please can we become part of SkeemSaam because they realized that these guys [men working with SkeemSaam] were not being harassed by the police [Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department] and City Parks [Johannesburg City Parks (JCPZ)] because they were doing something right [cleaning the park properly and making sure that the park is safe for residents]"
[SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

Improved access to facilities in and around the park for the informal recyclers

What SkeemSaam has further done is also create a relationship between the informal recyclers and Johannesburg City Parks officials that are at the park such as the general worker. The general worker will allow the informal recyclers to use the ablution facilities as long as they use the facilities appropriately. SkeemSaam further compensates a general worker for cleaning after the men use the ablution facilities. The SkeemSaam Director states that the general worker still asks money from the informal recyclers to access the ablution facilities even when the SkeemSaam director pays the general worker. The SkeemSaam Director, therefore, has tried to resolve the issue with the general worker by having a discussion with the general worker.

While Jack the multilingual ADT security guard improves communication between the recyclers and the SkeemSaam Director, he also allows the informal recyclers to use his nearby job posts in an estate to charge their cellphones and stays watch over their valuable items.

5.6.4) Positionality and Networking

This section looks at SkeemSaam's institutional positionality. I explore SkeemSaam's ability to reinforce its impact between its beneficiaries and the state and residents associations. Another topic that I analyzed is SkeemSaam Director Positionality as this is central to their ability to mediate competing claims and further assist in securing her legitimacy from the bottom and from the top. SkeemSaam consists of residents from Melrose North who are white middle-class women that also form a part of the Melrose North Ratepayers and Residents Association. It is important to draw on the race and societal position of the founders because it is relevant to the themes of networking and social capital. Additionally, SkeemSaam consists of individuals that are experienced in community work due to their prior experience and therefore this can assist them to mobilize networks and individuals to implement the SkeemSaam intervention.

The SkeemSaam's ability to build networks is very important for its mediation processes in James and Ethel Gray Park. Being part of the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association has made it easier for them to advance the SkeemSaam intervention. SkeemSaam, therefore, creates relationships with individuals that are connected that might help them expand the reach of SkeemSaam. SkeemSaam ability to create relationships with Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association further helps her expand her ideology to other surrounding parks.

ASOLUTION has finally been found to the problem of informal recyclers in the James & Ethel Gray Park in Melrose.

Residents have been complaining for years to Metrowatch about the mess the recyclers apparently made in the park.

Now the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association have come up with an innovative solution.

According to the association's chairperson James Peech, a committee member, Lisa Lowenthal, pointed out there were five waste recycle pickers living in the park – who have openly done so for years.

"The reality is there are people living in the park on a permanent, albeit illegal, basis. The fact this could encourage illegal squatters to move in is a concern. With this in mind, Lisa devised a waste-management and environmental pilot project in collaboration with residents, represented by the association, CAP Security, Joburg City Parks and Zoo, waste buyers and the waste pickers.

(Press Reader, 2017)[4]

What is very important is SkeemSaam's ability to create networks among individuals of various skills including resources from businesses and organizations in order to execute the SkeemSaam project. The Director of SkeemSaam previous experience as a community facilitator has given her expertise in fundraising and mobilizing resources. We can see this in the case of the Dischem foundation donations and her previous relationship with the Dischem Foundation in community and social work has helped her in mobilizing resources for SkeemSaam project.

"So Aubrey and I got together and he was an environmental specialist, I was so excited. He is passionate about the parks and he was great for me because he was a good interpreter even though I managed prior to him because I had Jack, you remember Jack (to Mfundo) the security guy, and my ladies [Jackie and Bendita] would help me and we stumbled along. But having Aubrey side-by-side with me was great and then Aubrey told me we could make a fortune of money. I was very excited, this could become like a business" [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

[4] Solution to Litter a Walk in the Park.
https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/the-star-early-edition/20170526/281633895185396

"We needed somebody that was going to be able to understand the finances because we weren't making one cent. So I said let's get Bendita Gordon. Bendita is from franchise directions [specialist]. She understands business so Aubrey, myself and Bendita were going to go into business as equal partners" [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]



The Dis-Chem Foundation has donated R50 000 to a collective of urban waste miners, to assist them with proper equipment and safer gear to be more efficient in their work.

Skeemsaam is a pilot project involving a collective of waste collectors who live in the James and Ethel Grey Park in Johannesburg.

Lisa Lowenthal, a member of the residents association in Melrose North, started to work with the urban miners living in the park to create a mutually beneficial programme.

