

THE HOMELESSNESS PROBLEM : PLANNING, PHENOMENOLOGY AND GENDER PERSPECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

The thesis considers the problem of homelessness from a planning and gender perspective, with the purpose of applying or using a theoretical approach, which will lead to an understanding of, and practical solutions to the problem in South African cities and which will have international applicability.

The study notes that women constitute a population at risk. Women are becoming more vulnerable to street homelessness because of the increasing rate of urbanization, population growth, poverty, unemployment and changing family structure (female-headed households, single mothers, divorcees and widows).

The study states that past approaches in solving the homelessness problem have been fragmentary, uncoordinated and there has been no definitive institutional intervention. It points out the absence of a clear government policy, lack of clear planning responses/models/approaches and the lack of involvement of the street homeless women themselves in addressing the homelessness problem.

The study investigates the various principles pertaining to the homelessness problem internationally. It gives definitional as well as gender approaches to home and homelessness. It shows that women constitute part of the new and hidden homeless population.

The study considers past planning approaches/traditions which might have had relevance in understanding and resolving the homelessness problem. It also considers philosophical approaches which might also have relevance in which context phenomenology is identified as a philosophy which offers an appropriate methodological base. This has been adapted for the purpose of planning. It is an interpretive approach and it is more people-centred than the past planning approaches.

A survey was conducted in the Johannesburg innercity which is rapidly becoming the locale of the street homeless people. The survey procedure adopted in this

study is in three parts:

1. Reconnaissance survey;
2. Qualitative survey;
3. Quali-quantitative survey.

The reconnaissance survey identifies shelter types and abodes of the street homeless. It enumerates the number of street homeless people. This is to determine the numerical and spatial extent of the phenomenon. The survey indicates that the street homeless abodes are disorganised and overcrowded. The abode types are usually in the form of open halls, open spaces, shacks (**Mekhukhu**) built with cardboard boxes and pavements or road kerbs turned into dwelling places. The abodes lack water, electricity and toilets. Contrary to the above, the shelters provided by institutions for the street homeless are more organised and have the essential or basic facilities.

With regard to the qualitative survey, a focus group discussion and participant observation method was used in obtaining information from women. This survey conforms to the phenomenological methodology adopted in the study. The original and lifeworld experiences of the street homeless women were obtained and interpreted. They do not have a fixed schedule, they live each day as it comes. They spend the day talking, gossiping, singing, washing, sometimes doing cultural activities, begging, cooking and soliciting for male clients.

The quali-quantitative survey, through questionnaires, elicited information on the socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the street homeless people. That includes their age, education, marital status, occupation, ethnicity, nationality among others.

78 percent are black (Africans), 14 percent are coloured, 2 percent are Indian and 6 percent are white. Out of these, 36 percent are women. About 17 percent of these women have no education and 67 percent are single. Among the single women, 60 percent are single mothers (with their children living with them) and

40 percent have no children.

The survey reveals that the first three priorities of the street homeless women are employment, education and housing. It also indicates the main causes of street homelessness as unemployment and poverty, the consequences of which were manifest in crime, muggings, rape, harassment, diseases such as tuberculosis, dysentery and diarrhoea, dermal infections, pneumonia and sexually transmitted diseases. The study estimates that about 20 percent (one fifth) of the street homeless population between 19 - 29 years in Johannesburg could be HIV/Aids positive.

These results provide the basis for a proposed alternative planning approach which is referred to in the study as **THE COOPERATIVE EXPLORATION APPROACH**.

The study concludes that the Cooperative Exploration Approach which derives from phenomenological principles (perception, intentionality, interpretation and lifeworld) and phenomenological methodology (reduction, search for essence and open description) could be used in understanding and solving the street homelessness problem in South Africa and elsewhere.

KEY WORDS

Cooperative Exploration

Homelessness

Intentionality

Lifeworld

Open Description

Perception

Planning

Phenomenology

Reduction

Search for Essence

Women

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work.

It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.



OLUSOLA ADEBOLA OLUFEMI

Name of Candidate

15TH day of AUGUST 1997

TO THE STREET HOMELESS PEOPLE

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QUOTES

"Not everyone has the same interpretation of what a home or a house can be. Whether that is by choice; by force or by lack of alternative. It is exactly this interpretation, the degree to which people feel at home or homeless and the way housing is felt to be supportive or oppressive in daily life, that constitutes a housing problem in today's world".

(Han Verschure 1993 : 1)

"Home is a Sanctuary where the healing is ... Nothing brings as quickly to mind the horror of natural upheaval, civil strife, or war as the picture of the "Homeless". The deprivation of home is the worst of the mass of tragedies".

(Walter Cronkite, Readers Digest, August 1970)

"The important thing to be said about homelessness is not what it is, but what it does to peoples' lives".

(Avramov, 1995 : 78)

SECTION A :

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

I Hear the Voices

I hear the voices
of the trees
Whistling, whistling
Complaining about homelessness.

I hear the voices
of the birds
Singing sorrowful songs
Lamenting about homelessness

I hear the voices
of the rivers
Shouting so loud
Crying about homelessness

Even the wind
I can hear
Blowing, blowing
Coughing what
It's hearing about homelessness.

Mthembu (1995)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

The thesis considers the problem of homelessness from a planning and gender perspective, with the purpose of applying or using a theoretical approach, which will lead to an understanding of, and practical planning solutions to, the homelessness problem in African cities and elsewhere.

This chapter describes in general terms the research strategy (figure 1.1) background to the homelessness phenomenon; a statement of the homelessness problem; my objectives; a synopsis of the methodology adopted; and an outline of the organisation of the thesis.

1.1 BACKGROUND

Cities in developing countries are experiencing rapid growth with a very high demand for housing. The growing population pressures (Table 1.1) have led to urban sprawl (*Onibokun, 1985*) which has been accompanied by unplanned settlements within the city boundaries and on the fringes of either public or private land (*Ondiege, 1993*). This has led to the invasion of urban land and, to a lesser extent, rural land, by the group of people referred to in the literature as "the homeless". The homeless constitute a large proportion of the low income group who, as a result of the shortage of housing, rapid urbanization, population growth due to high birth rate, and migration (Figure 1.2), invade - or squat on - vacant public or private land. Garau (1987) opined that homelessness is a *sine qua non* of citylessness; the condition of being a citizen without a city.

Figure 1.1: Flow chart indicating the Research Strategy

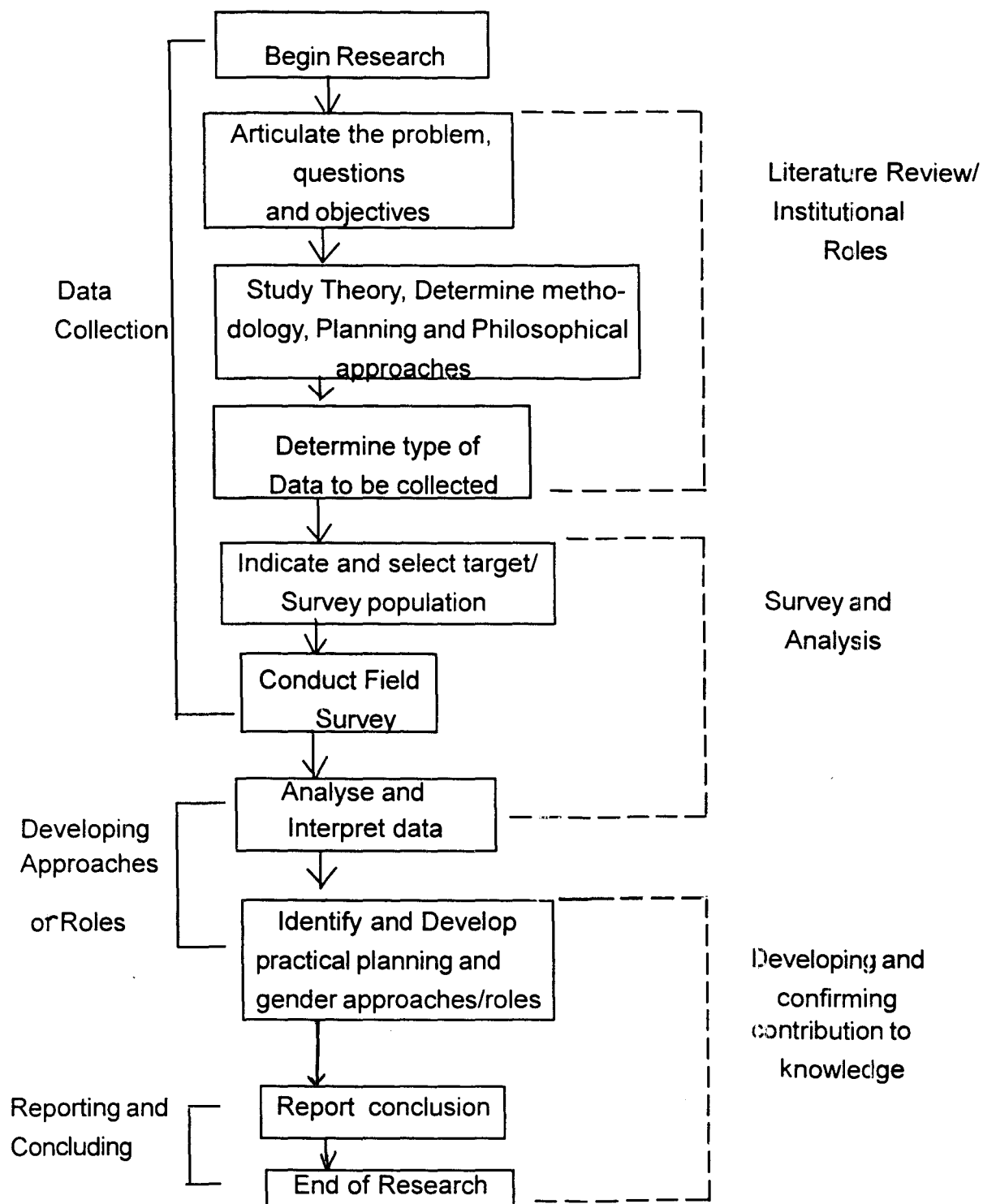


Table 1.1 : Average annual growth rates of the urban population by major regions : 1970 - 2025

Area	1970 - 1975	1980 - 1985	1990 - 1995	2000 - 2010	2010 - 2025
World	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.4	2,0
More developed regions	1.6	1.1	1.0	0.8	0,7
Less developed regions	3.9	3.4	2.7	2.1	1,6
Africa	5.0	5.2	4.9	4.3	3,5
Latin America	3.9	3.4	2.7	2.1	1,6
Northern America	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.1	0,9
East Asia	2.8	1.8	2.2	2.5	2,0
South Asia	4.2	4.0	3.8	3.2	2,5
Europe	1.4	0.9	0.8	0.5	0,4
Oceania	2.1	1.5	1.5	1.5	1,3
USSR	2.1	1.9	1.6	1.2	1,0

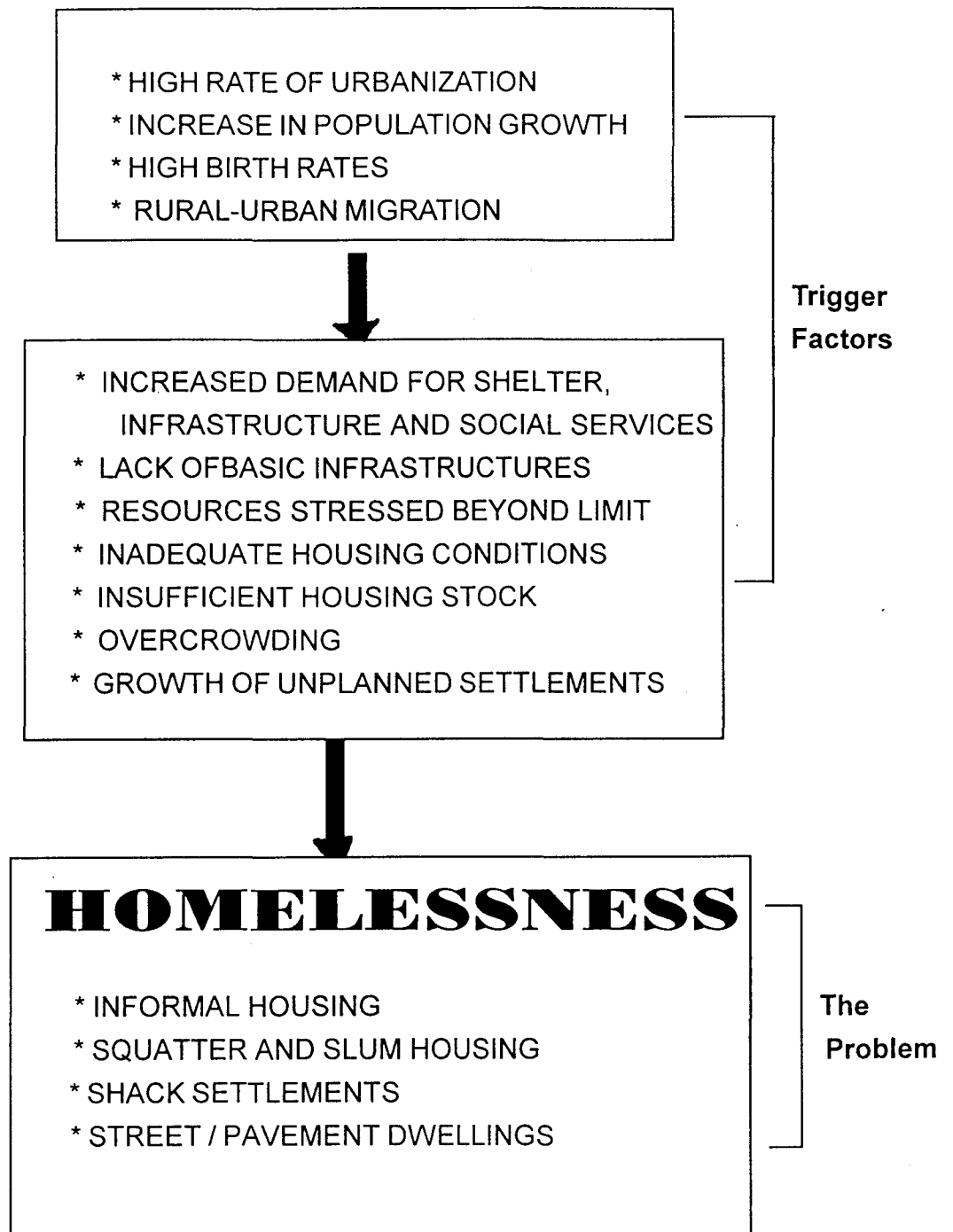
Source : (UNCHS, 1989) UN estimates and projections of
 Urban, Rural and City Population, 1950 - 2025.
 The 1982 Assessment (New York, 1982)

The high rate of urbanization has placed resources under stress. There has been an increase in the demand for and pressure on the existing basic infrastructures, resulting in both qualitative and quantitative deficiency of these services and infrastructures.

The deficiency affects the poor families, and especially women, who lack sufficient income to pay for services and as a result, live in communities and housing with minimal services, or few, or of the worst quality, or none existent.

Throughout the developing countries a number of people still live in inadequate housing and the majority are still rendered homeless by the trigger factors identified in Figure 1.2. It is however the women who remain the most vulnerable to becoming homeless. The women are the poorest of the poor and according to Conable (1988), although women built the foundations of most communities, development efforts have not lent enough strength to women, nor have they entrusted sufficient resources to them. Consequently, women are

Figure 1.2: Background to the Homelessness Problem



at the centre of the population's urbanization and housing problems. They suffer most from the consequences of unprecedented population growth, high levels of poverty, homelessness, illiteracy and unemployment.

Women form the largest sub-group of the poorly sheltered population.

According to the relative differences of homelessness, especially where factors such as location of the physical structure and the relation to tenure are considered, women are located at a different point on the home-to-homelessness continuum from their male partners. The homeless constitute part of the population at risk and the female homeless constitute the hidden or concealed homeless in urban areas.

1.1.1 DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN SQUATTING AND STREET HOMELESSNESS

At this point it becomes imperative to differentiate between squatting and street homelessness. It is also pertinent to make it clear that this study aims at examining the street homeless people or pavement dwellers only. This group of people excludes street children, which is another category of the homeless population and a major issue of global concern today.

Precisely because it is very difficult to distinguish clearly between squatters and homeless, it is important to examine where the former ends and where the latter begins. In most literature, authors often refer to squatters as being homeless. To some extent this study agrees with this, but squatting is just one form of homelessness.

The terms "slum", "squatter" and "homeless" are used interchangeably, but they have some social, cultural and economic characteristics that require differentiation. While all three terms signify depressed areas or subsections of the population that are not fully integrated socially or economically into the national development processes, there are distinct differences between them. Slums are older areas of existing cities undergoing deterioration and decay. They

are not always the symbol of retrogression, but, in fact, may be the first advance from homelessness to shelter or from abject poverty to hope (*Obudho and Mhlanga, 1988*). "Slum" is an evaluative concept which must be viewed in the light of socio-cultural, political-economic, geographical and psychological factors that make up the residential environment in question.

Among other existing definitions, a slum was defined in this way by Mabogunje:

as a collection of insubstantial housing constructed of recuperated waste materials of wood, corrugated iron sheets, mud wall, thatch roof or iron roof.

There is ... little in the way of road systems ... (and if) a road is discernible ... (it is) usually unpaved and gutted with erosion. Many houses have no electricity or piped water (and most of them have) pit latrines. There's no sewerage or drainage systems ... There are also few schools and no hospital or health facilities. Yet this is the most active area of the city with its petty traders. (Mabogunje : 1970 : 3)

A squatter settlement, by contrast, often shows evidence of evolution and is regarded as transitional or temporary in nature. Stern defined a squatter settlement as :

an area in which people have built themselves houses without regard to survey boundaries, whether or not such boundaries have been established ... squatter's houses may be as good (if not better than) many houses built on surveyed plots to which the house owners have the rights of occupancy. However, most of the squatter areas have poorer urban amenities than do comparable high density areas where houses are built on surveyed plots. Roads, schools, water, electric facilities, refuse disposal services, surface water drainage and septic tank emptying services in squatter areas are markedly inferior to those in non-squatter areas. (Stern, 1975 : 53)

As Ross has pointed out there is a great deal of variation in the kinds of squatter communities:

Depending on the economic position of the squatters, some are found in the crowded central business district, on open lots, while others are located in the periphery of the city. Some are politically organised communities, some squatters work in salaried full-time jobs, while others eke out the barest subsistence through a number of marginal and quasi-jobs. (Ross, 1973 : 30)

UNCHS defined the homeless as :

the pavement dwellers, those who sleep in doorways, subways, recesses of public buildings and those rendered homeless by natural or man-made disasters. The homeless are those who lack real homes, those with less access to safe water and sanitation, those who lack security of tenure and personal safety, those not within the reach of centres of employment, education and healthcare and those with high rent burden relative to their income. (UNCHS, 1987)

Using the above explanations, an attempt is made in Table 1.2 to differentiate between squatter and street homeless persons. It should be noted that all these concepts are interwoven and with the intensity of homelessness simply varying among them.

As conditions improve, the homeless move into permanent structures or housing. More often than not, the street homeless moves in and out of slums, squatter settlements, and into street homelessness again.