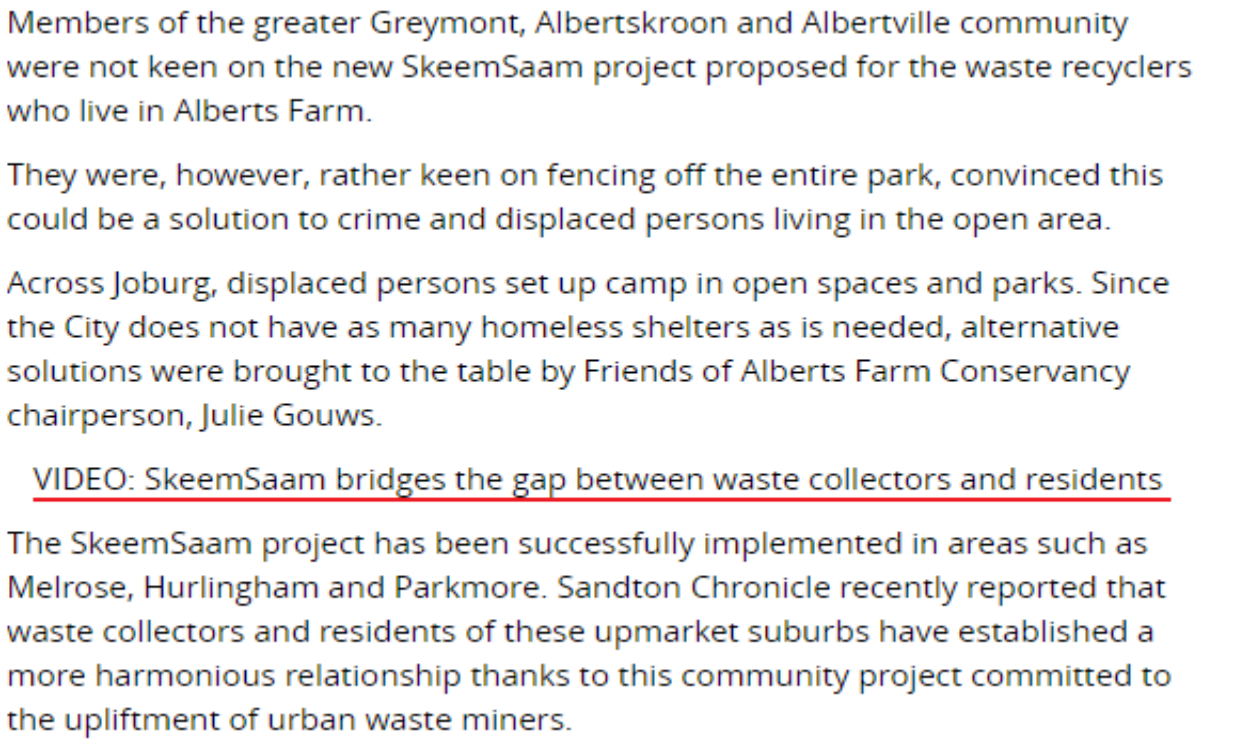
The initiative sees miners take responsibility for keeping the park clean and in return, they get support from the collective and preferential payment rates from local recycling centres.

Figure 5 9702 2017 Article Abstract: Dischem donates R 50000 to Waste Collectors Project

These quotes emphasize the importance of network building in SkeemSaam and that is extremely important to enable the Director of SkeemSaam to be an effective community leader. The theme of social capital is used in order to understand the ways in which network building contributes to Lisa's role as a community leader. SkeemSaam's social, economic and political position within society influences the kind and extent of SkeemSaam's social relations and networks. The SkeemSaam's Director social capital finds expression her ability to get external funding for SkeemSaam.

Due to the endorsement of the SkeemSaam intervention by the Melrose North and Residents Association, it was able to enter certain spaces such as the Spruit Day. During events such as Spruit Day SkeemSaam was able to increase its networking capabilities and got in contact with the Friends of the Alberts Farm Conservancy that were interested in the intervention even though it wasn't endorsed in Alberts Farm Park.

While the Alberts Farm councilor and the Friends of Alberts Farm Park endorsed SkeemSaam it still needed the buy-in and endorsement from the surrounding resident's associations of Greymont, Albertskroon, and Albertville. However, the residents from the area shot it down. The councilor from Alberts Farms believes that while surrounding residents shoot down the SkeemSaam intervention there is a need for more networking. Therefore, it becomes clear that in transferring SkeemSaam to different localities, networking is critical.



Members of the greater Greymont, Albertskroon and Albertville community were not keen on the new SkeemSaam project proposed for the waste recyclers who live in Alberts Farm.

They were, however, rather keen on fencing off the entire park, convinced this could be a solution to crime and displaced persons living in the open area.

Across Joburg, displaced persons set up camp in open spaces and parks. Since the City does not have as many homeless shelters as is needed, alternative solutions were brought to the table by Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy chairperson, Julie Gouws.

VIDEO: SkeemSaam bridges the gap between waste collectors and residents

The SkeemSaam project has been successfully implemented in areas such as Melrose, Hurlingham and Parkmore. Sandton Chronicle recently reported that waste collectors and residents of these upmarket suburbs have established a more harmonious relationship thanks to this community project committed to the upliftment of urban waste miners.

[5]

Figure 5 10Northcilff Melville Times 2017: Community wants fence up says no to SkeemSaam in Alberts Farm Park

(Fourie, 2017a)

5.6.5) Neoliberal governmentality

"All I wanted to do was help them realize that they are not a charity they are their own [micro-entrepreneurs]." [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

"In the interim, I am now looking to find business opportunities for our micro-entrepreneurs in neighboring areas, for example, we have Melrose Arch right here on

[5] VIDEO: SkeemSaam bridges the gap between waste collectors and residents https://sandtonchronicle.co.za/186835/skeemsaam-bridges-the-gap-between-waste-collectors-and-residents/

the corner and I have approached Melrose Arch with my current partner Jackie"
[SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

It is clear that SkeemSaam's Director is able to mediate and build legitimacy as a community leader; however, there must be a consideration of the consequences of her leadership in spaces of empowerment. The theme of entrepreneurship was a central theme that emerged from the interviews. This is significant because of the pervasiveness of entrepreneurial discourse in the Global South, in the light of an expanding informal economy. In expanding on the theme of entrepreneurship, the literature on participation and neoliberalism is imperative. The Director of SkeemSaam states that SkeemSaam is not a charity; it is a means to create employment for urban waste-pickers.



Figure 5. 10 SkeemSaam Informal Recyclers carrying waste to Buy-Back Centers

There is a danger that cheap labor is associated with empowerment or entrepreneurship therefore this depoliticizes empowerment and strips it away from its meaning of being transformative. SkeemSaam believes that the work that the informal recyclers will eventually empower them however in fact it will not in the end because it is

still cheap labor. This theme is important because it speaks to particular critiques of the literature on the informal sector, particularly the informal economy. It is also worth noting that these jobs are precarious and there are no work related benefits.

SkeemSaam aims to mediate and facilitate relationships between informal recyclers and businesses. SkeemSaam has begun to instrumentalize the participation of the "men" and that has profound implications. We can see that SkeemSaam's conceptualization of informal recycler's role in participation is in line with the neoliberal agenda. SkeemSaam director sees the informal recyclers as businessmen who are their own entrepreneurs, however, this is not taking into account that the work they do is still largely cheap labor. SkeemSaam members are not challenging the fact that buyback centers still make most of the profit when informal recyclers do most of the heavy lifting.

According to Bherer *et al* (2017), instrumentalizing participation also falls under the risk of falling the category of thin citizenship, which is short term, transactional and individualistic exchanges. The instrumentalization of participation has the risk of romanticizing poverty. Romanticizing participation can led to a form of delusion where we see cheap labor as empowerment. The Director's conceptualization of SkeemSaam's followers as entrepreneurs is in line with Mariftab's (2004a) argument that the suppression of the potential of participation to drive radical change is due to its depoliticized/ technician. SkeemSaam's Director has restricted the recyclers' participation at the individual level (minimalist approach) and therefore it has reinforced hegemonic developmental discourses. In other words, structural issues are still prevalent. SkeemSaam's conceptualization of participation fails to challenge that fact-recycling companies in Johannesburg make most of the money. The informal recycler's participation is a classic case of sweat equity and cheap labor. Samson (2007) argues that instrumentalization of waste picker's participation results in limited skills transference and fails to bring about long-term change.

"However, those rebates give us about R5000 or R6000 a month and that covers transport costs to the drivers, it covers t-shirts and whatever we need" [SkeemSaam Director Interview 006]

There are rebates that SkeemSaam gets from the buy-back centers because of the business that SkeemSaam brings to the buy-back centers (e.g. informal recyclers selling their materials to Vortex). The small rebates pay for transport costs, paying for the drivers, maintaining and repairing the delivery truck. The truck was a donation to the SkeemSaam intervention from an employee from WH Auctioneers.

The informal recyclers get to decide how much they want to earn based on how much recyclables they collect. The informal recyclers have to arrange collection schedules with the SkeemSaam Director. Rebates are not sufficient in paying for all the costs in maintaining the truck, therefore, the Director has ordered the informal recyclers to pay

approximately R150 per trip. Previously the SkeemSaam Director had to maintain the truck because the rebates were not sufficient now she has charged the informal recyclers to be more responsible with the truck by charging them an administrative cost.

5.6.6) Conflict Management

According to Koning (2018), SkeemSaam secured their endorsements from the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association; however, there have been tensions. There were conflicts among Melrose North residents concerning the informal recyclers that sort their materials during August 2018 at the James and Ethel Gray Park. The SkeemSaam Director implemented a project to raise funds in order to put in place bamboo screens where the recyclers sort their materials. This would help residents avoid seeing the recyclable materials during walks around the James and Ethel Gray Park.

The Birdhaven Ratepayers Association (BRA) commented on the bamboo project and stated that they want a holistic and lawful approach that takes into account the needs of the recyclers. The BRA believes that since the park is under the management of the Johannesburg City Parks then they ought to provide some guidance regarding the issue.