Table 1.2 : Differentiation between squatter & street homeless

Indicators	Squatter	Street Homeless
1. Type of settlement 2. Access to land	Spontaneous/Informal Invasion (legal/illegal)	Spontaneous Invasion/illegal
3. Permanence 4. Organisation 5. Physical Planning 6. Location	Permanent/impermanent Organised Quasi/informal planning Urban periphery	Not permanent/itinerant Semi/not organised Not planned City centres (more often)
7. Growth	Increase/expands in density over a limited area	Expands without control
8. Type of building materials	Wood, iron sheets, sometimes mud walls are built	Scavenged cardboard boxes/blankets
9. Life span of housing 10. Security of tenure 11. Safety 12. Employment	Under 5 years Partial or temporary Minimum safety Full-time employment in most cases	Weekly or monthly None Not safe Unemployed/very erratic

The homeless in South Africa can be referred to as those living in squatter/shack housing (they constitute the temporary homeless); those living on the streets or pavements (transient or chronic homeless); homeless immigrants; those displaced by natural or manmade disasters; those rendered homeless by socio-cultural/economic factors and those who are homeless by choice. However, for the purpose of this study, which focuses on the street homeless and their gender, the street homeless are those who lack real homes; live in bad housing; sleep on pavements; have no access to safe water, sanitation (i.e. basic needs) and lack self-determination, creativity, dignity, expression and voice (i.e. personal needs).

1.2 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

A quarter of the population of the world is either absolutely homeless or lives in extremely inadequate conditions. A large proportion of this group is made up of women. Despite their significant contribution to development, women are the

majority of the poorest of the poor and lag behind in their access to resources (*UNCHS (HABITAT) 1989*).

The problem of homelessness and housing shortages knows no national boundaries and it is by no means limited to the poor, developing nations. The great capitals and metropolises of the developed world almost without exception also have their own skid rows and slums. Along with the sparkling skyscrapers and high rises, there are ghettos and decaying inner cities.

Housing development problems arise from a variety of factors such as high urban population growth rates emanating from high birth rates and rural-urban migration; low purchasing power of the majority of households; a lag in the development of urban infrastructure that supports housing development (*Ondiege, 1993; Olufemi, 1993*); the widening gap between production and consumption of housing which leads to the shortage of urban housing, high costs of houses and rents, increasing growth of unplanned settlements, bad housing structures and overcrowded housing units (*Labeodan 1987,1989; Onibokun, 1985*).

Homelessness specifically is a problem and is primarily a reflection of problems of access to decent housing. It is a common feature for people to live in crowded cabins, cardboard boxes, makeshift tents, under bridges and sleep on pavements. Such people live in situations which are naturally undesirable for human habitation, but this situation is not only peculiar to Africa. This is a worldwide phenomenon. Be it in Asia, America or Europe, the phenomenon is the same. According to the United Nations, more than one billion people (roughly one-fifth of the world's population) are poorly housed or have inadequate shelter while 100 million have no shelter at all (*Shelter News, 1987*). Thus, 1987 was declared as the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (*IYSH*) by the United Nations General Assembly's Resolution 37/221 of December 1982. It was at one level an attempt to connect the critical problems of global poverty and homelessness. But more than that, it was an attempt to galvanise national governments and

others to attempt to solve urgent shelter needs. The main purpose of the IYSH programme was to secure renewed political commitment within and among nations to help the poor and disadvantaged to improve their shelter and neighbourhoods by the year 2000. The United Nations was of the view that if the present trend of urbanization and homelessness continues, by the year 2000 one billion new urban dwellers - most of them poor - will be crowding into towns and cities already strained to the limit.

A study estimates that over one million people in the U.S.A. were homeless at some time during 1987. In the same year, 120,000 shelter beds were provided and 321,000 meals served for homeless people in American cities (*Burt & Cohen, 1989*). There was certainly a sharp rise in homelessness throughout the 1980s. Shelter users rose from 96,000 in 1983 to 275,000 (*U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, 1989*).

Fundamentally, there has been a scarcity of low income housing. State housing is rare in the U.S.A. and rent subsidies minimal, gentrification and abandonment have eroded the private rented sector in many cities. Moreover, welfare benefits have not matched rent and cost of living expenses. Provision for homeless people has been largely in terms of shelters and soup kitchens. Much of this is provided by local charitable bodies, although government funding has increased. It has been estimated that women and young people make up a quarter of the total population in U.S.A. (*Hombs, 1990*).

In Australia, homeless people live on the streets and in shelters or squatter settlements, others live in accommodation such as rooming houses that do not offer the permanency, security or facilities expected in a home. In 1992, a government report estimated that there were well in excess of 10,000 people living in such conditions on any one night (*Neil, et al, 1992*). Government measures to relieve homelessness include mortgage rent and funds to cover capital and revenue costs for crisis accommodation. Despite this, it was estimated that

one out of every seven households has a problem finding and paying for appropriate housing (*Picton, 1987*).

The increasing homelessness of young people and women has been the focus of several reports in the European community countries (*Burton, et al, 1989a; Heddy, 1990, House of Lords, 1991*). Under the Treaty of Rome, the Commission has no responsibility for housing and there are no official European statistics or agreed definitions of homelessness. However, the European parliament accepted that 10 per cent of the population of the E.C. could be classified as homeless (*Burton, et al, 1989*). Homelessness in many European countries is linked with high rates of youth unemployment.

[Many people in Third World cities are street homeless. They literally live and sleep in public places, such as parks, graveyards, railway stations, often because these are close to work which may itself be based on the pavement (*Hutson and Liddiard, 1994*).]

In Bombay, 150,000 people live in makeshift huts on the pavements. These are often demolished by the authorities two or three times a year. Other people may live in such poor, over-crowded conditions that they would conventionally be defined as homeless.

The unprecedented rise of the African urban population and its immediate growth prospects have serious economic and social implications for employment, education, housing and health. This increase in population has exacerbated the rapid expansion of squatters and homeless people (*Obudho and Mhlanga, 1988; Labeodan, 1989*). Rural-urban migration has increased the number of urban dwellers at such a rate that urban squatter settlements have been created in some urban areas due to lack of proper housing.

Urban squatting and homelessness in Africa are triggered by factors such as war resulting in enforced migration of refugees in search of subsistence and

opportunities. Squatter settlements have developed rapidly in Africa as a result of urban landlessness, or the gap between population demand for cheap housing and the supply by institutions. Slum and squatter settlements presently constitute a living environment for at least one third of the urban population in all African countries and these are growing at the rate of 15 per cent per annum (*Burns and Grebler, 1977*).

Table 1.3 shows estimates of urban populations living in informal or illegal shelters in Africa.

Table 1.3 : Estimate of the selected urban population living in informal/illegal shelters in Africa

<u>City</u>	<u>%</u>
Addis Ababa	85
Mogadishu	80
Bangui	75
Luanda	70
Nouakchott	64
Dar-es-Salaam	60
Ouagadougou	60
Lusaka	50
Nairobi	33 - 40
Abidjan	21
Dakar	20

SOURCE : Simon (1992)

1.2.1 WOMEN AND HOMELESSNESS

Women have always participated in the human settlements development field. However, their input has not been recognized and women's participation and contribution remain invisible both to other family and community members as well as development planners (*UNCHS, 1993*).

Women's work include not only reproductive work (child-bearing and rearing

responsibilities), but also productive work and women are also involved in community managing work. In their gender ascribed roles as wives and mothers, women struggle to manage their neighbourhoods (*Moser, 1992*). In performing this third role, they implicitly accept gender division of labour and the nature of their subordination. A quarter of the world's population is either absolutely homeless or live in extremely deplorable conditions. A large proportion of this group is made up of women (*UNCHS, 1989*). Hence, this study as part of its objectives focuses on the problem of the street homeless gender - and especially the plight of women - in Johannesburg inner city.

Currently urban women constitute 58 per cent of the total female population in Latin America, 20 per cent in Asia and 17 per cent in Africa. In the case of women, homelessness is a manifestation of not only poverty, but also a systematic discrimination from which women suffer across cultures (*UNCHS, 1989*). In South Africa, out of the population of 40.3 million 1993, 53 per cent are women. Of all the households in the rural areas, 59 per cent are headed by females.

Housing for women per se has gained attention only recently. Typically, until very recently gender has not been considered an important factor in the literature on housing. According to Austerberry and Watson (1986), women continue to take the major responsibility of domestic work and childcare. The division of labour within the household has been the subject of much feminist analysis in examining women's domestic role and economic dependence within the family.

If the physical conditions of the house are poor, the woman, as a domestic labourer, is usually the member of the household to be most affected. Women's domestic role, lack of financial independence, and inadequate housing provision makes the notion of concealed homelessness particularly significant for women and makes them more vulnerable. The fact that homeless women constitute the bulk of the population at risk, requires concrete, practical planning intervention.

1.3 THE HOMELESSNESS PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

1.3.1 BACKGROUND

With increasing urbanization in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s, the urban centres began to experience the problems typical of many African cities in terms of physical and social amenities. Additionally there was an economic decline. The urbanization rate increased from 40 to 70 per cent in 1990 and about 15 million Africans were urbanized. The population was 40.3 million in 1993 and was projected to 42.8 million in 1995 and 47.6 million by the year 2000 (Table 1.4). Nonetheless, a national census was carried out in October 1996 (results expected in early 1997). About 61 per cent of urban households live in formal housing and the total formal housing stock is estimated to be 3.4 million units in South Africa.

However, squatter housing still remains the dominant means whereby households access shelter in South Africa. It is estimated that the urban housing backlog in 1995 was about 1.5 million units (Department of Housing, 1994). The consequences of this backlog are physically manifested in over-crowding, squatter settlements, increasing land invasions, street homelessness and poor access to services in rural areas.

It is also estimated that 13.5 per cent of all households (1.06 million) live in squatter housing nationwide, mostly in free-standing squatter settlements on the peripheries of cities and towns, in the backyards of formal houses and in shacks. About 150,000 new households per year house themselves in this way.

Informal/shack settlements in the Witwatersrand have been increasing phenomenally and the housing backlog in Gauteng province is 561,873 units (Department of Housing). As a result, more than 20,000 shacks have been erected since June 1994. This showed an influx of about 103,000 people and the Department of Housing (1994) estimated the province's squatter population at 2.2 million.

Table 1.4 : South African Population 1980 - 2010 (million)

Year Population	1980		1985		2000		2010	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Asians	0.8	3	0.9	3	1.1	2	1.2	2
Blacks	21.1	73	24.5	73	37.3	79	48.5	69
Coloureds	2.7	9	3.0	9	3.8	8	4.2	6
Whites	4.5	15	4.9	15	5.4	11	15.8	23
Total	29.1	100	33.3	100	47.6	100	59.7	100

Source : Urban Foundation, 1990a

Note : Population Figures for 1990 were given as 38.5 million and for 2005 they are projected to be 53.4 million by the DBSA (1992a).

1.3.2 SQUATTING AND HOMELESSNESS

The problem of squatting and homelessness in South Africa dates back to the apartheid period and until recently, squatting on the Witwatersrand always took the form of shacks in the backyards of formal township stands. Since the mid-1980s, this pattern has been broken by the rapid growth of free-standing shack settlements abutting townships, peri-urban areas and even city centres.

The residential history of Johannesburg has never been free of racial considerations. The very earliest allocation of land made provision for separate locations for Africans. More importantly, blacks were prevented by the Gold Law of 1885 from owning and residing on land that had been proclaimed for mining. The land shortage and the ensuing overcrowding of black suburbs have been a recurrent theme in Johannesburg. So, too, is the periodic resettlement of black people (*Parnell and Pirie, 1991*).

After the First World War, the number of Africans in Johannesburg rose as the economy diversified away from gold and as the families of migrant workers

urbanized. Three forms of accommodation were available to those who scorned or did not qualify for servants' quarters, compounds or housing in the municipal locations :

- (1) Freehold areas of Sophiatown and Alexandra.
- (2) Malay location.
- (3) Blacks rented accommodation from white landlords on commercial and industrial property in the centre of town.

Restrictions on African (Black) settlements in Johannesburg were intensified after 1924 when the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 was made applicable to the town. This pushed the Africans to municipal shelter locations, including the Western native township. Freehold areas of Sophiatown and Alexandra were not included in the restrictions. As the available housing stock did not meet the demand for shelter, blacks defied the law and rented space in racially and culturally diverse slums of the central city.

The Johannesburg housing crisis reached critical proportions and erupted when the city population doubled during the Second World War. Housing units in the inner city, as well as municipal locations, were filled and overflowing. People, particularly women, who did not qualify for access to municipal shelter, spilled out of the slums and the backrooms of the municipal locations and squatted on the land (south-west of Johannesburg), purchased by the local authority for an African dormitory town. These well-organised and strongly led squatter groups threatened the stability of the established African townships and obliged the municipality to give priority to rehousing squatters in the post-war period.

1.3.3 APARTHEID PERIOD

The target of racial separation in Johannesburg was the same in the apartheid era as it had been before, although the procedures of division were made more formal

and were applied more vigorously. The Group Areas Act was supplemented by other instruments. In addition to effecting a ruthless programme of removals, the ideology of apartheid was imposed inside the African townships. In the South Western Native Townships (SOWETO), the customary processes of public housing allocation were adorned by gratuitous reference to a person's supposed tribal group.

An integral part of apartheid planning involved undermining African tenure. In accordance with the notion of the African's temporary status in white urban areas, title to ownership of property was reduced to 30 years in the early 1950s and was revoked completely in 1968 (*Parnell, 1989a*).

The chronic African housing crisis and the associated proliferation of sub-letting and squatting that are the hallmarks of contemporary Johannesburg have their roots in the apartheid policy of restricting African participation in expanding the economy of Johannesburg and preventing large-scale building of new housing.

1.3.4 REFORMING APARTHEID

During the 1970s Johannesburg residential development was more or less a passive echo of the ascendant ideology of racial separation. However, in time, residential patterns in the city came to reflect the decline of apartheid and even began to hasten it. Apartheid reforms followed in 1979 with the Riekert Commission's pronouncement that Africans were crucial contributors to the white urban economy. Riekert recommended changes in influx control and the ending of job reservation, and suggested that the state should foster rather than repress the African middle class. In line with the recognition of African permanence in South African cities, home-ownership was encouraged.

In practice, despite group area restrictions, black people had been penetrating "white" Johannesburg from the mid-1970s, slowly transforming it into what by

1990 was probably the most racially integrated city in South Africa.

Hillbrow and Joubert Park, once home to a shifting population of young whites, as well as a sedentary set of poor whites of all ages, had become an overcrowded, crime-ridden, black ghetto (*Van Niekerk, 1990 a and b*). The process of physical degeneration was aggravated by the illegality of the black incursion. Although there is continual shortage of affordable shelter, widespread squatting remains an exclusively African phenomenon.

In 1990, some 2.5 million people are thought to have occupied informal housing around Johannesburg, 50,000 of them in squatter shacks (*Mashabela, 1990*). Half of the Africans living on the Rand are accommodated in informal rather than formal housing.

At Mshenguville in Soweto, and Kwa-Green on the Alexandra border, sub-tenants have been squeezed out of backyards on to nearby vacant land. At places such as Vlakfontein and Wheeler's Farm, whites on small holdings have let sites to squatters. In an effort to eradicate these "black spots", the government established site-and-service camps which are dumping grounds for squatters evicted from other localities, (e.g. a consolidated squatter camp at Orange Farm, south of Johannesburg (*Mashabela, 1988; Cranckshaw & Hart, 1990*)).

Thus, the problem of housing and homelessness in South Africa can be attributed to quantitative deficiency (in terms of the 1.5 million housing backlog) and qualitative deficiency (very poor quality of housing = shack housing types).

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Arising from the foregoing, it is obvious that there has been no clear involvement of the homeless themselves in solving their problems, there have been no specific development efforts at understanding and solving the street homelessness problem

at grassroots and, finally, there has been no clear planning model/approach or response developed to specifically alleviate the problem.

Thus, the question is, how can the application of a theoretical planning approach lead to an understanding of and practical solutions to the homelessness problem?

1.5 RESEARCH GOAL

To examine the problem of homelessness from a planning and gender perspective, with the purpose of applying or using a theoretical approach, which will lead to an understanding of, and practical solutions to, the homelessness problem in African cities and more broadly, elsewhere.

1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

To achieve this broad goal and to answer the question above, the following specific objectives were set:

1. To examine the role of government, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs) in addressing the homelessness problem.
2. To identify an appropriate theoretical approach and to establish its application in addressing the homelessness problem.
3. To examine the dimension of street homelessness among women.
4. To appraise the socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the street homeless (age, status, education, housing, access to land, employment and health facilities), particularly among women.
5. To assess the underlying and structural causes and consequences of street homelessness.
6. To propose practical planning strategies that would be derived from the theoretical approach to be adopted in addressing the street homelessness

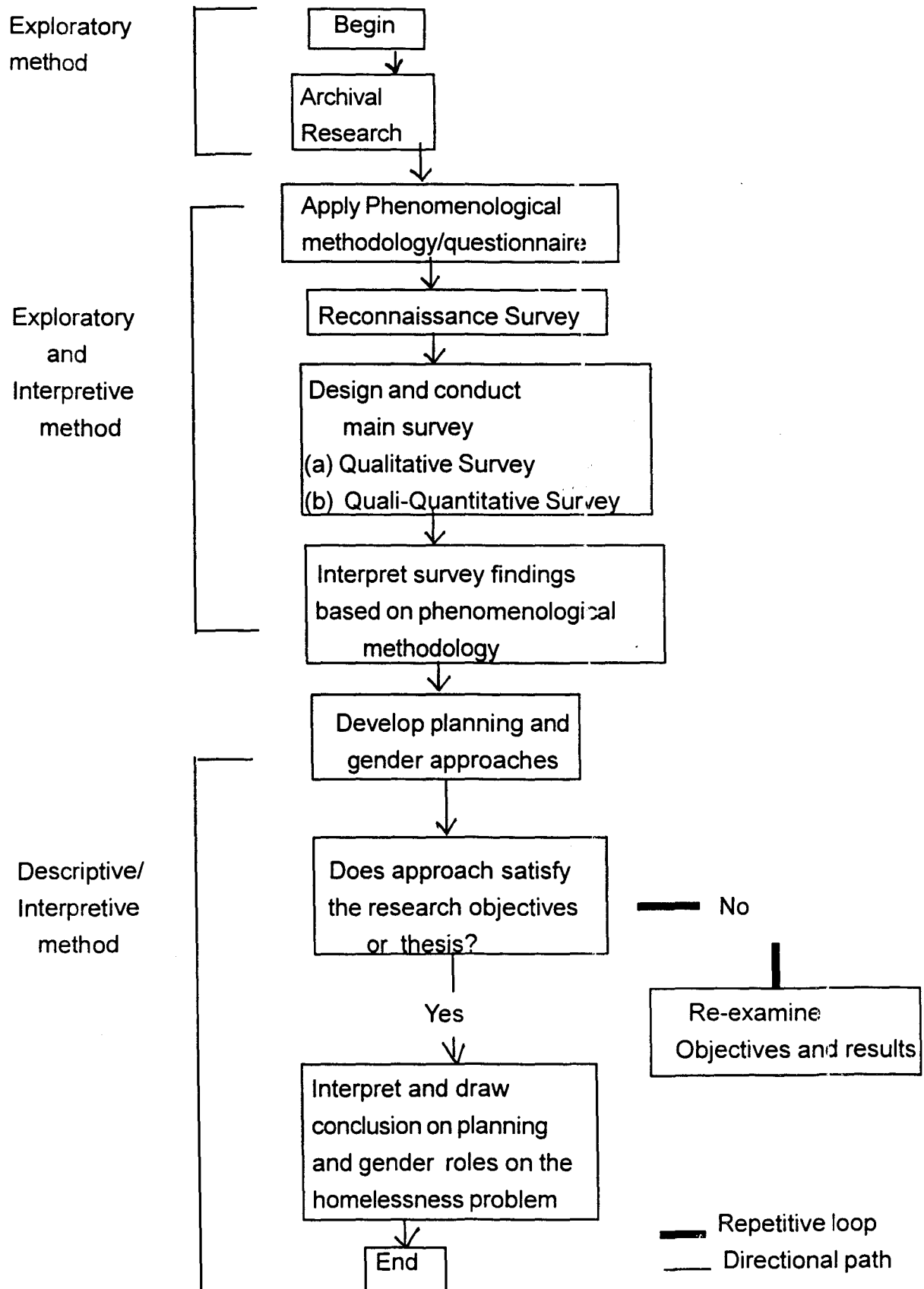
problem in African cities and elsewhere.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

1.7.1 Data Collection Procedure

The study adopts the following data collection procedure (figure 1.3) :

- (a) Archival studies were carried out from library search, appropriate textbooks and relevant journals. This was to familiarise the author with the available literature and empirical studies on the homeless and the various approaches that have been adopted in the resolution of the homelessness problem. To supplement this, informal interviews were conducted among government officials, NGOs and CBOs to document efforts made by these bodies on the homelessness problem.
- (b) A preliminary survey was undertaken to identify the street homeless people in Johannesburg's inner city. This enabled the author to categorise the different groups of the street homeless, the nature of their problem and their locational distribution.
- (c) To complement the above, qualitative data was obtained by conducting focus group discussions (FGD) among groups of selected female street homeless. This was to obtain the opinion of this group on their housing needs and possible planning interventions and government assistance in the light of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Figure 1.3 : Flow chart indicating the Research Methodology

A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) method were carried out among street homeless women in three identified groups. This is in line with the Phenomenological Methodology in Planning.