Figure 5 11SkeemSaam Bamboo Screens at James and Ethel Gray Park

(Koning, 2018a)

The SkeemSaam Director created WhatsApp groups for every street in Melrose North and the MNRRA. The residents are encouraged to use the communication structures that SkeemSaam put in place. While SkeemSaam has put these structures in place, the residents do not use them. The SkeemSaam Director indicated that it is worth noting that while SkeemSaam has made progress in getting it implemented in James and Ethel Gray Park there are still tensions that exist. Some residents that do not support the SkeemSaam Intervention. The few non-supporters are instilling a sense of fear amongst the residents regarding the SkeemSaam intervention. There are beliefs that the SkeemSaam informal recyclers are perpetuating crime in the area.

The Director further highlighted that there are Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo officials that believe that the organization is a profit-making enterprise when in reality the organization is battling with administrative costs such as fixing the truck for the transportation of the recyclable materials.

5.7) Stakeholder perceptions regarding their interaction with SkeemSaam

The key respondents from the various organizations in this research seem to express that they have positive relations with the SkeemSaam however, there are some instances where SkeemSaam has rubbed shoulders negatively with certain stakeholders, and therefore, this section aims to shed some light into the views expressed by the various respondents regarding stakeholder relations.

5.7.1) James and Ethel Gray Park stakeholder relations

"Lisa and I communicate well not all of the time. She does not need my support or my approval she is very capable. It is, however, one of the initiatives in the ward and I will give whatever help I can" [Melrose North Councilor- Interviewee 001]

"I would say that is positive absolutely however there has been no solution as yet with what to do with the homeless people living in the park and this has been the light at the end of the tunnel where there has been a positive attitude, otherwise people can say we don't want homeless people in the park but what do we about it." [Melrose North Ratepayers and Residents Association Committee Member- Interviewee 004]

Many of the respondents in the James and Ethel Gray case study seem to agree that their interaction with SkeemSaam has been positive due to the energy displayed by the Director of the NGO. MNNR Chair and the Melrose Councilor view SkeemSaam in a positive light because they are offering new ways of addressing the issue of homeless informal recyclers in the park. The shared sentiments come from the fact that traditional measures have not worked and SkeemSaam offers new measures that might work.

"Their intentions were to help these guys and to give them some sort of structure in what they were doing and make sure that they did what they were doing without destroying the environment. They also negotiate and make sure that they get them the best prices from the recycling companies. There was also some control exercised by SkeemSaam on what the homeless men were doing in the park" [Melrose North Councilor- Interviewee 001]

"I know they got a donation from Dischem which allowed to buy overalls for these guys and you can see them walking around. SkeemSaam is one of the groups and I believe there is a second group around the area as well" [Melrose North Councilor- Interviewee 001]

"I think their role is to make sure that the park is not covered with litter which was the issue that we had before and people do not get mugged while they actually walk around, that goes to the vagrants they are working with" [Melrose and Birdhaven Conservancy Member- Interviewee 002]

I picked respondents for the interviews because they knew about the NGO SkeemSaam and therefore it is no surprise that the key respondents have knowledge regarding the intentions and objectives of SkeemSaam. It seems that respondents are more familiar with SkeemSaam's objective of environmental management and sustainability of the park. The respondents are aware of SkeemSaam's efforts of cleaning the park and building partnerships with recycling companies in order to promote effective recycling. Informal recyclers are visible through their uniforms and therefore the residents in that regard notice SkeemSaam's intentions.

It started with all the best intentions in the world. It has had a bit of a rocky path I think. I am not very close to it or talking as an expert but there has been some talk in the neighborhood that some are a bit unhappy with her and SkeemSaam. The homeless men are saying that they are not getting all their money. [Melrose North Councilor- Interviewee 001]

"I think there are tensions among the two groups, the groups are on different sides of the park however I don't not have a lot of knowledge regarding internal conflicts of SkeemSaam" [Melrose North Councilor- Interviewee 001]

The respondents are not only aware of SkeemSaam's successes but also their internal conflicts and misunderstandings. The two most noticeable conflicts are due to the dissatisfaction of the informal recyclers with payments from recycling companies and the conflicts that emerge between rival informal recyclers along different ethnic lines. As indicated earlier SkeemSaam uses the emotive "family" in order to band together the different ethnic groups present within the park and fight against miscommunications that

may arise due to the contested payment process. There is a recognition that despite the internal politics of SkeemSaam that SkeemSaam needs to continue its work.

"You cannot say that it is working or not working, yes it is doing good things but it is not enough. Is everyone happy probably not? It is like everything in life, you take what you can get and you go with it. They have probably made some impact but there will be detractors however, it does not mean that they should stop. Every little bit works towards building the whole" [Melrose North Councilor- Interviewee 001]

"We have a meeting with the resident's committee and I think there are 7 of us in the committee and which the SkeemSaam director is one. We talk about all the issues that going on including upcoming events" [Melrose North Ratepayers and Residents Association Committee Member- Interviewee 004]

"There are a number of things that the SkeemSaam is trying to achieve beyond the homelessness. One is the fencing, the upgrading of the park, measures to improve security and by putting cameras in the park but for that one needs some kind of donor to support that initiative" [Melrose and Birdhaven Conservancy Member- Interviewee 002]

What makes SkeemSaam further gain favor with Melrose North community is the fact that managing directors of the NGO immerse themselves in local community issues. If SkeemSaam is concerned with, the wellbeing of the community and in the end, this helps them build political and social capital within the community. SkeemSaam will be at an advantage if they closely align themselves with community issues.

"The question is how sustainable is the NGO? if it has one champion which is very good but when the champion goes away who takes over? This is especially the issue in the South African context to have a lot of civic activism such as NGOs and individuals that take initiative but the initiative dies when they stop doing it or when they leave and do something else" [Melrose and Birdhaven Conservancy Member- Interviewee 002]

To the Melrose North and Birdhaven Conservancy member SkeemSaam has a sustainability issue in terms of leadership. The SkeemSaam Director seems to be doing most of the work and therefore not capacitating new leaders to represent SkeemSaam. The SkeemSaam Director indicated that she tried to find a representative amongst the informal recyclers but failed because the recyclers refused to take up the position. A leadership position among the recyclers apparently meant that someone is superior and will earn better. In order to be equals the recyclers did not elect a leader amongst them that will work alongside the SkeemSaam Director in strategic issues.

"I guess we publicize their work" [Melrose and Birdhaven Conservancy Member- Interviewee 002]

Melrose North Birdhaven Conservancy publicizing SkeemSaam's work links to the NGOs overall objective of promoting environmental awareness. SkeemSaam wants to debunk certain notions regarding the association of vagrants with crime and drug consumption. SkeemSaam uses the local newspaper companies in order to increase awareness that homeless informal recyclers contribute to the management of the park through recycling interventions. The awareness interventions assist in removing resident's perceptions that say that the recyclers perpetuate criminal activities.

5.7.2) Alberts Farm Park stakeholder relations

"I have met the SkeemSaam Director a few times and discussing the thing about trying the thing at Alberts Farm as well. With the support of SkeemSaam and the buy-in of the residents, they start a bargaining system between SkeemSaam and the recyclers. SkeemSaam would require certain actions, aspects or outcomes from the recyclers and if they do reach that part of the agreement then SkeemSaam would support them with some sort of a bartering system between the two and the end outcome is to make the recycler much more productive by obtaining better deals for them from the buy-back centers. This will help them at the end of the day to be in a better economic position and be able to afford better housing then move out of the park" [Ward 86 Councilor- Interview 003]

Similarly, to the respondents from James and Ethel Gray Park the Ward 86 councilor from Alberts Farm seems to have an understanding of the intentions and interventions of SkeemSaam. SkeemSaam is recognized through their conceptualization of recyclers as businessmen and SkeemSaam would link these businessmen to better deals. This would help in the end for the recyclers to afford decent housing through upward social mobility. Ward 86 Councilor knowledge of SkeemSaam stems from the numerous engagements he had with SkeemSaam in public meetings held by the Friends of Alberts Farm Park concerning vagrancy in the park.

"Our opinion was that it would be positive but our community just wouldn't allow it" [Friends of Alberts Farm- Interview 005]

Despite having two public meetings to convince the Alberts Farm Park surrounding communities that traditional measures would, not work on vagrancy the community seems to be hell-bent on enforcing raids and removals. The Friends of Alberts Farm Park committee members seem to be in support of the intervention however, without the buy-in from the community the SkeemSaam cannot operate within the park. The Friends of Alberts Farm Park have been working with SkeemSaam for 12 months on trying to implement the SkeemSaam intervention. The Friends of Alberts Farm Park

committee member stated, “We have been toying with the idea of quietly reinitiating the initiative” and therefore use the merits of the intervention to get the buy-in of the community.

“We did meet with the Friends of Alberts Farm in about 2 weeks ago which was last week Monday and we did ask Lisa to come back and sit down then reformulate” [Ward 86 Councilor- Interview 003]

SkeemSaam intervention did not acquire the necessary endorsement in the public meetings; there is still hope for its adoption in the nearby future. The Ward 86 Councilor believes that there is a need to reformulate the intervention and find a way to get the buy-in from the residents.