- (d) Qualitative/Quantitative data was also collected through broad fieldwork carried out on street homeless men and women in Johannesburg city (for the purpose of frequency analysis and triangulation only). A questionnaire was formulated to elicit information on the socio-economic characteristics of the street homeless, particularly women, their housing form, access to basic needs of water, health and sanitation among others. Graphs and pictures were used for illustrative purposes.
- (e) A brief explanation of the Phenomenological methodology is shown below to further clarify the approach of the study. Phenomenological theory is seen as a method which seeks to describe "the essential nature of things and experiences (allows original experiences to be seen) as they are in their terms" (*Seamon, 1979 : 16; Pickles, 1985 : 2*). By conducting an FGD on the female homeless, the author was able to see the original experiences of these women and make appropriate interpretations of these experiences.

The phenomenological perspective on participation requires that the values of the street homeless community, those of the least powerful - the street homeless women - be at the bedrock of the process. This means that the disempowered street homeless women should decide on the decision procedure to be pursued. Phenomenological theory allows for the everyday life of the street homeless women to be seen in the appropriate perspective and its concept of experiential and intentionality principles are taken to be concerned with the perceived environment of the homeless in this context.

The importance of phenomenology is based upon the study of problems as unique entities. Thus, with regards to the street homeless women, the goal is to empower this group, with the associated objectives of decreasing dependency, increasing social, economic and personal development and sustainability. The aim is also to promote self-determination, self-reliance and dignity, dismantle discriminatory, oppressive and paternalistic structures and replace these with developmental, liberating systems (*Muller, 1993*).

By and large, the contention is that participation by the street homeless women must be actualized in a fitting methodology. The methodology must accordingly acknowledge the values, beliefs and perception of the homeless and that the philosophy of phenomenology provides a frame of reference for the methodology within which their values can be placed.

This approach or methodology sets out a planning framework that will play a meaningful role in the empowerment of the homeless who constitute part of the population at risk and in particular, the female homeless who are the most vulnerable and who constitute the hidden or concealed homeless.

- (f) It is on the premises of a thorough synthesis of methods ((a) to (e)) based on the theoretical approach that the information and data collected or responses elicited from the street homeless women is used and developed into practical planning solutions.

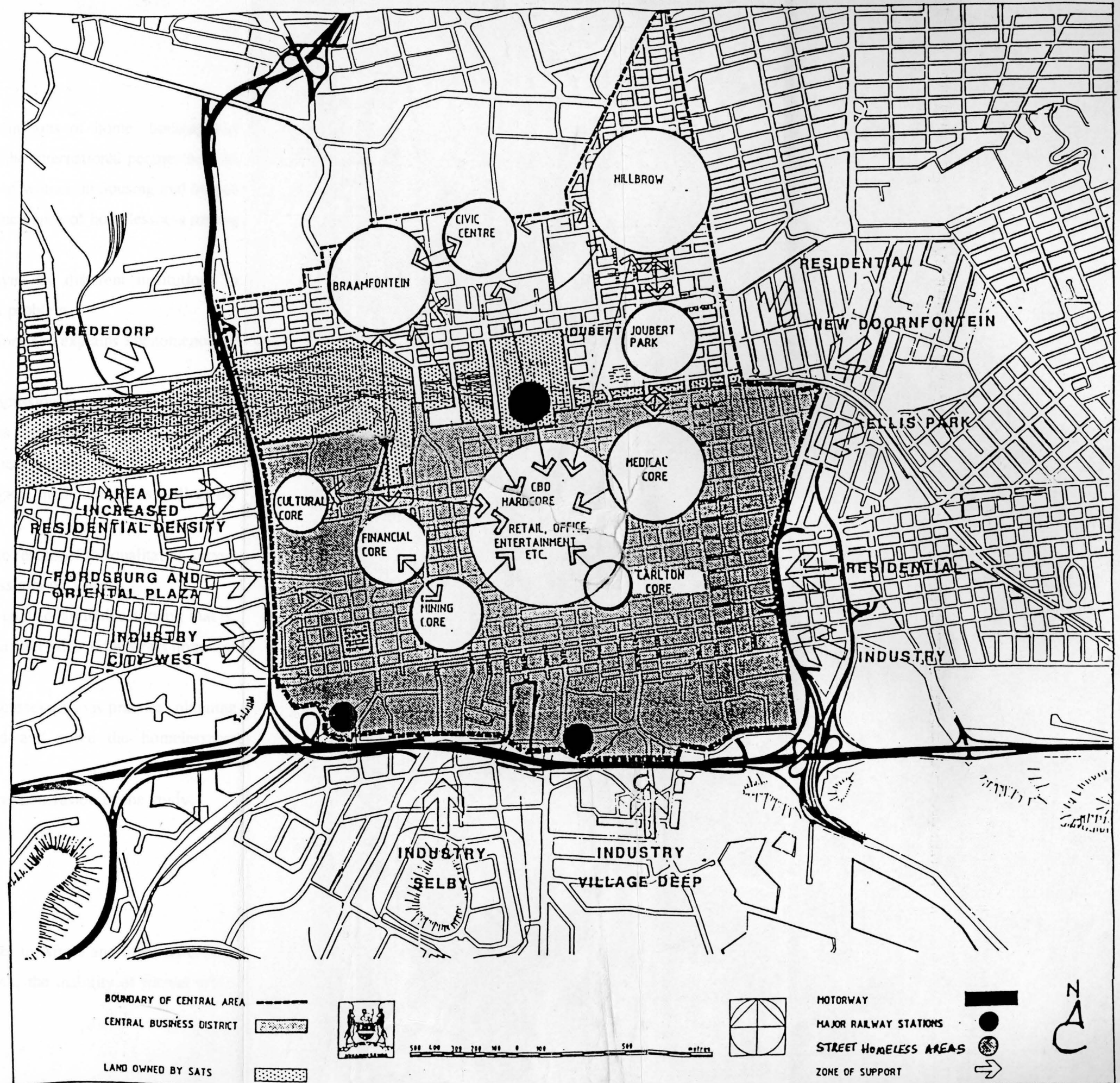
Thus, if the results can be shown to provide a framework through which theoretical and practical planning strategies can be used in understanding and solving the homelessness problem, then a contribution to knowledge would have been made.

opportunities in a number of sectors including manufacturing and service sectors and it is surrounded by peripheral suburban growth (Figure 1.5). The east-west development axis parallels the railway line and the gold "axis".

Johannesburg, or Egoli (the place of gold) is a major world city and is set to become one of the world's regional financial centres. Yet there is a perception that the socio-economic environment is deteriorating rapidly. As in western cities worldwide, the central city is undergoing decentralisation of retail functions and offices, but it is also experiencing the impact of rapid urbanisation. Degeneration of inner city areas, perceived lack of attractive amenities, coupled with crime, have threatened investors and public confidence in the city centre.

The inner city landscape is one in which a rapidly increasing demand for assistance is met by a diminished capacity to supply both shelter and services. The population at risk in this system must be regarded as potential homeless. From the survey carried out, it is evident that the Johannesburg inner city, like all other inner city areas worldwide, is fast becoming a locale of the homeless and attention must be paid to this phenomenon by planners and policy makers.

Figure 1.5 : The Johannesburg CBD as part of the multi-nucleated central area



1.9 ORGANISATION OF CHAPTERS

- Chapter Two discusses the various definitions of home, housing and homelessness. It reviews literature and the international perspectives on homelessness. It also discusses the role of women in housing and human settlements development as well as the incidence of homelessness among women.
- Chapter Three discusses the roles played by different institutions in addressing and solving the homelessness problem.
- Chapter Four reviews the planning traditions and explains Phenomenology as a theoretical base to this study.
- Chapter Five further strengthens the discussion started in Chapter Four and it substantiates Phenomenology as the appropriate approach in understanding and solving the homelessness problem.
- Chapter Six describes the phenomenological methodology as well as the findings of the reconnaissance survey.
- Chapter Seven describes and interprets the results of the qualitative survey and the dimensions of street homelessness among women.
- Chapter Eight discusses the results of the quali-quantitative survey, that is, the socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the street homeless gender.
- Chapter Nine in view of the findings discusses various practical planning strategies and proposals to understand and solve the homelessness problem.
- Chapter Ten gives a summary and general conclusion of the study.

1.10 SUMMARY

The increase in the prevalence of irregular shelter in Africa and other nations of the world reflects the rapid rates of urban growth, the inability of formal urban

management mechanisms and planning procedures to keep pace with the financial exigencies and the often inappropriately expensive nature of formal housing provided.

Specifically, the proliferation of shack settlements and homelessness in South African cities is a phenomenon which could have been avoided with better planning if apartheid and economic policies had not been allowed to shape and control the cities. The enforcement of the racial segregation of residential areas, together with mass demolitions, have also contributed to the incidence of sub-standard or inadequate housing.

The spectre of homelessness, from the background given in this chapter, looms large worldwide, but the solutions so far sought amount to no more than cosmetic treatment of a problem which calls for basic structural changes in society.

The homeless constitute part of the population at risk in the urban areas and the female homeless are more vulnerable. The various interventions by governments and policy makers have failed and the homeless keep on increasing in thousands, continuing to invade, encroach and occupy any available open space.

Due to the fact that there has been no clear planning response to the problem of homelessness, this study was conceived to examine the problem of homelessness with a view to applying a theoretical framework to foster the understanding of, as well as practical planning solutions to, the problem. This will contribute to the existing body of knowledge relating to planning and housing.

This chapter gives a background to the homelessness problem and sets the goal and objectives as well as the methodology adopted in carrying out the fieldwork. Emphasis is placed on the use of focus group discussion as a phenomenological tool in examining the street homelessness phenomenon in Johannesburg inner city.

The next chapter is an extensive review of international, national and local

literature on homelessness. The chapter examines the conceptual definitions and gender perspectives of homelessness.

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Who Am I?

Who am I?
What was I?
Who will I be?
I long for what?

Where is my challenge?
I am alive to be challenged
Tears and problems are common
When will this end?

For how long
Breathing joblessness and homelessness?
Why others live in paradise on this earth?
Me, always in hell on this earth.

Where is the Manna of today's bread?
Joy is very far
Do I not have the right to be happy?
Oh-oh always problems

Can I eat problems and be satisfied?
Or build a house using
Suffering problems bricks?
Can it stand and shelter me?

What's the solution to problems
that never end?
Reply me?
Who will I be?

Itayi (1995)

CHAPTER TWO

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF HOMELESSNESS

2.0 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

This chapter reviews the literature on the homeless internationally, within the African continent and South Africa specifically. It also examines the definitional concepts of the homeless, the role of women in Human Settlements Development and the prevalence of women among the homeless people. This is with a view to making appropriate planning proposals on the homeless women's problem.

In the literature on women and housing, particularly that which pertains to poor women in the developing countries, the terms shelter and settlement are often substituted for the word housing. These terms are used to signify not just the physical structure that provides protection, but also the environment surrounding this structure, including the physical infrastructure, social services, amenities, and other resources available to the residents (*Dandekar, 1986, 1993a and b, 1994*). This terminology assumes a truer representation of what constitutes home to many poor women, particularly in countries where the physical house itself may only be a tiny, one room, dilapidated shed of recycled materials located on the edge of a street right-of-way.

2.1 DEFINITIONS OF HOMELESSNESS

There is remarkably little consensus among policy makers, researchers, local authorities and voluntary housing organisations as to a definition of homeless, although the meaning attributed to it has important implications for quantification,

policy and provision and for any explanation of its cause.

Homelessness to most people means houselessness, but over the years, it has been used to include bad housing situations. People were not only homeless who were houseless, but were homeless where the conditions in which they lived simply could not be termed homes. Abrams (1966) opined that a street sleeper or homeless person is a mobile squatter without house. Robertson, Rogers and Boyer (1984) cited in Wolch et al (1988) defined homelessness simply as the absence of a stable residence, of a place where one can sleep and receive mail. There are degrees of homelessness which span a continuum ranging from lack of permanent shelter to inadequate housing conditions and living arrangements (Austerberry and Watson, 1986). Another definition of homelessness incorporates a dimension of disaffiliation and social isolation as well as the simple lack of shelter (Bachrach, 1984b).

Ellen Bassuk (1984) drew attention to the complexity of arriving at a simple definition by observing that there is usually no single, simple reason for an individual becoming homeless. Rather homelessness is often the final stage in a lifelong series of crises and mixed opportunities, the culmination of a gradual disengagement from supportive relationships and institutions. Bramley (1988) defined situations of homelessness as :

- (1) People literally without a roof over their heads, including those regularly sleeping rough, newly arrived migrants, victims of fire, flood, violence or severe harassment.
- (2) People in accommodation specifically provided on a temporary basis to the homeless (hostels), bed and breakfast, etc.
- (3) People with insecure or impermanent tenures, for example those in tied accommodation who change jobs, tenants under notice to quit, squatters and licensed occupiers of short life housing, and owner-occupiers experiencing mortgage foreclosure.

- (4) People shortly to be released from institutional accommodations, for example prison, detention centre, psychiatric hospital, foster homes, hostel, and who have no existing alternative accommodation or household to join.
- (5) Households who are sharing accommodation involuntarily.
- (6) Individuals or groups living within an existing household where either :
 - (a) there is a relationship with the rest of the household; and
 - (b) living conditions are highly unsatisfactory and intolerable for any extended period.
- (7) Individuals or groups living within existing households whose relationships and conditions are tolerable, but where the individuals or groups concerned have a clear preference to live separately. This includes cases where the potential household is currently split up but would like to live together.

The Department of Environment (*DOE, 1981*) defined homelessness as:

- (a) Being without adequate shelter now.
- (b) Facing the loss of shelter within one month.
- (c) Living in a situation of no security of tenure and being forced to seek alternative accommodation within a time period which the client considers to be immediate, e.g. potential discharges from institutions of all types; people living with friends and relatives in overcrowded conditions over illegal tenancies.
- (d) Those living in : reception centres, derelict buildings, squatters, hostels, lodging houses, cheap hotels and boarding houses.

Labeodan (*1987 : 22, 1989 : 76-77*) defined the homeless as "those displaced by flood, drought, fire disasters, refugees and illegal immigrants, psychotic or mentally retarded people, disabled and able-bodied beggars, those sleeping under the bridges, pavements and roadside kerbs. Those who lack real homes in the

sense of it and the social lepers - these are destitutes, orphans, the jobless and poverty-stricken ones with no place to lay their heads, no salary, no helper, this group of people live at the mercy of God".

Similarly, Snow and Anderson (1993) posited that homelessness in one form or the other has existed throughout much of human history.

Homelessness, according to Avramov (1995 : 72), is "lack of access to adequate personal accommodation and homeless people are those who are unable to access and maintain an adequate personal dwelling from their own resources, and people unable to maintain personal accommodation unless secured with community care". Thus, exclusion from personal accommodation defines the condition of homelessness.

Some people are rendered homeless by mass disasters such as floods, earthquakes or hurricanes. Others are homeless because the labour they perform forces them into perpetual migration. Some face homelessness when they flee their countries for political or economic reasons. And still others confront homelessness when deep-seated economic and institutional changes push them into the streets.

Austerberry and Watson (1986) argued that homelessness must be analyzed within the context of the specific social and economic conditions of the time. That perceptions and definitions of homelessness have important implications for explanations of homelessness and for the nature of provision and policy towards the defined homeless population as well as toward those not so defined.

Given these background definitions of homelessness, it is evident that it is a global phenomenon and not peculiar to South Africa only.

This study defines homelessness (see Chapter One) within the socio-economic context of South Africa and within the perceptions and framework of the homeless people sampled.

The European Observatory on Homelessness has developed a fourfold classification that can be used to define the condition of homelessness and evaluate its extent:

- "rooflessness (i.e. sleeping rough);
- houselessness (i.e. living in institutions or short term guest accommodation);
- insecure accommodation; and
- inferior or substandard housing"

(Daly, 1994; UNCHS, 1996 : 1).

2.2 CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION OF HOMELESSNESS, HOME AND A HOUSE

A house is generally taken to be synonymous with a dwelling or a physical structure. A home implies particular social relations or activities within a physical structure (*Austerberry and Watson, 1986*). The home as a social concept is strongly linked to a notion of family - the parental home, the marital home, the ancestral home. The word "home" conjures up images such as personal warmth, comfort, stability and security, carrying a meaning beyond the notion of shelter.

Gurney (1990) sees a home as an ideological construct created from people's emotionally charged experiences of where they happen to live. He was of the view that the home cannot be adequately understood in terms of taxonomic generalizations. Gurney argues that even the homeless have a home and declares that for single people living rough, the cultural milieu of life on the street became a means of redefining home. It can be admitted that many street people do gain a sense of home from being adopted by more experienced ones (*Lonsdale, 1990*), but this does not mean that they have a real (or what they would call a real) home.

Home is not just a matter of feelings and lived experience, but also of cognition and intellectual construction. People may have a sense of home even though they have no experience or memory of it.

Austerberry and Watson (1986) revealed in their research a number of different meanings of home, such as decent material conditions and standards, emotional and physical wellbeing, loving and caring social relations, control and privacy and simply living/sleeping place. In contrast, their responses defined homelessness as poor material conditions, lack of emotional and physical wellbeing, lack of social relations, lack of control and privacy, and simply rooflessness.

Homelessness, like home, is an ideological construct (*Somerville, 1992 : 530*).

People distinguish between the absence of real home (meaning a failure to experience home in an ideal sense) and the lack of something which can be called a home for them (meaning lack of abode). Homelessness, like home, is a multi-dimensional concept as seen on Tables 2.1 and 2.2. Seven key signifiers were identified by Somerville (1992) and this is supported by Austerberry and Watson's (1986) empirical findings. According to Table 2.1, home as shelter connotes the material form of home in terms of a physical structure which affords protection, at least a roof over one's head.