5.8) Conclusion

In analyzing the central role of SkeemSaam in mediating between residents associations, the state, and informal recyclers I find that networking is imperative. The SkeemSaam Director's positionality is essential in in terms of mediating between competing claims that exist in different spaces of participation. She is able to build legitimacy from the top and from the bottom, in processes of vertical mediation. The SkeemSaam Director is able to build legitimacy from the top and from the bottom through various stakeholders in James and Ethel Gray Park. There is little progress in the implementation of the SkeemSaam organization in Alberts Farm Park because they have not secured resident’s support. The SkeemSaam Director still needs to work on SkeemSaam’s legitimacy amongst the residents. It seems that traditional measures that deal with homelessness such as evictions have not worked in both parks and therefore there is a need for new methods to deal with the homeless. It SkeemSaam tries to provide a solution that tackles homelessness with these parks with a broader theme of environmental and sustainable management. Park managers would allow the homeless to stay in the park in exchange the homeless informal recyclers should clean the park and keep it safe. Lisa Lowenthal considers informal recyclers as entrepreneurs ;however, the system prevents upward mobility in the form of acquiring a permanent home in the area.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1) Analysis of SkeemSaam's practices

The sixth and final chapter of the research looks at the analysis, conclusion, and recommendations for the research. The analysis covers the definition used by SkeemSaam in terms of homelessness. The chapter proceeds to unpack the complex nature of homelessness and the approaches used to deal with homelessness in James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park. This chapter highlights the implications of SkeemSaam's mediatory practices. The chapter then makes a summary of the research findings and the recommendations at the end.

6.1.1) SkeemSaam Definition of Homelessness

SkeemSaam conceptualizes homelessness as individuals who stay in the parks that partake in informal recycling activities and they are beneficiaries of SkeemSaam's mediation. According to Arapoglou (2004), the conceptualization of homelessness depends on the homelessness intervention used by the civil society organization.

6.1.2) Complex nature of homelessness in James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park

The findings show that the failing economy, which fails to create sufficient job opportunities, is pushing people to become homeless informal recyclers in James and Alberts Farm Park. The Melrose North Conservancy interviewee highlighted that there are also individual issues that further compound the issue such as substance abuse. At the same time it should be noted that recyclers choose to stay at the parks because there have to protect their stockpiles from other informal recyclers. According to Clapham (2003) reveals that Institutional structures can create enabling conditions for homelessness within society. According to Jacobs *et al.* (1999) state that the maximalist approach looks at how institutions have caused homelessness. There are other deep structural issues that cause homelessness in these parks such as the failing education system and poor housing delivery issues, which were part of historical injustices. The findings further show that there is a possible relationship between alcohol consumption, drug consumption, and homelessness within the Rosebank area where James and Ethel Gray Park. According to Jacobs *et al*. (1999), the minimalist approach looks at the individual's actions as a driving force for homelessness.

SkeemSaam is currently a micro-level intervention that focuses on the neighborhood level there is still a need for a macro-level intervention that deals with the issue of homelessness in parks. The state should play a central role in this regard through housing interventions especially in Johannesburg northern suburbs. In order to deal with the homeless issue in parks there is definitely a need for multi-level and multi-

stakeholder approach that involves housing allocation near the parks for the recyclers and acceptance of the homeless within communities.

6.1.3) City of Johannesburg responses to homelessness in James and Ethel Gray and Alberts Farm Park

Ellickson (2001) shows us that the city government would carry out evictions in order to remove displaced persons from public spaces because they are compelled to enforce labor laws by residents. We can see this used to be the case in James and Ethel Gray Park where residents used to call Johannesburg Metropolitan Police to carry out raids. As time goes on it seems that eviction measures are not working in both James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park because the informal recyclers would end up coming back. Ratau *et al*. (2018) argue that evicting the homeless from public spaces such as parks has not worked because the homeless end up coming back to the park and this is the position I adopted in the research. I adopted this position because it seemed to be frequent Evictions are detrimental to the homeless informal recyclers because they lose their possessions during these raids. The residents in and around Alberts Farm Park did not endorse the SkeemSaam intervention and therefore have called for fencing interventions. SkeemSaam's mediation is more effective in James and Ethel Gray Park because the SkeemSaam director is part of the Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association.

The City of Johannesburg supports the relocation method however; this method will not work in dealing with the homeless informal recyclers because they have to watch over their stockpiles. Schenck & Blaauw (2011) show us that the trolley is also the reason why many waste pickers have to sleep on the street. Therefore relocating informal recyclers will not work in the end in both James and Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park. The informal recyclers sort their material at James and Ethel Gray Park because they stay in the park.

There seems to be no clear policy in the City of Johannesburg in terms of dealing with homelessness constructively especially in suburban parks. According to the Friends of Alberts Farm Conservancy Vice-Chairperson There are uncoordinated evictions and raids that take place in Alberts Farm Park because the relevant departments such as the Department of Social Development or any other specific parties such as local security companies may not be present in the park during the time of the raids. It is, therefore, an uncoordinated effort in both Alberts Farm Park and James and Ethel Gray Park. In the face of policy ineffectiveness in dealing with homelessness there are still certain local arrangements created to accommodate the homeless in James and Ethel Gray Park. Ratau *et al*. (2018) show us that Johannesburg City Parks (JCPZ) allowed homeless individuals in James and Ethel Gray Park to use the park as a shelter at night while making sure that they clean their waste.

A civil society organization such as SkeemSaam has entered the picture to assist Johannesburg City Parks in order to facilitate a relationship between them and the informal recyclers. While there is certainly, progress in James and Ethel Gray Park there seems to be no progress in sight for Alberts Farm Park in this regard.

6.1.4) Implications of SkeemSaam's mediatory practices in addressing homelessness

According to Garrigues (2015), the mediator's job is to assist two or more parties in conflict to develop a mutually acceptable agreement. There seems to be a disconnect that exists at the beginning between the informal recyclers, Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (JCPZ) and the surrounding residents association. SkeemSaam came to solve this disconnect by bringing these different parties in order to solve the issues that are bought by homelessness within these parks.

SkeemSaam has various skilled individuals ranging from financial management, public relations, fundraising, and public relations that improve their mediatory practices. The SkeemSaam Director's previous experience in the NGO Sector helped her raise funds from Dischem for the informal recyclers in James and Ethel Gray Park. The SkeemSaam Director was able to represent the informal recyclers to the MNRRA and BRA. The informal recyclers stay in James and Ethel Gray Park as part a negotiated agreement with the residents associations.. In the urban sector, substantive participation in institutional processes requires a degree of technical knowledge/expertise about elements of the built--environment, as it is often concerned with policy and material interventions for greater access/provision of public goods.

SkeemSaam's ability to deliver to its informal recyclers in Melrose North further strengthens its legitimacy. Houtzager and Lavalle (2009) further argue that there is a new understanding of representation, which revolves around mediation, which is could be a remedy for inequality in access to the state. The informal recyclers continue to join the organization because of its ability to access the needed funds and resources from surrounding stakeholders such as Dischem, Johannesburg City Parks. According to Bailey (2001), representativeness is also about being the most qualified or efficient to defend the followers' interests, a 'problem-solver".

6.1.5) SkeemSaam participation in the informal recycling sector

SkeemSaam assists the informal recyclers to render services related to waste management within Melrose North Residents and Ratepayers Association. One of the key functions of SkeemSaam is to create functional relationship between the recyclers and the community of Melrose North in order to promote easy access of recyclables for the informal recyclers. SkeemSaam further educates residents to separate their waste for the informal recyclers. This definitely links with SkeemSaam's broader goal of

environmental education relating to waste management issues. According to Rajamanikam *et al*. (2014), Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other civil society organizations have increasingly started to get involved in improving waste management services by getting involved in sorting and recycling waste.

SkeemSaam has capacity building and training programmes, while providing informal recyclers with opportunities for effective enforcement of health, safety, and quality standards. SkeemSaam educates the men how to collect recyclables effectively and how to clean the park efficiently in Melrose North. SkeemSaam further distributes uniforms to the informal recyclers for their safety and health. SkeemSaam is not operational in the Alberts Farm Park because they did not secure the crucial endorsements from the residents. SkeemSaam also provides transportation services for the informal recyclers in James and Ethel

6.1.6) SkeemSaam participation in park management

Johannesburg City Park is underfunded and therefore it does not have enough capacity to monitor and maintain the parks. Residents had perceptions that crime and the poor upkeep of the park is a result of the presence of homeless informal recyclers. SkeemSaam is trying to use the homeless informal recyclers to monitor the criminal elements in the park and clean the James and Ethel Gray Park. Since Johannesburg City Parks is under-capacitated, civil society organization such as SkeemSaam that help address the gap that exists within the state. It is still very evident that SkeemSaam has not made significant progress in terms of park management in Alberts Farm Park.

6.2) Conclusions: research questions and summary of findings

The main research question was how does SkeemSaam frame its interventions around homelessness in suburban parks while mediating between recyclers, residents associations and agencies of the state? The particular case studies that were the focus are James & Ethel Gray Park and Alberts Farm Park. The secondary research questions helped the researcher answer the main research question.

The first secondary question was about unpacking SkeemSaam’s goals and objectives. SkeemSaam’s primary goal is to promote environmental management and environmental education. SkeemSaam is interested in the informal recyclers that reside in the park because they fulfill a part of their environmental management mandate. The residents from Melrose North who started the organization wanted to ensure that the James and Ethel Gray Park remain clean for public use. Therefore, there was a need to mediate between the different competing interests amongst the resident's associations, informal recyclers, and the state.

The second secondary question was about finding out how SkeemSaam engage with the homeless informal recyclers, residents associations and the state for the management of urban parks. It seems that SkeemSaam starts by engaging the informal recyclers first in James and Ethel Gray Park. This first meeting is about finding out if the informal recyclers are interested in joining the intervention. The SkeemSaam Director notified the informal recyclers if they want to stay in the park they would have to agree to clean the park and keep it safe from any criminal elements. If the informal recyclers are interested then the SkeemSaam Director will engage the surrounding resident's associations in order to try to get the buy-in of the residents regarding the intervention. Various platforms are used such as the residents association meetings and public notices. SkeemSaam tries to educate the residents, the state that the informal recyclers play an integral role in terms of recycling waste generated in and around Melrose North. SkeemSaam pleads with the state and residents associations to allow the recyclers to stay in the park since they perform a waste management task. Once SkeemSaam got the approval from the residents, it was easier for the organization to gain access to resources from the resident's associations such as plastic bags or uniforms that the recyclers can use. SkeemSaam Director further negotiated with the JCPZ general workers to allow the recyclers to use the ablution facilities and the informal recyclers however, the recyclers had to keep the facilities clean.