Home as hearth connotes the warmth and cosiness which a home provides to the body, causing one to relax in comfort and ensuring a welcoming and homely atmosphere to others. Home as heart emphasizes emotional rather than physiological security and health, with associated images of a happy and stable home based on mutual affection and support.

Home as privacy involves the power to control one's own boundaries. Home as roots means one's source of identity and meaningfulness, involving a sense of security which Gurney (1990) defines as ontological security because it is concerned with one's sense of "being in the world" (*Heidegger, 1967*). Home as abode implies a definite spatial position, not necessarily fixed. Home as paradise is an idealisation of all the positive features of home fused together.

Table 2.1 : The meaning of home

Key Signifier	General Connotation	Sense of Security	In relation to :	
			Self	Others
Shelter	Materiality	Physical	Protection	Roofing
Hearth	Warmth	Physiological	Relaxation	Homeliness
Heart	Love	Emotional	Happiness	Stability
Privacy	Control	Territorial	Possession	Exclusion
Roots	Source of Identity	Ontological	Sense	Reference
Abode	Place	Spatial	Rest	Living/sleeping space
Paradise	Ideality	Spiritual	Bliss	Non-existence?

Source : Somerville (1992)

Table 2.2 : The meaning of homelessness

Key Signifier	General Connotation	Sense of Insecurity	In relation to :	
			Self	Others
Lack of shelter	Material deprivation	Physical	Exposure	Rooflessness
Lack of hearth	Coldness	Physiological	Stress	Alienating
Heartlessness	Indifference	Emotional	Misery	Instability
Lack of privacy	Powerlessness	Territorial	Surveillance	Vulnerability
Rootlessness	Anomie	Ontological	Senselessness	Lost
Lack of abode	Placenessness	Spatial	Restlessness	(Impossible!)
Purgatory	Ideality	Spiritual	Suffering	Non-existence?

Source : Somerville (1992)

On the other hand, Table 2.2 shows that to a very large extent, homelessness can be expressed as the semantic contrary of home. "This is certainly the case with the key signifiers of lack of shelter, lack of hearth, heartlessness, lack of privacy, rooflessness, lack of abode and purgatory (or should it be hell?), and with the senses of insecurity associated with those signifiers (Somerville, 1992 : 534). The minimal definition of homelessness is lack of shelter or rooflessness, not lack of

abode.

Home and homelessness have been found to be essentially ideological constructs, involving compounds of cognitive and emotive meaning, and embracing within their meaning complex and variable distinctions between ideality and reality. Home and homelessness are seen as being socially constructed both as imagined ideality and as experienced and intellectualised reality.

2.3 AN OVERVIEW OF THE GLOBAL DIMENSIONS OF HOMELESSNESS

The homeless are those at the bottom rung of the housing ladder. Many are not even on the ladder and have little or no chance at the moment of getting into it (*Bailey, 1977*). The Greve (*1971*) report on homelessness stated that nobody knows or has ever known how many homeless people there are and there is no agreement about what in fact homelessness is. This is still the situation today. It is a global national disaster because of the increasing scale of money various governments have wasted on the problem without solving it. This section gives an overview of the global situation of homelessness using experiences from different countries and cities of the world with a view to establishing common features, forms, similarities and their application to South Africa generally, and Johannesburg specifically.

2.3.1 European Countries

"Homelessness is a problem in the United Kingdom and there are about 120,000 families" (*Trench and Oc, 1990 : 137*). The current problems of the United Kingdom cities and their residents are caused by personal and local authority poverty, unemployment, neighbourhood deterioration, crime, and inadequate mobility (*Krumholtz et al, 1975*). The 1977 Homeless Persons Act consolidated in the 1985 Housing Act was enacted as a response to an acute and increasing problem.

The bill was sloppy and ill-prepared and it failed to solve the homelessness problem.

Figures in 1987 showed that about 8,000 homeless families were accommodated in bed and breakfast at a cost of over 100 million pounds (*Fox and Steam, 1987*). Hoath (1990) examined the legal definition of homelessness and applied it to a variety of factual situations. For example, that of a man and a woman (married or unmarried) who have children but do not have any accommodation in which they can live together, so that each partner is forced to live with his or her respective parents. Part three of the Housing Act of 1985 represents crucial legislation. It deals with the fundamental human need for a roof over one's head, a need which was recognized by the United Nations when it designated 1987 as an International Year of Shelter for the Homeless.

It has been known for some time that domestic friction and disputes have accounted for an increasing proportion of homelessness cases. Figures show that over 50 per cent of homeless households fell into this category. Of these, 15 per cent were the product of a marital dispute and 37 per cent were people who had been sharing accommodation with parents, other relatives or friends and had been required to leave (*Raynsford, 1978*). Their homelessness had been primarily a reflection of problems of access to housing - the fact that they had been unable to find anywhere to live - and this does emphasize the extent to which homelessness is rooted in Britain's wider housing problems. Bramley, et al (1988), pointed out four factors that intensified housing problems in London for the unemployed and low paid:

- (1) Continued decline of private renting.
- (2) Increasing economic and social inequality.
- (3) The increasing costs of home ownership.
- (4) Decline in council renting.

The incidence of homelessness remains particularly high in London; out of every 1,000 households, 2.6 were accepted as homeless in London in the first three months of 1978 compared with 1.6 in other metropolitan districts and only 1.3 in non-metropolitan districts (*Raynsford, 1978*).

It is estimated that the number of single homeless people in London in 1992 alone - including those sleeping rough, squatting or living in short life properties, hostels, night shelters or bed and breakfast hotels - varied between 64,500 and 140,000 (*Bramley et al, 1988; Spaul, 1992*).

Bramley shows that by multiple regression analysis, it is possible to predict just over half the variation in the ratio of acceptance to population by reference to local social and housing variables. On the other hand, CRISIS (1994) reports that every single night, there are over 17,000 people in temporary accommodation in London hostels and night shelters.

A survey by Burrows and Walentowicz (1992), estimated a total of 1.7 million homeless people in England in the 1990s (Table 2.3).

**Table 2.3 : Estimate of unofficial homelessness :
Actual and potential (England 1990s)**

Description	Estimate of Numbers
People sleeping rough	Up to 8,000 (shelter estimate)
Unauthorised tenants/squatters	Up to 5,000 (shelter estimate)
Single people in hostels	Up to 60,000 (1991, DOE)
Single people in lodgings	Up to 77,000 (1989, DSS)
Insecure private tenants	Up to 317,000 (1992, UPCS)
Hidden homeless people	Up to 1,200,000 (shelter estimate)
Total	1,712,000 +

Source : Burrows and Walentowicz (1992)

The survey by Burrows and Walentowicz (1992) is further corroborated by the report on the homeless in the European Union countries (*Avramov, 1995*).

It is estimated that in England and Wales, the actual number of households that applied for housing as homeless was 352,394 and the number of people living in these households was estimated at 845,000 (*Avramov, 1995*).

In Italy, the estimated number of people with no fixed abode stands at between 50,000 - 60,000. In order to assess the magnitude of homelessness, Tosi and Ranci (*1993*) affirm that at least 70,000 homeless immigrants should be added. He further estimated a total of 500,000 people living in extreme poverty and under severe housing stress. Altogether, *Avramov (1995)* estimated the minimum number of homeless in Italy at between 150,000 and 220,000.

On the basis of available data among the European Union countries, the minimum number of people every year who depend on public and voluntary services for temporary shelter and housing was tentatively estimated at 1.8 million (Table 2.4). On an average day as many as 1.1 million people may have to rely on accommodation provided by the public and voluntary sector, or squat or sleep rough, because they cannot afford a home.

However, estimates of the number of homeless people, which would include homeless people in boarding houses and furnished rooms who are paying for their own temporary accommodation or are casually doubling up with friends or relatives, would considerably increase these figures. Accordingly, on the average, the minimum estimates of the extent of homelessness in the European Union is between 30 - 50 per cent. The implication is that in the 12 member states of the European Union, between 2.3 million and 2.7 million people may be homeless over the course of the year (*Avramov, 1995*). "The estimates showed that close to 18 million European Union citizens are homeless or extremely badly housed" (*Avramov, 1995 : 114*).

Table 2.4 : Estimated average annual number of homeless people who may have been dependent on public or voluntary services in the early 1990s

Country	On an average day, or on the day of survey	Over the course of a year
Belgium	4 000	5 500 (1993)
Germany	490 700	876 450 (1994)
Denmark	2 947	4 000 (1992)
Spain	8 000	11 000 (1991)
France	250 000	346 000 (1993)
Greece	5 500	7 700 (1993)
Ireland	2 667	3 700 (1993)
Italy	56 000	78 000 (1994)
Luxembourg	194	200 (1994)
Netherlands	7 000	12 000 (1994)
Portugal	3 000	4 000 (1993)
United Kingdom	283 000	460 000 (1993)
Total	1 113 008	1 808 550

Source : Avramov (1995)

The explosion of homelessness in Britain has been most apparent in the major urban areas. Early studies of homelessness identified key causes as rent arrears, landlord acquiring accommodation, unauthorised occupancy and family disputes. Young people and ethnic minorities are more heavily represented, and the non-tenurial nature of their housing policy with its pre-occupation with the extension of home ownership has placed less emphasis on the provision of cheaper, easy access rental accommodation. What is novel is the changed content in which the homeless is increasing and becoming more diverse in nature and origin. The new homeless in Britain are more obviously affected by economic changes and restructuring rather than market change alone.

"It is a strange paradox to write about poverty and homelessness in France since there is a social policy, yet the problem exists" (*Ferrand-Bechman, 1988 : 147*). France's social policy is quite sufficient to cover the needs of handicapped people,

elderly, jobless and families with dependent children. But there are groups who do not qualify to apply to special locations and thus remain in deep misery. The homeless in France are first poor and isolated, and then homeless. The report indicates that the number of homeless people or those in emergency lodging would be about 200,000 to 400,000. Official statistics in the 1982 census indicate the existence of 20,620 emergency dwellings and 120,700 people living in lodgings, while in 1993, there were about 346,000 homeless people in France (Table 2.4).

The homelessness problem in Finland is mainly concentrated in Helsinki metropolitan area where the homeless people account for about half of the homeless in Finland. A substantial number of the homeless are single, unemployed men while about one tenth are women.

2.3.2 America

The nature and intensity of the housing problem in America shows that substantial numbers of people are now facing the most extreme form of housing deprivation - not simply inadequate housing - but homelessness.

The National Coalition for the homeless estimated there were 2.5 million homeless in 1985, up by a million since 1982 (*Wolch, Dear and Akita, 1988*). On any given night in the United States, the demand for bed space exceeded supply by 140,000 (*U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1984b*).

Homelessness is a term used instead of words like : "vagrant", "derelict", "bum" that were regularly used when describing this sector of the undeserving (*Hopper and Hamberg, 1986*).

The housing problem in the United States has several distinct aspects : availability, affordability, quality, security and inequality. The treatment of housing as a commodity and its subservience to the maintenance of profitability are seen as the root causes of the nation's housing problems in conjunction with vast inequalities in income and wealth and the role of racism and sexism in perpetuating these inequalities (*Bratt, Hartman and Meyerson, 1986*). In the early 1980s, the U.S. economy worsened and the housing market tightened even more, the limits of tolerance were reached, and widespread homelessness resulted. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in a report estimated that the most reliable range for the total number of homeless on a given night was between 250,000 and 325,000 (*U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, 1984b*).

Estimates of those tottering on the brink of homelessness are even more difficult to obtain. Nevertheless, there is ample reason to believe that significant numbers of people are making do under barely tolerable circumstances, doubling up, squatting in abandoned buildings, living in dwellings without heat, taking up permanent residence in flop-houses(*Hopper and Hamberg, 1986*).

Studies of homelessness in the United States typically cite four main causes of the increase:

1. Rising rates of unemployment (especially among the young minorities).
2. A dire shortage of affordable housing.
3. The de-institutionalization of patients from psychiatric hospitals.
4. Intensive reviews of disability benefit recipients coupled with tighter eligibility restrictions.

Crown (1988) focuses on a microcosm of homelessness while Hope and Young (1986) offer an in-depth perspective on homelessness as an urban dynamic and use various cities as case studies. Hoch and Slayton (1989) contend that the recent

wholesale demolitions of single room occupancy (SRO) have been a contributing factor in the creation of the "new" homeless population. Thus, they made a case against "shelterization" of the homeless and instead advocate the rehabilitation and development of SRO type environments that provide autonomy and community for working poor and service dependent populations.

Hoch and Slayton (1989) suggest using the SRO community as a model of supportive housing for the homeless, arguing that neither the market nor entitlement based welfare programmes can solve the homelessness crisis.

Wright (1989) pointed out that the homeless are not a monolithic group. He reveals that the homeless are not primarily lazy, shiftless men who choose to drink alcohol instead of working. Wright finds out that there are numerous homeless children under 19 years, adult women, families, elderly men, veterans, mentally and physically disabled people and working people. He points out that people become literally homeless because they are extremely poor and cannot successfully compete for a dwindling supply of low income housing.

Appelbaum et al (1991) assert that as a result of the above inadequacies, the homeless population has increased between 20 -25 per cent a year. The U.S. Conference of Mayors annual surveys (1989) revealed that the number of poor Americans is now about 33 million people, is growing and the poor are getting poorer. In fact the survey found that almost one quarter of the homeless work but simply have wages too low to afford permanent housing. Homelessness stands out as a rising social problem in industrialized countries, mainly because of a sharp quantitative increase in the 1980s.

Burt's (1992) study on the homeless presents a multivariate analysis of the relationship of proposed causal factors to homelessness in U.S. cities with population over 100,000 between 1981 and 1989. She used public data sources to measure the hypothesized causal factors (independent variables) and measured rates of homelessness for a sample of large cities. She recommended that more

renters should be subsidized, housing segregation and discrimination be reduced and among other things, emphasized education and training.

Goetz (1992), in a Los Angeles case study, shows that homelessness policy has often been subsumed by conflicts over land use, and that a degree of effective advocacy by homeless activists and the expansion of local services for the homeless, the direction of homeless policy in the city has ultimately reflected the land use objective of the city officials.

The homelessness problem is presented as a land use value problem (*Goetz, 1992*). The existence of homeless people living and sleeping on city streets and in parks, has a depressing impact on the exchange value of urban land. That is, business people complain about the adverse impact of homeless people on business activity as customers begin to stay away; property owners fear a diminution in the value of their landholdings if homeless persons or even service agencies for the homeless settle nearby. City officials worry about the investment attractiveness of downtown areas in the vicinity of homeless encampments.

Wagner (1993) offers an ethnography of the street people in New England city. He explored the way of life of the homeless as it is perceived by themselves. The study is based on empirical material consisting of a two-year participant observation and in-depth interview data. The main thesis was that street people are not just passive victims of society but they "struggle to survive resisting the dominant social institutions, while at the same time developing alternative forms of social organization" (*Wagner, 1993 : 18*).

In another study, Wolch and Dear (1993) reiterate that official estimates suggest that 700,000 people were homeless in the United States on a single day in 1991. This made Wolch and Dear to calculate that there are up to 1.1 million episodes of homelessness during the year. In Los Angeles alone, they estimate that in 1992, there was a nightly population of up to 36,000

To explain why homelessness has increased so rapidly in recent years, Wolch and Dear (1993 : 2) argue that "reduced to its essentials, homelessness is an expression and extension of poverty in the United States". Rising levels of poverty reflect the growing marginalisation of a wider section of the working class, as economic restructuring has replaced old manufacturing industries with low-paid and insecure employment opportunities for people lacking specialist skills. They recognise the fact that the numbers of people who actually become homeless represent only a small proportion of those at risk, who they refer to as the "protohomeless".

Jencks (1994) examines the homelessness situation in the United States from a macro-social point of view, focusing on the determination of its causes. He notes the difficulty of quantifying a population that is not figured in official statistics and not easily accessible. He observes that homelessness has increased fourfold in the United States in the last 15 years and at the end of the 1980s, it affects about 300,000 - 400,000 American people.

Jencks considers the spread of homelessness as a by-product of :

1. The elimination of involuntary commitment for the mentally ill with the eviction of mental hospital patients who had nowhere to go.
2. The advent of crack.
3. Increases of long-term joblessness among working age men.
4. The declining frequency of marriage among women with children.
5. Reductions in cash welfare benefits.
6. Political restrictions on the creation of flop houses.

In Sao Paulo, Brazil, shanty towns have sprung up everywhere in the city. Out of desperation, the homeless invade private properties and vacant lots and erect precarious tin huts, sometimes right next to stately homes and modern apartment buildings. Thousands of people live on the streets of Lima, Bogota and Rio de

Janeiro.

In Canada, a snapshot of the homeless found more than 8,000 people across the country in temporary or emergency shelters (*Shelter News*, 1987).

These figures do not include those who sleep on the streets, in abandoned buildings or double up with acquaintances or friends. Nor do they include people sent to hotels or put up in jails because no other shelter is available.

2.3.3 Asia and Far East Countries

Homelessness is regarded as an act of man in India. Research reports say millions survive on the streets (*Shelter News*, 1987). Om Kumar (1987) reiterates that about 30 per cent of the population of major cities in India lived in squatter settlements. He further highlights that a typical squatter site in India was normally a disadvantaged piece of public land, for example, rocky hillside or unused graveyard or could be unprotected private land, surreptitiously encroached upon in stages. The size of these settlements ranged from a few huts to big shanty townships. In Calcutta, some 600,000 people sleep in the streets, while census figures for Bombay in 1963 showed that one in every 66 persons was homeless while another 77,000 people lived under stairways, in cattle sheds or similar spaces (*Abrams*, 1966). One of the biggest squatter settlements is located in Bombay, India, in which nearly one million people are living. New Delhi has a squatter population of about 2.25 million out of an estimated population of 7.9 million in 1987 (*Abdelli*, 1987). In a country where the estimated housing shortage is 24.7 million dwelling units, people without homes are a common sight. Nearby, in vacant lots, along highways, railroad tracks, tents have sprouted. Used sacks and old rags are layered and shaped into shelters for countless numbers of homeless (*Labeodan*, 1987).

In Hong Kong, it has not been unusual for street cleaners to find human carcasses which they remove on their morning rounds. More than one million homeless

people are living in Jakarta and Manila. Squatter communities in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia have grown from 150,000 in 1967 to more than 243,000 in 1980. Squatters and slum dwellers now account for one quarter of the metropolitan area's entire population (UNCHS, 1987). Surveys in Seoul, South Korea, shows that in 1979, there were still more than 186,000 shanties in 227 squatter areas in the city.

2.3.4 Africa

To return to Africa. In Kenya, the problems of housing and homelessness seem insurmountable. The housing shortfall in Kenya's urban areas has been estimated at 300,000 units. War and famine have raised the number of homeless refugees forced to live in makeshift shelters well into the millions (Verschure, 1993), while further millions are living in slum and squatter settlements in Lusaka, Kitwe, Dar-es-Salaam, Maputo, Beira and Harare. In Zimbabwe, very recently the homeless community living at Harare's railway station resisted efforts to evict them after lengthy discussions with the National Railway of Zimbabwe. The members of the Batanai Homeless People organisation formed the organisation in March 1992 when 62 homeless people living at the station approached the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association for assistance (SINA Newsletter, 1994).

In Mushin, Maroko and Ajegunle in Lagos, Nigeria, beds are normally improvised from tables after rooms are taken over by floods which are occasioned by light or heavy rainfall. A street sleeper will watch a shop at night and a few thousand homeless will seek a spot on the piers of the rat-ridden Lagos Lagoon (Abrams, 1966). Countless Lagosians live under the bridges (fly-overs) in the city. The survey conducted by Labeodan (1987, 1989) in Ibadan, Nigeria, reveals that about 15,735 persons in 1987 were physically homeless, that is, without real homes - pavement dwellers. The study estimates that by the year 2010, this number would have increased enormously by three or four times, especially as a result of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).

The study was conducted in selected business and commercial activity sections of Ibadan city. The choice of these areas was determined by spatial differentiation and problem concentration. Labeodan found out that the homeless in these areas sleep on road kerbs, pavements, inside old train coaches, broken down buses or vehicles, in front of market stalls and in animal sheds (*Labeodan, 1987, 1989*).

The South African situation of the homeless is not so different from the experience of other African countries. Iron-tin-and-board dwellings characterised by an air of desperation, uncertainty and poverty reflect the extent of homelessness in the industrial heartland of South Africa. Shack dwellings are generally called *Mekhukhu*, a Sotho word for temporary dwelling even though the structures may have been standing for years.

According to Urban Foundation estimates, South Africa had over seven million people occupying land illegally in 1991. This accounted for roughly one fifth of South Africa's total population. In addition, approximately half of the African population or 2.4 million people in Gauteng Province live in informal housing (*Urban Foundation, 1992a*), a fact that many see as being a direct result of apartheid economic policies.

The growth of shack settlements and homelessness in the Gauteng province generally and Johannesburg specifically can be related to both official and non-official policies adopted several decades ago. Squatters presently living in the Gauteng region include those who are entitled to live in the area but cannot find approved housing, farmworkers forced to leave the land when farmers reduced their workforce, newcomers from the homelands and those who cannot afford the rentals in formal accommodation.

The growth of informal settlements in the Witwatersrand is not primarily due to urbanisation from rural areas, but rather from natural rates of growth within the cities. There are about 770,000 informal settlers west of Johannesburg, and

another 800,000 in the Western Cape. Shacks jostle for space along major roads in Durban and camps continue to swell on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein (*Robertson, 1994*). These squatters and homeless come from existing squatter camps or townships or the neighbouring countries, setting up their tents next to highways.

The various experiences from Europe, America, Asia and Africa show that even more affluent cities of the world contain homeless people who are desperate enough to break the law by seizing empty houses and resisting eviction by legal authorities and law enforcement agencies.

2.4 Gender Perspective of Homelessness

2.4.1 Gender Awareness in Urban Development

"Gender" refers to the socially constructed roles and responsibilities of women and men and the gender relations between them in a particular historical and socio-economic context. Gender is a fundamental cross-cutting issue in the development and organization of human settlements (*Beall and Levy, 1994*). Therefore, a gender approach implies an acknowledgement of the multiple forms of subordination and discrimination women endure in relation to men, forms which are experienced differently in relation to age, race, socio-economic conditions, sexual preferences, geographic location, etc. (*Wehkamp, 1994*).

In the early 1970s, when it was beginning to be argued that women were being left out of the development process, projects were pre-occupied with the role of women within the family. Population programmes focused on family planning and a welfare oriented approach to women in terms of nutrition and basic needs predominated. During the United Nations Decade for Women (1976 - 1985), these family centred projects gave way to a diversity of programmes concerned with the productive role of women. The Women in Development (WID) approach of the 1980s extended the underlying rationale that women have been left out of development, but altered it slightly by the argument that women are an untapped resource (*Stren, et al, 1992*).

This argument goes on to demonstrate that women are being overlooked as significant contributors to national economic development, not just by their reproductive roles in child bearing and child rearing, but by their productive work in many important areas of the economy and society.

When planners are blind to the triple role of women, and to the fact that women's needs are not always the same as men's, they fail to recognise the necessity of relating planning policy to women's specific requirements. Women, because of their triple role, have particular needs that differ from those of men.

Molyneux (1985) distinguished between practical and strategic gender interests. Gender interests are those that women (or men for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes. Women have always participated in the human settlements development field, but their contributions remain invisible. As a result, the approach and concept of gender awareness has emerged where attention is paid to the gender relations between men and women and includes both men and women addressing their different needs in the development process (*UNCHS, 1993*). By looking at the gender imbalances that may exist in a society, a solution can be found in achieving a gender balance where there is equality between women and men.

It is crucial to explain the difference between referring to men and women on the basis of their sex which relates to biological difference, as opposed to men and women based on their gender which is determined by the social relations within a cultural context.

Three basic research approaches to Women, Gender and Development were identified by Moser (1995) :

1. Gender blind research which is based on the assumption that male is the norm. Such a masculinist mode of construction results in a failure to recognise the gendered construction of knowledge and the implications this has for defining research issues. Gender blind research ignores or trivialises such issues.
2. Women in Development (WID) that is, the creation of components for women in development programmes, reinforced women's traditional roles, their objective was not to change men, they did not question the sexual division of labour, and therefore they did not represent a holistic view of development (*Wehkamp, 1994*).

Women in Development (WID) research recognises that women are active participants in the development process, who, through both their

productive and reproductive roles, provide a critical, if often unacknowledged contribution to economic growth. As an untapped resource, this approach argues that women must be brought into the development process.

3. Gender and Development, on the contrary, considers the interdependent nature of women's and men's positions in society. More recently, recognition of the limitations focusing on women in isolation has drawn attention to the need to look at Gender and Development (GAD), as an approach.

Underlying the fundamental shift from women to gender is the concern to look less at women's problems as perceived in terms of their sex (i.e. biological differences to men) and more in terms of their gender that is, the social relations between men and women, in which women have been systematically subordinated.

The U.N. Decade for Women (1976 - 1985) has been instrumental in identifying the important role of women in the economic and social development of their countries and communities, and the particular plight of low income women in Third World economies.

In the field of shelter provision and housing a diversity of studies has provided empirical evidence of the severe housing problem facing low income women and men who head households (*Buvinic and Youssef, 1978; Moser, 1985*).

Thus, for a more gender-focused approach to housing, women's needs in housing will not be achieved by simply placing women as a category within existing housing policy. Fundamental attitudinal changes towards traditional stereotypes are required before a gender focused approach can be reached, that is an approach capable of acknowledging that women have different housing needs from men by virtue of their engendered condition (*Moser, 1985*), and that in many societies there are specific constraints which limit women's access to housing on the basis of gender, regardless of their income.

2.4.2 The Role of Women in Housing and Human Settlements Development

The Global Shelter Strategy (GSS) for all by the year 2000 was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 43/181 of 23 December 1988. It stated that a fundamental principle is that women and women's organisations fill a crucial role as contributors to the solution of human settlement problems. This should be fully recognised and reflected in equal participation of women in the elaboration of housing policies, programmes and projects and the specific interests and capabilities of women should be adequately represented at all levels in the implementation of housing policies, programmes and projects (*UNCHS, 1993*).

The Women in Human Settlements Development Programme was launched by UNCHS (*HABITAT*) in 1990. Its focus is on women in subsistence economies, while not forgetting the importance of supporting the involvement of women in all phases of the human settlements development process, especially at the decision-making levels. In this context Moser (*1989a*) identified practical and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs are needs that women identify in their socially accepted roles in society (*Moser 1989a, 1992*). Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labour or women's subordinate position in the society, although arising out of them. They are a response to an immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context (*Moser, 1992*). They are often practical in nature and concerned with inadequacies in living conditions. Needs such as adequate housing, clear water supply or community creche facilities are identified as practical gender needs of women, both by planners and by women themselves. In reality, practical needs such as these are required by all the family, especially children, and their identification as specifically women's needs serves to preserve and reinforce the gender division of labour.

By contrast, strategic gender needs are needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in the society (*Moser, 1992*). These needs vary according to particular contexts, relate to gender divisions of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies (*Molyneux, 1985*). Meeting strategic gender needs assists women in achieving greater equality in their existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position. Strategic gender needs are often identified as feminist as is the level of consciousness required to struggle effectively for them.

Women have traditionally been responsible for providing life support systems (i.e. water, fuel, food) to their families and for running the house on a daily basis by doing domestic chores such as cooking and cleaning. Also, as the primary users of infrastructure in settlements, women have a vested interest in keeping it clean, hygienic and usable. Therefore, their domestic role often extends to the community in which they live, especially where services such as water and sanitation are shared by all members of the community.

Women are household and community managers, and are also primary or secondary income earners, and therefore play a productive role in the maintenance and survival of their households. Women's productive income-earning role becomes more significant when we consider the estimation that globally one quarter of households are now de facto women-headed with the percentage often being higher in urban areas (*UNCHS, 1993*). This suggests that urban households headed by women are likely to be poorer than those headed by men.

Women participate mainly in human settlements process in their capacity by providing heavy manual labour in construction or in activities related to construction. Women participate actively in carrying water, sand, and mixing local building materials (*Labeodan, 1992*), yet women do not consider this participation. The multiple and visible roles of women go largely unrecognised both by men and women (*UNCHS, 1993*).

There is another emerging category of literature which explicitly addresses the issue of housing and women from the point of view of women's empowerment. It takes as its point of departure the position that a house has only limited potential to help a woman achieve a long-term empowerment. This gender based analysis of shelter suggests that because women are in a disadvantaged position in the society at large, they are disadvantaged in their access to shelter. By paying attention to process, to empowerment and mobilization around shelter, the literature delineates a larger-than-shelter-alone agenda related to societal structure and changing women's position in society (*Vance, 1987*). This view posits that women in housing settlements of low and moderate kinds, need infrastructure of two kinds : tangible, physical structures and less tangible, social and institutional ones. If involved in the formation of the latter, women, it is posited, can profoundly affect power relations within the community along gender lines, as well as the power relations between a community (usually consisting of the poor) and the larger society and the public environment in which they function. The common theme that weaves through this work is that participation by women in all aspects of production of housing is the key to empowerment. The success stories make clear that given the characteristics of the women involved, the structures of the organisations that they form and the products they attain, the most strategic outcome of women's activity in shelter production is empowerment (*Basolo and Morlan, 1993; McAuley Institute, 1989*).

Unless women are reached by the various National Strategies (NSS) which form the totality of the GSS, the goal of satisfying the shelter needs of the poor will not be reached because many of those most in need will be excluded.

Women are being promoted as agents of change and beneficiaries in the area of human settlements. The programme is directed at:

- (a) Involving women at all levels of formulation and implementation of human settlements policies and programmes;

- (b) Opening up employment opportunities for women at all levels of the human settlements sector (management, planning, financing, maintenance and construction, etc);
- (c) Improving the living and working environment of women, especially low income women, their families and their communities.

However invisible they are, especially to development planners, women contribute immensely to national economies and to the subsistence of families and communities.

2.4.3 Position of Women in the Home and their Homelessness

Women continue to take the major responsibility for domestic work and childcare. The division of labour within the household has been the subject of much feminist analysis and is commonly referred to as the domestic labour debate (*Austerberry and Watson, 1986*). Gurney (1990) recognises that a strong and positive attachment to the home on the part of women is not incompatible with the existence of domestic relations which involve the exploitation and oppression of these same women. Women's ambivalence towards the home as with their ambivalence towards their mothers (*Leonard and Speakman, 1986*) is worth noting.

Women's domestic role and their lack of financial independence makes the issues of concealed homelessness particularly significant for women.

2.4.4 Homelessness Among Women

As is true of homeless populations generally, the enumeration of homeless women is plagued with difficulty. For women, the problem is compounded by the fact that they are less likely than homeless men to be in places where the homeless are counted. Estimates of the numbers of homeless women vary not only by the method and definitions of homelessness used in the estimates, but by family

composition as well. Bolnick (1993) affirmed that no group is more affected by landlessness and homelessness than women. It is the women who have to turn tents or plastic shelters into homes. It is the women who struggle to set up survival systems of the family - the source of water, fuel for cooking, the caring of children, the provision and maintenance of the home. Yet women have no power or say when it comes to taking decisions on their housing needs.

The special problems of homeless women have attracted much attention (*Birch, 1985; Austerberry and Watson, 1986*). A survey of women who became homeless in the United Kingdom reveals that homeless women are on average far younger than men and this group tends to display a higher degree of "hidden homelessness" (*Ferris and Whynes, 1990*). In the United Kingdom, Bradshaw and Beale (1986) shows that the situation of homeless women varies across the country, but homelessness affects women more adversely than men. In Bristol, such organisations as the Salvation Army and the Church Housing Association, provide sufficient emergency bed space to accommodate 390 men and only 12 beds for women. A survey carried out among the city's council hostels and board and lodging establishments consistently shows the emergency accommodation for women is severely limited. Of the 51 establishments surveyed, only one is considered suitable for single women. For most women access to shelter constitutes protection not only against periods of economic hardship, but also against brutality and physical abuse.

The availability of shelters for single women has traditionally been very low and is generally estimated among organisations working with the homeless in the European union as insufficient (*Avramov, 1995*). Typically, in 1993, four out of 10 sheltered people were women. All European Union countries are reporting an increase in the number of women seeking assistance because they have no home (*FEANTSA, 1993*). In Denmark, the proportion of women among the sheltered population increased from six per cent to 20 per cent between 1976 and 1989. Particularly vulnerable are single mothers in need of emergency accommodation.

Half of the sheltered women in Denmark had children with them (*Salicat and Thomson, 1992*).

The share of women among people sheltered in Belgium reached almost 40 per cent in 1993 (*Avramov, 1995*).

Data from hostels for single homeless people in England showed that, on average, one in four residents were women. However, in the younger age groups below the age of 25, homeless women were disproportionately represented (*Randall, 1992*). Moreover, 40 per cent of London hostel residents were women (*Shil, 1992*). An estimate for England indicates that six to eight out of 10 homeless applicants for rehousing were women (*Ashcroft, 1993*).

In the 1986 United States Conference of Mayors report on homelessness in 25 cities, single women were estimated to constitute between 4 per cent and 37 per cent of the homeless population surveyed. The Housing and Urban Development survey of homeless shelters made in 1984 estimated one third shelter residents as women and family members. Manhattan Bowery Corporation (*1979*) estimates that from 6,000 to 6,500 individual women are periodically homeless in New York.

Crystal (*1984*) opined that homeless women may disguise their appearance in order that nobody will want to come near them. He observed that as one begins to understand the circumstances in which these people live, the less mysterious their bags become, less strange their behaviour, and the less invisible their lives.

Dee Roth et al (*1992*), in their study of about 979 homeless (186 women) in Ohio, found that women are more likely to be resource people, that is people who stayed in inexpensive hotels or motels or with family and friends for short periods and who had not used shelters in the last month. Women are less frequent users of shelters, possibly because fewer shelter beds are available for women. They also found out that Blacks used more shelters than whites. The picture of homeless women that emerges in their analysis is that of young, dependent

individuals unable to manage their lives. Although economic factors predominate as reasons for homelessness, women are twice as likely as men to be homeless because of family conflict and dissolution. Women had more physical health problems than men, did not complete school, and one fifth never held a job (*Dee Roth et al, 1992*).

Women constitute one of the fastest growing groups among the homeless persons in the United States, but their existence, needs and concerns have rarely been an object of investigation (*Merves, 1992*). The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (*1984b*) revealed that one third of the homeless consist of women and family members. Today, although women's presence among the homeless has grown, little attention is devoted to them because they are less numerous than homeless men, their needs are thought to be less great and their worthiness as service recipients is questionable.

A homeless woman is more of a social outcast because she violates the stricter prescriptions of the proper role for women (*Merves, 1992*). Homeless men are more readily acceptable. Homeless women seem to be out of place. Homeless women seek safe places where they can remain inconspicuous and anonymous. For homeless women with children, such invisibility takes active manouevering, especially at night.

The reference to homeless women as bag ladies is gender specific. All women carry bags and purses, but homeless women do not have kitchen cupboards or closets in which to store their belongings. The 1979 report on homeless women by the Manhattan Bowery Corporation has been cited often as one of the most substantive documentations of homeless women to date. It suggests that the value of the label shopping bag is limited, because it does not reveal less-known connotations such as vulnerability to crime, street hazards and the elements (*Merves, 1992*). In contrast to the stereotypical bag lady, younger, single homeless women may be seen as loose and immoral women who deserve what

they get. The homeless women with children may arouse more sympathy than a woman alone, although their suitability as parents may be questioned. Most children of homeless women are placed in foster homes/care.

In Bombay, there are women pavement dwellers who have empowered themselves to the extent that they fight successfully against evictions, while at the same time designing, building and securing finance for their homes (*Bolnick, 1992*). In Manila, there are women who block out their settlements while they fight for better constitutional protection and support. In Buenos Aires, squatters run their settlements and control community level initiatives. In Seoul, shack dwellers fight to the death for their right to land and adequate housing.

Here in South Africa, this consciousness has found powerful expression among the women of Crossroads (Informal settlement in the Cape Flats about 20 kilometres east of Cape Town), who survived skirmishes with apartheid police until they won the right to stay. The people of Oukasie survived decades of oppression and finally forced the government to assure their permanence. Women are seen to be at the forefront of the struggle for shelter.

Although few studies have specifically focused on victimisation, findings derived from studies investigating pathways to homelessness, prevalence of health, mental health and substance use disorders, demographic profiles and life histories suggest that victimisation causes homelessness (*Fischer, 1992*).

Causal sequences ending in homelessness most frequently involve domestic violence which mainly affects women, although other types of abuse and violence may cause women to be homeless. For example, a survey of 12 hostels in England found that four out of 10 homeless women reported that they became homeless as a result of sexual/physical abuse (*Hendessi, 1992*). Once they become homeless, the risk of violence escalates for people living on the streets and in shelters.

Factors such as unemployment, depletion of low income housing and inadequate social welfare benefits are specified as causes of today's homelessness. When gender is included in the analysis, working-class women are seen to be particularly vulnerable to homelessness, because of the pervasive influence of patriarchal social systems that define women first and foremost as wives and mothers.

Women's social position in the family and the labour market make poverty and subsistence living a reality for increasing numbers of women, especially minority and working class women (*Merves, 1992*).

2.5 SUMMARY

Homelessness as a global or international phenomenon has been discussed in this chapter. A synthesis revealed that though there is no agreed definition of who the homeless are, it can be said that the bottom line of homelessness is not having a decent shelter. The literature shows that homelessness has been on the increase since the 1980s due to increasing poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing provision, changing economic policies (structural adjustment) among others. Furthermore, the incidence of homelessness remains particularly high in urban, capital cities or centres. It is also worth noting that as homelessness continues unabated, it is becoming more diverse in nature and origin as more women (bag ladies) and children are becoming homeless daily.

Most studies on homelessness in the literature are empirical, that is data sources are measured quantitatively. This study differs in that it essentially adopts a qualitative approach using a phenomenological methodology in understanding and explaining homelessness. It probes the lifeworld and experiences of the homeless and it is the first study on street homeless gender in South Africa.

Gender homelessness is becoming more prevalent and homeless women are seen to be out of place. The literature also reveals that the situation of homelessness is the same from America to Africa. The homeless have similar features, the same characteristics and similar manifestations of their predicament. Women tend to conceal their homelessness by remaining inconspicuous because of their vulnerability and lack of societal acceptance. Their problem is compounded when they have children with them.

Chapter Three discusses the institutional roles or interventions in solving the homelessness phenomenon in South Africa.