Through residents association meetings SkeemSaam was able to meet the Alberts Farm Park Chairperson. The Chairperson was very interested in the SkeemSaam intervention and believed that it might operate in Alberts Farm Park. It seems that the SkeemSaam intervention did not secure the necessary endorsements in the Alberts Farm Park case because it did not get the residents buy-in.

The third question focuses on the approaches used in James and Ethel Gray Park & Albert's Farm Park to deal with homeless informal recyclers. It seems that raids were the preferred approach used to deal with homeless persons in James and Ethel Gray Park in the past. There has been a general recognition among the respondents in this research that eviction measures do not work in dealing with homeless persons within the park. SkeemSaam, therefore, provides a temporary solution in dealing with the homeless informal recyclers that stay in the park. There is still a need for the state (City of Johannesburg) to intervene through housing projects or access to a suitable shelter near the park for the informal recyclers.

6.3) Recommendations

In the Alberts Farm Park case study, the organization needs to immerse itself into community issues. The organization acquired the relevant endorsements in MNNR because it had close ties with the residents association. The organization, therefore, needs to create social networks and close ties with the surrounding local communities and residents associations. SkeemSaam has the necessary endorsement by Friends of

Alberts Farm Park and the councilor however, it needs the buy-in of the local resident and the SkeemSaam Director needs to do the groundwork.

SkeemSaam needs to expand its relationships with the City of Johannesburg. As seen in the findings SkeemSaam mostly works with community-based organizations. SkeemSaam has a vision of expanding to other areas and the City of Johannesburg endorsement can go a long way in the expansion of the organization. SkeemSaam should also join the Johannesburg Network on Homelessness. The Johannesburg Network on Homelessness has other key stakeholders that are from the state that deal with homelessness. This will help SkeemSaam build stronger relations with the City of Johannesburg.

There seems to be no working relationship between SkeemSaam with other NGOs that deal with homelessness within Melrose North and Birdhaven area. I believe that SkeemSaam needs to identify these NGOs in order to create strategic relationships that would result in coordinated efforts to deal with homelessness. When SkeemSaam creates, relationships with other NGOs that deal with homelessness it will decrease the potential duplication in terms of dealing with the homelessness issue.

SkeemSaam needs a clear constitution in order to help the City of Johannesburg understand the goals and objectives of the organization. A constitution will also help the organization with the registration processes with the Johannesburg Social Development Department. Once the organization is registered, it will be able to access more funds and resources for the informal recyclers. If the organization has a clear constitution, then it will be easier to know who is supposed to carry out which certain functions and this structure currently does not exist within the organization and therefore it can create confusion regarding roles and responsibilities. A clear constitution for the organization will create accountability since there will be a clear definition of job descriptions and duties. If there is no clear constitution about the nature of the organization then misconceptions and misunderstandings will emerge. One of the misconceptions is that SkeemSaam is a profit making business. If SkeemSaam has a clear-cut constitution, the perceptions about it being a profit making business will seize to emerge.

SkeemSaam needs to build a working financial management module that will make the intervention be profitable. It is clear that the SkeemSaam intervention financial model is currently creating tensions between the informal recyclers and the SkeemSaam Director; therefore, it is imperative to build a sustainable financial model that takes care of the sustainability of the initiative. The SkeemSaam Director may employ a communication expert to get everybody in the organization on board with the financial model and to attend to the necessary grievances.

Johannesburg City Parks should consider redesigning the parks in order to accommodate the informal recyclers. There should be lockers available for the informal

recyclers so that they are able to store their belongings safely. Pikit-Up can put in place storage containers in the park in order secure the stockpiles from the informal recycler's safely. These storage containers can have locks for the informal recyclers. If there are storage containers in the park for the recyclers then there will be a possibility for SkeemSaam to use the relocation method.

I believe that there is a need for future research on the subject matter. The evaluation of the perceptions of the informal recyclers is missing in this research however; it can be a future project. A study on the impacts of the SkeemSaam intervention on the informal recycler's livelihoods is also important to undertake. Lastly, a quantitative study on SkeemSaam's financial model is essential so that SkeemSaam can build a sustainable financial model.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Ethical clearance certificate

[redacted]

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP049/07/2018

PROJECT TITLE:	Learning from SkeemSaam's Involvement in Meditating for the homeless informal recylers in Surburban Parks: A Case Study of James and Ethel Grey and Albert's Farm Park
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Mfundo Ndovela (Student No: 743157)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	Masters of Urban Studies (MUS)
DATE CONSIDERED:	28 September 2018
EXPIRY DATE:	29 September 2019
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	Approved

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE: 28-09-2018

cc: Supervisor/s: Claire Benit-Gbaffou

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS
I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

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