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HOMELESS where to?

Yes, a homeless community leader I am
 Yes, a founder member of Homeless Talk I am
 Yes, I represent the destitute as best as I can
 Yes, I feel pain when they are mocked
 But what is the tomorrow for me?

As part of the suburb we are rejected
 For we are known to be 'vagrants'
 'Land invaders', 'tax payers', 'pests'
 'Squatters that squat anywhere'
 'Runaways of places of origin.'

Government what about the criticised kids?
 For they are really children of the destitute.
 Charitable organisations, what's your response?
 Are you concentrating at feeding and clothing forever?
 Local Government, are shelters the answer?

Maybe I see a solution different
 Taxpayers, I really need an input
 For the number of destitute is increasing
 Business sector, what's your input
 Not necessary am I behind your profit.

Councillors, your votes were part of us
 Sheltering the destitute invites more vagrants
 Representatives of them actually know the way forward
 Not decisions being taken for them
 We their representatives are dropping out
 For our recognition is taken for granted.

A lesson to the homeless vagrants,
 destitutes or land invaders :
 Individual upliftment in the world betters one's life
 Unless you prefer shelters forever
 Your representatives can no longer voluntarily continue the
 struggle
 For the struggle has just begun.

Modimokwane (1996).

CHAPTER THREE

INSTITUTIONAL ROLES

3.0 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

This chapter reviews the various roles played by the Government, Non-Governmental Organisations and Community Based Organisations in addressing the homelessness problem.

The Non-Governmental Organisations examined are the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) and the People's Dialogue (PD). The Community-Based Organisation examined was the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF).

The Central Methodist Mission (CMM) and St George's United Church were the religious organisations examined among others.

The selection of these institutions was based on their active role or intervention in solving the homelessness problem especially in South Africa.

Furthermore, this chapter identifies the various policy measures, projects and programmes targeted towards the homeless people by these institutions. This is with a view to coming up with appropriate practical institutional strategies for understanding and solving the homelessness problem.

3.1 THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Six months after the elections, a draft housing paper was launched (South Africa, 1994a) at a conference in Botshabelo attended by over 600 delegates. An accord was signed at the Botshabelo conference. This accord adopted the targets of the

Reconstruction and Development programme. It contained commitments by individual signatories such as civil society represented by SANCO (South African National Civic Organisation), and the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF) who "... commit ourselves to an intensive campaign to change the hostilities between financial institutions, local government and the communities and bring to an end the tradition of non-payment for services, rent and bond boycotts, including the tradition of non-delivery of services" (Goodlad, 1996 : 1637).

Insofar as the housing policy emphasised people-centred development, non-discriminatory mechanisms, assistance to the poor and support for the role of women in the housing delivery process, a quick critique is that there is no specific programme or policy targeted towards the homeless street/pavement people. The homelessness situation is becoming a concern to the larger community. For example, public parks in greater Johannesburg have changed from places of recreation to living space for the homeless. Parks and open spaces have become no-go areas in many suburbs and in the inner city of Johannesburg. About 80 per cent of public parks and open spaces in the city are inhabited by homeless people and there have been numerous complaints from residents living close to the parks (*Trench, 1995*).

At least the housing needs of the homeless should have formed part of the focus on special needs housing in Section 4.5.4 of the Government White Paper on Housing. This section asserts that the government is under a duty to refrain from taking steps which promote or cause homelessness and asserts that a person has the right to live in dignity and in habitable circumstances.

3.1.1 Housing and the Reconstruction and Development Programme

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is an integrated,

coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilise all the people and the country's resources towards the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. The provision of housing and services is a key component of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Apart from being seen as a national priority, future housing strategy has a direct bearing on the success of all the four key programmes of the RDP. These programmes are:

- (a) Meeting basic needs;
- (b) Developing human resources;
- (c) Democratising the State and society; and
- (d) Implementing the RDP.

Germane to the above is the importance given to the role of women. Women are the majority of the poor in South Africa. Mechanisms to address the disempowerment of women and boost their role within the development process and the economy must be implemented. The RDP recognises the existing gender inequalities, particularly in terms of access to jobs, land and housing. It also emphasises a programme of affirmative action to address the deliberate marginalisation from economic, political and social power of black people, women and rural communities (ANC, 1994).

More specifically, the ANC (1994) document section 2.5 is directed to housing and services.

It emphasizes that lack of adequate housing and basic services in urban townships and rural settlements has reached crisis proportions. The housing problems created by apartheid and by the limited range of capitalist housing markets have been aggravated by the absence of a coherent national housing policy. Sections 2.5.4 and 2.5.5 emphasize that the RDP endorses the principle that all South Africans have a right to a secure place in which to live in peace and dignity and one of the RDP's first priorities is to provide for the homeless. It also asserts

that housing is a basic right and approach to housing, infrastructure and services must involve and empower communities, be affordable, developmental and sustainable, take account of funding and resource constraints and gender equality (ANC, 1994). The ANC (1994) document also reiterates that all legislative obstacles and constraints to housing and credit for women must be removed. The democratic government must promote and facilitate women's access to housing and to appropriate community design.

The national housing programme is based on the premise of effective interdepartmental coordination and cooperation. Seven strategies have been identified. These include :

1. Stabilising the housing environment in order to facilitate private sector involvement.
2. Ensuring institutional, technical and logistical support to enable communities to improve their housing circumstances on a continuous basis.
3. Mobilising individual and collective private savings and housing credit on a sustainable basis, while ensuring adequate protection for consumers.
4. Providing subsidy assistance to disadvantaged individuals to gain access to housing.
5. Rationalising institutional capacities in the housing sector within a sustainable long-term institutional framework.
6. Facilitating the speedy release and the servicing of land : the Development Facilitation Act has been enacted for this purpose.
7. Coordinating and integrating public sector investment and intervention on a multi-functional basis.

3.1.2 Progress and Responses to the challenges in the Government White Paper on Housing

The RDP has devoted large amounts to housing, while the housing budget itself was boosted by 80 per cent in 1995. The government also committed itself to boosting the budget of the Department of Housing further to five per cent of the total spending over the next three years. Until the end of May 1995, Regional Housing boards had accepted 290 projects to build over 210,000 housing units, dedicating almost R2.3 billion in subsidies to them (*Lunsche, 1995*). By the end of 1994/95 more than 150,000 subsidies had been approved, but these approvals had not been converted into homes (Tomlinson, 1995 : 18).

The government demonstrated its commitment to increasing the level of resources applied to housing by, "increasing the budget provision from R1.4 billion in 1994/1995 to R1.8 billion in 1995/1996. The number of units to be built or upgraded was about 321,594 by the end of 1995/1996, with an additional 23,077 approvals for structures on sites serviced with state assistance in the past" (Goodlad, 1996 : 1639). These approvals were not yet completions, but they showed the potential capacity of the programme and criticisms that "the system had crashed" (Ruiters and Bond, 1996 : 28) seemed premature.

This lack of progress led to the Housing Committee in Parliament calling for the building of rental housing on a large scale. Many conditions have to be met in order to improve housing conditions in the ways set down in the RDP. These according to Goodlad (1996 : 1644) include :

An active house building construction industry; skilled workers and plentiful building materials; a finance system and institution able and willing to operate a market in housing in all parts of South Africa; subsidy and other levers to assist the achievement of social objectives; efficient, legitimate and effective administration at provincial and local government level; political stability; community based organisations and the creation of support structures and skilled professionals to assist them to become housing developers; a financial system which enabled those with no conventional access to credit to secure the funds necessary to become their own housing developers; and the development of models for social rented

housing.

A bigger challenge awaits the government in the provision of housing for the poorest of the poor. This income bracket comprises about 70 per cent of South Africa's population including the street homeless/pavement people who have no income at all. With an income of less than R1,500 a month, these households stand no chance of securing finance and are completely reliant on a government capital subsidy of R12,500 or R15,000. After providing R7,000 for a serviced site, the remaining amount of the subsidy is only sufficient for perhaps 30 - 40 m² foundation and roof. As a matter of urgency, the National Housing Finance Corporation is looking at ways of raising wholesale funds for housing at the lowest end of the market.

Another crucial element in delivering the housing programme to the poor is the government's proposed plan for housing support centres. The centres will build heavily on existing facilities in poor areas in cooperation with local communities (*Lunsche, 1995*). In the 1995 housing budget, the Department of Housing provided about R50 million for their establishment. The centres will provide communities with access to the financial, technical and administrative resources for the housing programme. The centres will also act as repository for the housing subsidies that were allocated to residents of a particular area.

The Housing Minister reiterated that "the government with the million houses in mind, has passed the halfway milestone in its housing subsidy programme and almost 200,000 houses have been built or were under construction. The major beneficiaries being people earning R800 a month or less and the unemployed" (*Rantao, 1997 : 9*). If this includes the street homeless people who are unemployed, then there is a ray of hope for them. The Minister also made an announcement of a new Urban Development Framework, through which the government's aims to deracialise South African society and ensure that future cities and towns sustain and improve their roles as economic centres.

3.1.3 Constraints on the Implementation of the Housing Programme

- (a) Escalation in building costs : building materials and labour costs are surging as the materials supply and building industries take advantage of favourable business conditions after five years of recession. There is a yearly increase of 18 per cent (*Lunsche, 1995*) making houses even less affordable to the majority of South Africans (Table 3.1).
- (b) Under-estimation of the housing backlog.
- (c) Changing household patterns, population explosion and the mass migration from rural areas, former homelands and neighbouring countries have led to growing squatter settlement and homelessness in towns and cities.
- (d) Ineffective subsidy scheme and poor accessibility of credit to the poorest of the poor and the street homeless.
- (e) Lack of a proper institutional framework to assist housing production.
- (f) Non-accessibility of land in locations close to transport, jobs and urban facilities. Land in more convenient locations was not affordable to the poor homeless people.
- (g) Political tensions, especially in locations.
- (h) According to an editorial in *The Star* about 800 decisions were needed at various levels of government before construction could be started on a single house. The National Housing Minister has brought this down to 103 decisions. This bureaucracy has slowed down the process of building (*The Star* : 12).

The Government's Masakhane (Building Together Now) campaign is intended to change the non-payment culture of the townships and encourage community-based organisations to achieve improved services.

Masakhane Campaign is a vehicle for implementation of a people-driven RDP at the local level. The campaign focuses on :

1. Accelerating service delivery.
2. Local economic development compacts to use public and private sector investments to build the local economy.
3. Community responsibility to pay for services.
4. Community and local authority to maintain investments.
5. Community policing to promote peace and stability.

The process of stabilising the housing environment entails setting up structured local authorities; law enforcement where it has collapsed; working to get people to pay for services; repaying housing loans and protecting the consumers from defective workmanship. This process culminates in mobilisation of people to achieve the objectives. This initiative is the Masakhane Campaign.

Table 3.1 : Labour costs in the building industry in South Africa

Labour Costs	May 1993 Rands/Hour	February 1994 Rands/Hour	February 1995 Rands/Hour
ARTISANS :			
Carpenter, Joiner	13.53	14.53	15.45
Bricklayer	10.87	11.64	12.80
Plasterer	10.66	11.45	13.70
Painter	8.12	9.13	9.41
Plumber	13.61	14.33	16.86
Electrician, electrical wireman	17.62	19.40	19.23
Plant operators	7.43	7.95	8.91
Learner artisans	7.11	7.36	8.16
LABOURERS :			
Building Industry	4.49	4.70	5.24
Electrical Contracting Industry	5.47	5.48	5.43

Source : Department of Housing, 1994

3.2 ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOs)

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have played and are playing a

significant role in supplementing and building capacity at community level. NGOs should continue to provide valuable support and assistance to communities, especially those faced with the challenges of engaging in a sustainable development process for the first time (*Department of Housing, 1994*). The role of NGOs cannot be over-emphasised in the housing delivery process to the poor and the assistance to the homeless community.

Two NGOs, the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP), and People's Dialogue, have been involved in the plight of the homeless people and their activities will now be discussed.

3.2.1 Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP)

3.2.1.1 Mission Statement

The Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) is committed to involving key stakeholders in central Johannesburg in a cooperative effort to rejuvenate the central city area, thereby promoting a sound economy; an attractive, clean, safe and vibrant city centre; affordable residential accommodation; employment opportunities and a focus for the community.

3.2.1.2 Aims and Objectives

1. To promote the central area fostering enthusiasm and encouraging people and organisations to support programmes for its improvement.
2. To establish a forum for discussion and action between Johannesburg city council, the residents of central Johannesburg and/or the organisations representing them (the Community) and the private sector (business).
3. To work through consensus decision-making and committed action.
4. To address fundamental issues jointly and effectively the well-being of the central area.

5. To formulate a vision and strategy.
6. To assist as a facilitator and catalyst of development and management.
7. To expedite development by minimising red tape (delays) between ideas and implementation.
8. To manage and coordinate the agreed improvements.
9. To serve as an information and resources centre.
10. To monitor issues affecting the central area.
11. To serve as a forum for conflict resolution.
12. To create sources of funding, administration and management and raise finance for specific projects and improvements. (*CJP, Annual Report, 1993 - 1994*)

The CJP was established in 1993 with the belief that a democratic, dynamic partnership between all the city's stakeholders was the key to success. It aims at re-establishing confidence in the inner city centre, delivering tangible results and playing a positive role in the changing socio-political climate in South Africa. The CJP is aware of the problems of inner city housing and to this end it set up an Inner City Housing task group which will facilitate, encourage and promote the provision of housing across all socio-economic groups within the geographic area. This includes the upgrading of existing stock, provision of new stock and the conversion of existing non-residential stock all accomplished within the context of an holistic approach within the inner city (*CJP, Annual Report, 1993 - 1994*).

The task group re-affirmed the critical importance of inner city housing and focused on the following issues :

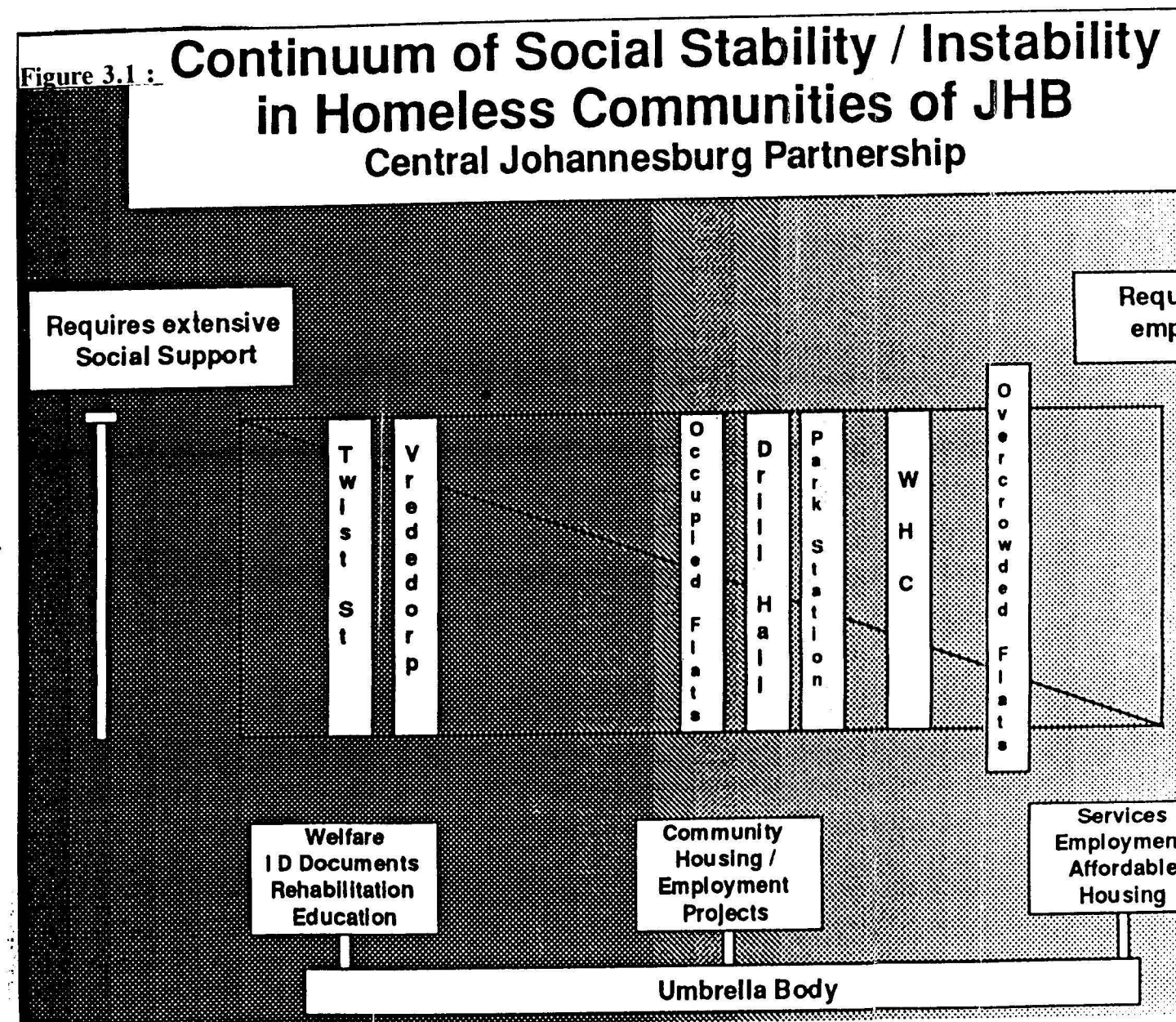
1. Mediation of disputes directly related to housing issues;
2. Identification of potential housing projects;
3. Facilitation of development through networking;
4. Mobilising funds for development.

However, the issues that have made considerable progress during the period are:

1. The residential rental booklet;
2. Bertrams;
3. Homelessness.

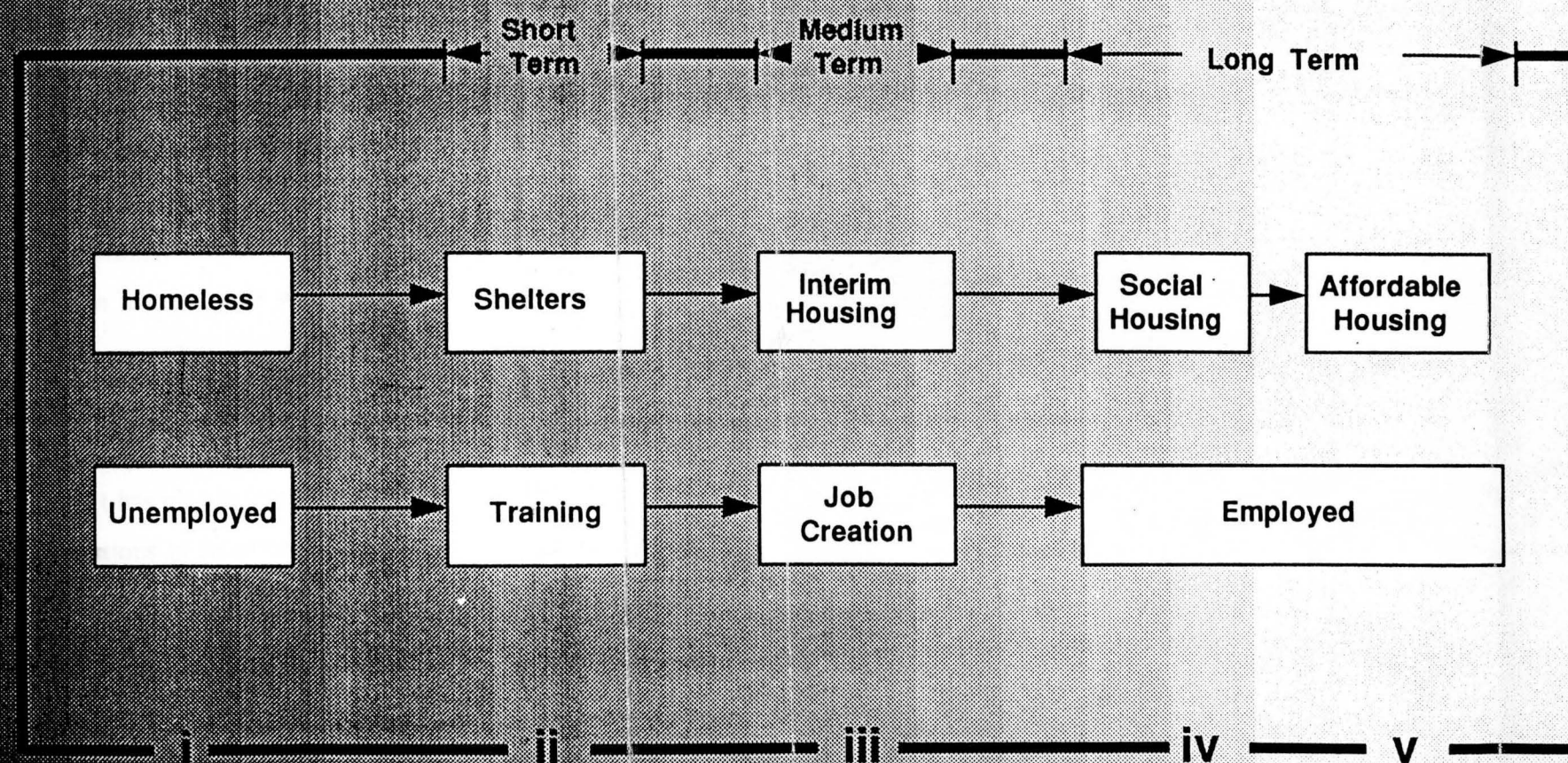
A Focus Group on homelessness has been developed and is intended to create a strategy alongside the City Council and Community-Based Organisations to deal with homelessness in the inner city. It has a specific emphasis on making employment/training opportunities available to the homeless people in Johannesburg and hence, providing a means for re-integration into society. This is shown in Figure 3.1 (*CONTACT, 1993, 1994*). Meanwhile, the CJP has developed a continuum from homelessness to housing (Figure 3.2).

The key to the continuum is the provision of employment opportunities and job creation.



Source : CJP Annual Report, 1993 - 1994

Figure 3.2 : **CONTINUUM : Homeless to Housed**
CENTRAL JOHANNESBURG PARTNERSHIP

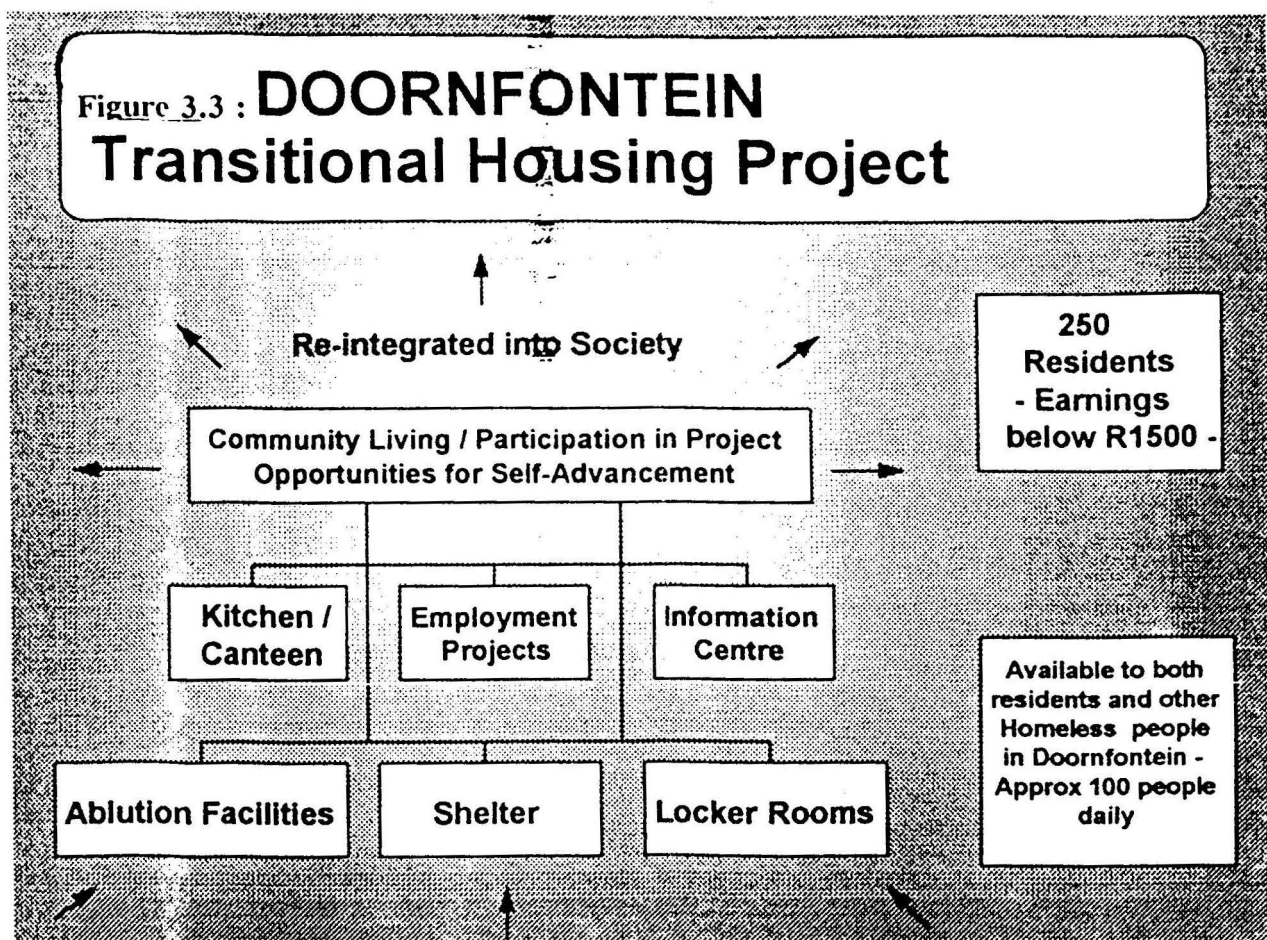


Source : CJP Annual Report, 1993 - 1994,

The first project undertaken by CJP's job creation for homeless persons has been the establishment of the newspaper known as Homeless Talk (Plate 1). This has been done in conjunction with St George's United Methodist Church, Central Methodist Mission, and of course, the homeless people who in fact play the major role.

Homeless Talk, started in 1994, turned three years old in April 1997. The newspaper's circulation has grown to about 25,000 since its establishment and most of its readers are based in the northern (elite) suburbs of Johannesburg. The newspaper has about 200 registered sellers and 80 per cent of the content is written by the homeless. The paper costs registered sellers 80 cents. In turn, the sellers sell the paper for R2,00 and keep the profits. The paper is published once a month and is funded by donations and advertising. A strict code of conduct is applied to regulate sellers' behaviour. Homeless Talk writers collaborate with the Institute of Advancement of Journalism to train their writers.

The CJP has also proposed a model of transitional housing to fill the void between homelessness and affordable housing. A transitional housing project was started in Doornfontein (Figure 3.3). It has also offered training opportunities to the homeless through various organisations in Johannesburg.



Source : CJP Annual Report, 1993 - 1994

Plate 1 : The Homeless Talk Newspaper



3.2.2 People's Dialogue

People's Dialogue is a non-governmental organisation involved with the homeless community at grassroots level. The People's Dialogue's professional component is a tiny NGO which has three basic functions:

1. To help build the capacity of the Homeless People's Federation and the Federation of Housing Savings Scheme.
2. To provide support materially and practically to initiatives of its two community-based partners.
3. To facilitate arrangements for its partners.

3.2.2.1 Objectives of People's Dialogue

1. People's Dialogue supports the efforts of every woman and man who is homeless in South Africa to participate fully in decisions that affect his/her livelihoods and needs.
2. People's Dialogue aims to provide contexts in which poor people evolve their own autonomous understanding of their social and economic environment, not just on the micro level, but via exchange in the sub-regional and global arena as well.
3. People's Dialogue has no party affiliation. The programme is rooted in an understanding that political decisions, whether by government or political parties, are always inadequate when it comes to meeting the shelter needs of the homeless poor. People's Dialogue works with political parties and civic structures where and if such alliances are likely to be effective, either because they are mandatory or because they are considered politically correct.
4. All participants in the federations should be poor people from homeless settlements. In the housing savings schemes, the participation of women should be prioritised.
5. People's Dialogue recognises that within settlements there is often a

grossly unequal distribution of power, knowledge and resources with control secured through systems of political patronage. People's Dialogue encourages maximum participation in community level initiatives. The vehicles for this broad participation are the Housing Savings Schemes (*Utshani Buyakhuluma, 1992 - 1993*).

3.2.2.2 People's Dialogue Federation of Housing Savings Schemes

This is a national people's movement with the following goals :

1. To help poor people, especially women, save modest sums of money which can eventually be used as leverage for housing finance;
2. To support the needs of poor people, especially women, for savings and credit;
3. To obtain recognition for the central role of women and other organisations in communities and via the People's Dialogue Housing Training Programmes.
4. To build the knowledge and the effectiveness of these women's collectives.

3.2.2.3 People's Dialogue Programme

There are presently seven active regions in the People's Dialogue programme. That is, seven regions in South Africa where informal settlements link up to the South Africa's Homeless People Federation and where women's housing collectives called Housing Savings Schemes are fully implemented. An estimated 250 settlements nationwide have had informal contact with each other through the People's Dialogue programme. These seven regions are :

- (a) NATAL - Southern Greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg;
- (b) NATAL - Northern Greater Durban and north to Kosi Bay;

- (c) Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vereeniging (PWV);
- (d) Western Cape;
- (e) Southern Cape;
- (f) Eastern Cape;
- (g) Northern Cape and Free State are semi-active regions.

3.2.2.4 People's Dialogue Community-Based Housing Training Programme

These action-based learning exercises are conducted by experienced trainers (community-based) who assess each individual situation and make informed decisions regarding the order in which steps are to be taken. The overriding skill required is flexibility. Training programmes are an overlapping series of strategies for maximizing people's participation in development. These programmes facilitate this by generating enough knowledge and solidarity in communities to ensure that development practices always come from the experiences of everyday life of the homeless poor.

3.2.3 COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATION (CBO)

The only community-based organisation discussed here is the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF). The SAHPF is a network of homeless communities which started in 1991 apparently by People's Dialogue (NGO). It is a people-based housing movement that is committed to the central participation of homeless poor in housing development in South Africa. It has over 100 informal settlements (shack settlements) loosely affiliated to it.

3.2.3.1 SAHPF Objectives

1. To build community level alliances on a local, national and international basis by means of exchange programmes and information sharing.
2. To gather information on all informal settlements throughout the country,

in order to strengthen communities and to influence the National Housing Policy.

3. To provide support to the Federation of Housing Savings Schemes by assisting existing schemes and encouraging the establishment of new ones.

3.2.3.2 Building Information and Training Centres (BIT)

At the end of 1994, the SAHPF started setting up Building Information and Training (BIT) centres. The BIT centres emerged from the needs of the communities and were designed by the communities themselves. BIT centres are basically information centres run by well-established savings schemes in which the shared information is the land and shelter-related experience of communities in the federation. BIT centres have gone a considerable way towards:

- a. Creating unity amongst many of the women in the community by means of daily savings, loans, meetings, gatherings and exchange programmes;
- b. Developing a capacity to save and borrow money collectively and to manage finances;
- c. Securing land for development;
- d. Planning and costing a model house or houses;
- e. Determining levels of affordability within the group;
- f. Learning how to manage an overall community development;
- g. Negotiating support from provincial, regional and local government;
- h. Acquiring proficiency in building materials production and in building;
- i. Passing on this accumulated knowledge to other groups in the Federation;
- j. Securing sufficient development finance.

The SAHPF first seven BIT centres are :

1. Oukasie Housing Savings Scheme, Oukasie, North West;
2. Karabo Housing Savings Scheme, Kanana, Gauteng;

3. Kgotsong Housing Association, Kgotsong, Free State;
4. Victoria Mxenge Housing Association, Philippi, Western Cape;
5. Vusisiwe Housing Savings Scheme, J C C Camp, Southern Cape;
6. Win Housing Savings Scheme, Kleinkool, Eastern Cape;
7. Piesang River Housing Association, Piesang River, KwaZulu, Natal.

(Utshani Buyakhuluma, 1995).

3.2.3.3 SAHPF Draft Land and Housing Policies

The housing and land policies of the SAHPF evolved out of an ongoing exercise of bottom-up community development. They were conceived and designed by the homeless and emerged as a result of intensive dialogue and debate. The draft land policy is indicated in Appendix 1 while the draft housing policy is indicated in Appendix 2.

3.2.3.4 Achievement of SAHPF

SAHPF is a movement of the urban poor. A movement whose every member has suffered poverty and oppression and has developed the capacity to survive it and now, by uniting with other people to overcome it. Also the SAHPF and National Ministry of Land Affairs work hand in hand, especially in monitoring tenure issues affecting the federation.

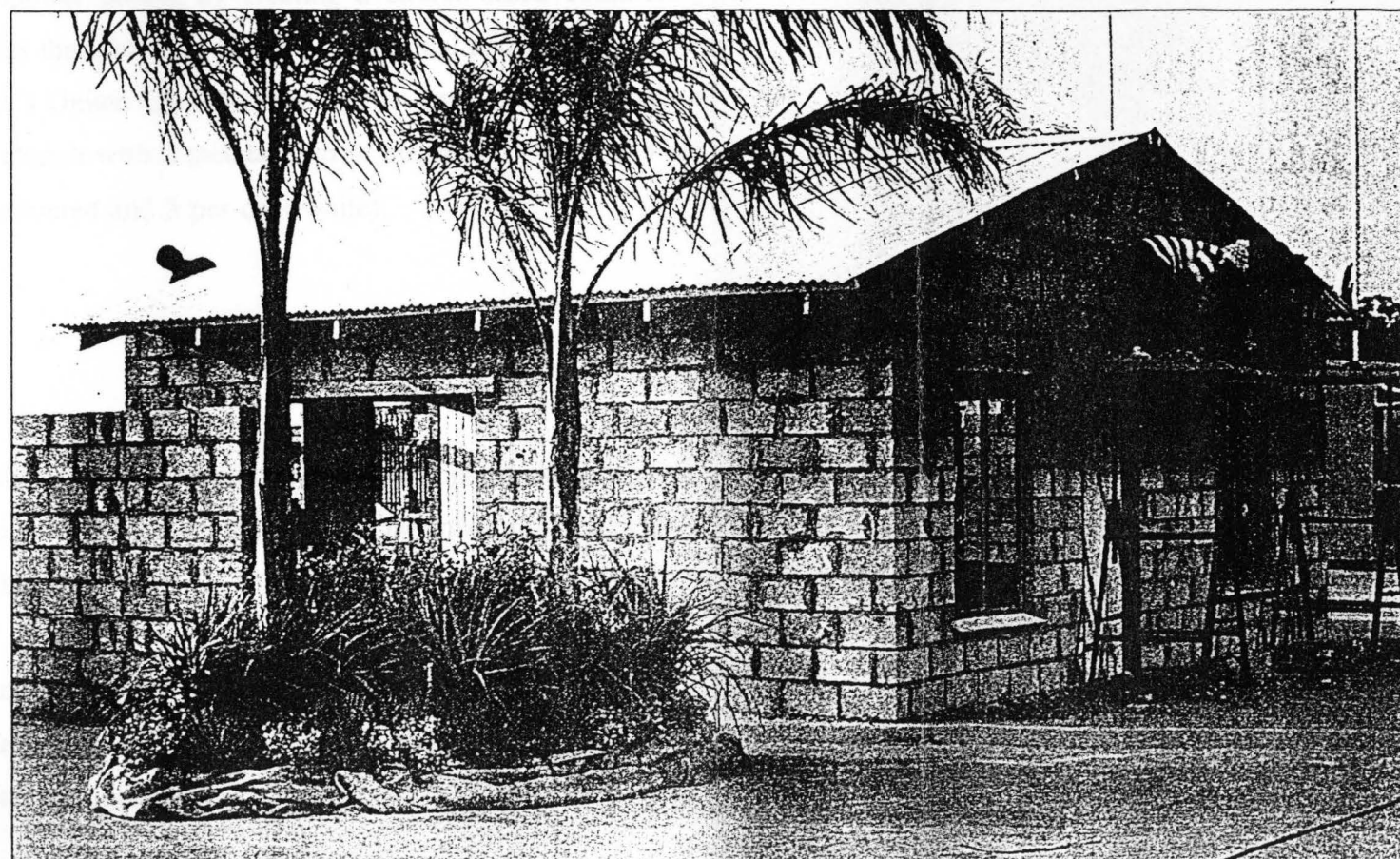
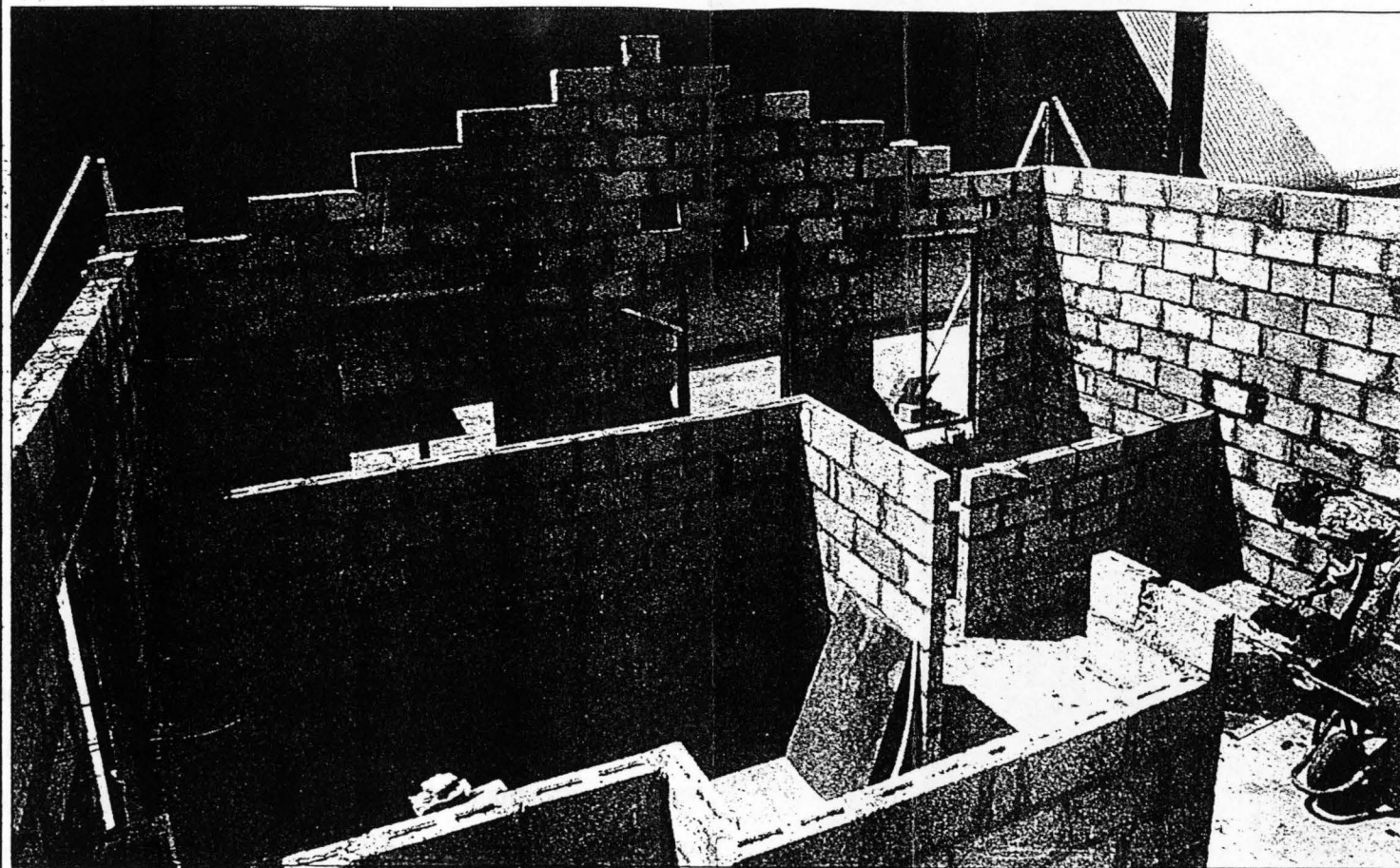
The Minister accompanied SAHPF leaders to visit the Mahila Milan (Women Together), Bombay women pavement dwellers in India.

Other achievements include :

1. SAHPF was chosen to represent the homeless sector on the National Housing Board;
2. A land policy was drafted;
3. SAHPF prevented five evictions from taking place (three in KwaZulu

Natal; two in Gauteng);

4. A start was made in the construction of 14 houses (Plate 2);
5. The savings and land schemes continue to grow in membership, in savings and in strength;
6. Six Building Information and Training (BIT) centres were started;
7. 21 SAHPF-linked communities demonstrated their readiness to build houses;
8. Money in the Utshani Fund was geared up to R13,7 million with the Minister for Housing (Ms Sankie Nkondo) pledging a grant of R10 million;
9. 26 families from Savings Schemes in Piesang River became the first members of the SAHPF to take housing loans from the fund;
10. A start was made on the construction of houses in four settlements (Piesang River, Oukasie, JCC Camp and Victoria Mxenge)(*Utshani Buyakhuluma, 1995*);
11. A display of the homeless house at the HABITAT Conference of Housing Ministers in Kempton Park, 1995.



COST OF HOUSE	
Screws	R5,00
Drill bit	R7,10
Hinges	R8,04
Brickforce	R26,00
Nails	R30,48
Wall tiles	R50,00
Bolts and nuts	R63,75
Ironmongery	R78,00
Galvanised ridge cap	R104,80
Lintels	R142,34
External doors	R216,00
Building sand	R239,40
Door frames	R393,00
Cement	R472,50
Glazing (glass and putty)	R550,00
Window frames	R692,40
Roofing timber	R921,54
Corrugated iron	R970,20
TOTAL	R4 970,55
PLUS VAT	R695,88
Bricks (including VAT)	R2 442,80
GRAND TOTAL	R8 109,23

3.2.3.5 Critique

Despite all the grandiose plans, activities and achievements of the SAHPF, it is sad to say that the street homeless people are not involved. The homeless people referred to by SAHPF are those living in shack dwellings only.

3.2.4 ROLE OF RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

In Johannesburg, the roles played by the churches (especially Central Methodist Mission and St George's United Church) in assisting the street homeless cannot be over-emphasized. The outreach Ministry of the St George's United Church (chosen in this study because of its focus on and programmes for the homeless) serves the street homeless and unemployed people of central Johannesburg. Most of the people involved in the programmes sleep at Johannesburg Park Station. The church seeks to empower people by creating a church-based community environment that addresses the practical, physical, emotional and spiritual needs of the people. St George's United Church (Presbyterian and Congregational) is a multi-racial inner city church with a membership of about 400 people (85 per cent black, 10 per cent coloured and 5 per cent white).

3.2.4.1 Projects

Most of the projects embarked upon by the church are in partnership with the Central Methodist Mission (CMM) and the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP). The projects include:

- (a) Homeless Talk newspaper, written and sold by the homeless themselves. The paper is supported through advertising and donations from the business sector and the public;

- (b) Employment projects have been set up through contacts primarily from the newspaper project. Workers are referred to a variety of jobs ranging from pamphlet distribution to labour and domestic work;
- (c) Community development is encouraged through weekly meetings run by the homeless themselves. Guests are invited to develop and add to community-based projects.

3.2.4.2 Advocacy

Advocacy (with CJP, CMM, other inner city ministries group, the city council and Transnet/Metro) related to matters such as:

- (a) Transitional housing and emerging shelters;
- (b) Policy/Community forum;
- (c) Rights and concerns of the homeless communities;
- (d) Services such as toilets, bath houses, lockers, etc.

3.2.4.3 Counselling, Support Services and Worship

Individual counselling takes place in the church. There is also a support group for the homeless and many street homeless people participate in reading scripture, performing music, taking up the offering and praying in vernacular.

3.2.4.4 Soup Kitchen

Volunteers help to serve soup and bread at the church twice a week. About 200 street homeless people are served at a time. There are other soup kitchens organised by some other churches to serve the street homeless too.

3.2.4.5 Practical Assistance and Referrals

People are assisted with clothing, food, blankets, soup, toothpaste (through donations). They are also assisted in applying for I.D. documents, contacting family, using phone and church address for job search. Referrals are made to literacy programmes, adult education and technical training. Workers are also referred to people who want to hire someone (*Wicks, 1995*).

3.2.4.6 Limitation

Communication among all the people involved with the church projects has been difficult. Alcohol abuse has also caused problems for some people in the street homeless communities. Illegal occupation of empty buildings by Johannesburg Tenants Association (JOTA) has caused tension within the homeless communities as well as with the police and government officials. It has set back the church plan to convert one of the occupied buildings into a transitional housing project. The reasons for these problems are :

1. The condition of life of the street homeless people is unstable, so it is often difficult to get people together at the same time to communicate interests and concerns;
2. Life on the streets is not easy. The pressure to escape by abusing alcohol and drugs is strong.

3.2.5 OTHER HOMELESS ORGANISATIONS

3.2.5.1 Johannesburg Homeless Network

Within the Johannesburg inner city, there is the Johannesburg network on homelessness. This network brings together shelters, welfare organisations, church outreach programmes, city council, homeless leaders

and others who seek support for their endeavours on behalf of the homeless people in Johannesburg.

3.2.5.2 Johannesburg Trust for the Homeless

The Johannesburg Trust for the Homeless was established to facilitate the provision of funds and resources for projects to house and support the homeless in the inner city. The Board of Trustees has representatives from the homeless community, church, outreach ministries, Community bank, the local government and the business community. The South African Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC) was the founding donor. They became involved in the plight of the homeless because Park Station is where so many of those homeless end up sleeping.

3.2.5.3 Johannesburg Homeless Association

The Johannesburg Homeless Association has been formed by homeless leaders in the city to empower the homeless (and organisations working with the homeless) in their efforts to find education, employment and housing. Leaders in the association have consistently been involved in organising feeding schemes, funerals and other community responsibilities such as:

- (a) Social services to the street homeless
Elected homeless leaders have been given portfolios, like general information and I.D. assistance; family reunions; community relations; legal matters; health; emergencies and burials; trading; sports and recreation; training.
- (b) Fund-raising project : A number of business projects have been proposed as income-earning projects, for example, a new furniture project, silk-screening project, a project involving manufacture and sales of informal traders' kiosks. A recruitment drive for homeless people for part-time, temporary, contract or permanent posts is also in place;

- (c) Public appeal.

3.2.5.4 Keep Johannesburg Beautiful Association

This Association is supported by 40 business people in the city. The main objectives are creation of jobs and promoting a clean and tidy environment in Johannesburg area. The homeless collect bottles, cans, old newspapers, cardboard and sell this litter to the recycling companies. Aluminium cans cost R2,70/kg; cardboard, newspapers, unused magazines cost 10c/kg; computer paper costs 35c/kg.

3.2.5.5 Hope

This is a Christian-based organisation at Edenvale whose motto is, "Seeking Christian solutions to the pain of unemployment and poverty". They provide help to the unemployed by acting as an employment agency and by providing training courses.

3.3 SUMMARY

The roles played by different organisations have been seen specifically in terms of policies and practical projects targeted towards the homeless. However, examining these roles critically, it can be observed that on the government side, policies and projects have been directed towards the homeless living in shacks/squatter settlements not the street/pavement homeless. This is a major deficiency. The government has to distinguish clearly between these two categories of homeless. The focus of this study is on the street/pavement homeless. Secondly, non-governmental organisations in conjunction with the business people and the community have pooled resources together to assist the

street homeless in Johannesburg central, but their projects are not within the affordability means of the street homeless who are absolutely poor. Thirdly, the efforts of community-based organisations like SAHPF and religious bodies need to be commended. They work at the grassroots level, with the homeless. These organisations know who the homeless are, where their communities are located and they have been assisting within the means available to them. However, more still needs to be done.

Generally, the Government's response to the street homeless at all levels (National, Metropolitan, Provincial and Local) is inadequate or virtually non-existent. Planning or Planners' roles are absent. The various roles of the institutions discussed in this chapter are uncoordinated and fragmentary. Efforts are disjointed and there is very weak partnership or relations between :

- (a) Central Government and Provincial Government;
- (b) Provincial Government and Local Government;
- (c) Private Sector and various Government levels and Planning Departments;
- (d) Local Government and the street homeless.

Therefore, a more appropriate approach is required. This approach calls for a sustainable partnership between the various institutions involved in addressing the homelessness problem. This approach is developed further in the final chapter of the thesis.

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SECTION B :
THEORY AND PLANNING FRAMEWORK

The Homeless

For those who roam,
the streets at night,
bushes for a home,
bare soles their only shoes.

Stretching begging hands,
for pieces of bread,
only to be shunned,
at every closing door.

Give them a moments thought,
stars for their lights,
when money is tight,
And no pillow to lay ones head.

McCann (1996)

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.0 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

Planning theory, as pointed out by Sandercock and Forsyth (1992 : 49), remains "Gender blind and of all the fields within planning, theory remains arguably the most male dominated, the least influenced by an awareness of the importance of gender". Still, planning theorists, like feminists, do not agree on any one theory. Instead, competing theoretical perspectives are under discussion and it is fair to say that their differing meanings to and impact upon men and women have not been explored in the literature.

A considerable and notable gap in the literature is the absence of phenomenology as a qualitative methodology in explaining homelessness. Most literature has used empirical data to analyze the homelessness phenomenon. This study adopts phenomenology in planning as a methodology to address the homelessness problem.

The objective of this chapter is twofold :

1. To discuss the adequacies and inadequacies in the planning traditions and, based on the inadequacies to;
2. Identify the basic principles or essential features of phenomenology and discuss their relevance and application in understanding and solving the problem of street homeless women specifically, and the homeless in general (as seen later in the research report).

The long-term goal is to develop guidelines that would provide an additional

knowledge base for the planning process.

4.1 Planning concept and dilemma

Germane to the discussion of phenomenological methodology is the concept of planning itself and the crisis in planning.

Planning is seen to be :

- (a) a set of procedures for establishing and assuring appropriate future action (*Davidoff and Reiner, 1962*);
- (b) the application of scientific method - however crude - to policy-making (*Faludi, 1973*);
- (c) the bridge from ideology and knowledge to collective action (*Friedmann and Hudson, 1974*);
- (d) and a foresight in formulating and implementing programmes and policies (*Hudson, 1987*).

A more concise and practical definition of planning was given by Dror (1973 : 330) as, "the process of preparing a set of decisions for action in the future, directed at achieving goals by preferable means". Dror identifies seven elements in this definition of planning, and proceeds to elucidate the meaning and implications of this definition :

- "(1) Planning is a process, that is, a continuous activity taking place within a unit and requiring some input of resources and energy in order to be sustained.
- (2) Planning is substantially - and in most cases, also formally or legally - a process of preparing a set of decisions to be approved and executed by some other organs.
- (3) It is very important to emphasize the difference between planning and decision-making, and policy-making in general. While planning is a set of decision-making and policy-making, its specific

characteristic in this respect is its dealing with a set of decisions, that is, a matrix of interdependent and sequential series of systematically related decisions.

- (4) Planning is primarily directed at action and not at other objectives such as pure knowledge, development of planners and so on. Planning does in fact have various secondary results such as executive development, better decision-making on other issues, training in teamwork, etc., but as long as those results are only secondary objectives, the planning function is not impaired.
- (5) Nearly all definitions recognize that planning is directed toward the future. This is perhaps the most important characteristic of planning, introducing the elements of prediction and uncertainty, and conditioning all aspects, problems and features of planning.
- (6) The planning process cannot operate unless it has more or less defined goals to the achievement of which its recommendations for action in the future are directed.
The first phase of the planning process consists in the formulation of operational planning objectives on the basis of rather ambiguous and undefined goals set before the planning process by some other, in most cases, "policy" processes.
- (7) The very nature of planning, as a process for rational shaping of the future according to our desires, depends on the means-ends relationship, which is basic to the planning process. The planning process is directed at suggesting the preferable means for achieving our goals, that is, at selecting on the basis of rational processes - including, for example, collection of information, utilization of knowledge, and systematic and integrative data processing - the preferable means for achieving the desired goals.
However, the basic problem of planning methods, procedures and techniques is the provision of ways for identification of these preferable means with a feasible input of resources" (*Dror, 1973 : 330 - 332*).

A close perusal of the literature on the different kinds of planning has shown, according to Dror (1973 : 323), "a transfer of the focus of attention from ideological discourses on the desirability of planning to examination of substantive problems associated with the planning process, such as its nature, the phases of planning, conditions for successful planning and planning techniques".

This change in emphasis also corroborates the recognition of the basic nature of planning as a methodology of rational thought and action.

In fact, the rational planning model has been under severe criticism since the 1970s due to the fact that the concept of rationalism is not seen to be feasible in practice or reality. The basic tenets of decision-making and the demands of normative rationality were found to be impossible to satisfy. As a result, a number of alternatives were developed - disjointed incrementalism, mixed scanning, and strategic choice. However, all these alternatives did not address the political problems facing planning. Thus, Friedmann (1973) emphasised the need to rethink planning from the start.

Friedmann (1987 : 56) posits the following reasons for the crisis in planning:

1. The theories about how we obtain valid knowledge about the society are being radically revised.
2. The pace of historical events seem to outpace our abilities to harness the forces of change to a social purpose.
3. The type and magnitude of the problems faced leave historically derived knowledge of little use in solving them.

Planning in contemporary democratic societies is in a dilemma. According to Healey (1992 : 143), "its context is the dilemma faced by all those committed to planning as a democratic enterprise, aimed to promote social justice and environmental sustainability. The dilemma is that the technical and administrative machineries advocated and created to pursue these goals in the past have been based on narrow scientific rationalism". Healey (1992) reiterated that in the 1970s, planning was criticised as providing a soft social and environmental commitment while at the same time, providing a site of struggle between class forces for control and management of the urban environment.

In the 1980s, the critique shifted, "to a search for a less one-dimensional view of

conflict and cleavage in the society, and a more nuanced appreciation of the diversity of the experience of urban life and environment" (*Healey, 1992 : 143*). Planning theory was therefore, unable to respond to the increasing demands to justify the goals and outcomes of planning policy and to allow for more participation in decision-making. This has led to a re-evaluation of some of the underlying principles of planning theory and the role of planners.

One of the challenges facing planners is how to factor the socio-political context or environment into their work, and how to transform planning into a people-centred process. Thus, the emergence of a new approach to the planning process or methodology -Phenomenology. The Phenomenological approach emphasises planning by the people rather than planning for the people. In this approach, the people are involved at every stage of the planning process and it is their views that form the pillar of decision-making.

4.2 PLANNING THEORY CLASSIFICATION AND PLANNING TRADITIONS

"The differentiation between procedural and substantive theory is clearly the most common and recurrent feature of classification models", according to Muller (1987 : 9). He reiterates that this categorization emanated from the distinction made by Hightower in the 1960s between theories of the planning process and theories concerning phenomena (*Hightower, 1969; Muller, 1987*).

In the field of theory classification, Davidoff and Reiner's choice theory (1962) and Banfield's conceptual scheme (1955) are cited as procedural theories which are "properly identified as planning theory", and Reilly's Law is presented as an example of phenomena or substance which is "not part of the theory of planning per se" (*Hightower, 1969 : 326*).

The qualification is made that the distinction between process and phenomena is "sometimes arbitrary and that certain areas of activity such as citizen participation enter the boundary zone between procedural and substantive theory" (*Hightower,*

1969 : 327).

However, Friedmann and Hudson (1974) based on Hightower (1969) characterize the major traditions of theoretical inquiry and point to some of the important cross-influences that have been at work. They distinguish at least four different intellectual traditions, namely : Tradition of Philosophical Synthesis, Rationalism, Organization Development, and Empiricism.

One fact clearly emerges from these traditions and that is, none of them actually focus on participation. Organization development tries to incorporate the element of dialogue and communication, legitimizing human factors and feelings but does not actually integrate human involvement in its development. Also, the new humanistic paradigm by Friedmann (1973), Schon (1971), Dunn (1971) and Hampden-Turner (1970) tries to focus on humanistic values and dialogue in planning.

4.2.1 THE FOUR TRADITIONS

4.2.1.1 The Tradition of Philosophical Synthesis

Karl Manheim (1935) wrote his major book in the depths of the Great Depression and as a response to the totalitarian systems of Stalinism and Fascism that had spread to much of Europe and Asia. The great debate commenced shortly before the war ended. "The confrontation centred on the issue of freedom - whether planning enhanced freedom by clarifying real options and obstacles to social action; or whether planners frustrated by their limited effectiveness in a free market economy, would be driven to seek increasingly coercive powers to intervene in social processes, with even tighter constraints on individual behaviour" (*Friedman and Hudson, 1974 : 5*).

It was Karl Manheim who came up with the idea of democratic social planning.

He regarded planning as the culminating stage in an historical evolutionary process which had been preceded by the stages of chance discovery and invention. He viewed planning as a way of thinking, and that the problem of planning revolved around the possibility of comprehensive social knowledge. He distinguished between functional rationality (related means to given ends) and substantial rationality (appropriate ends themselves) by inquiry into the structural relations of a social system.

The great debate continued and after the Second World War, Friederick von Hayek (1944) and Karl Popper (1945) were in defence of open society as against replacing allocative mechanisms of the market by central decisions. Barbara Wootton (1945), saw planning as a way of enlarging the scope of human freedom.

However, these arguments focus on rationality and freedom, and on the extent of their compatibility.

Eventually, the conflicting issues between planners and anti-planners came to rest on operational issues such as how to define aggregate welfare in the context of real social choices, and how to act on those choices through planning controls or other guides of social behaviour.

Dahl and Lindblom (1953) regarded rational choice and control as social processes. They were able to examine the several methods by which rationality is exercised in the achievement of collective purposes. This approach helped defuse the ideological conflict about planning as "the road to serfdom" and opened the way to a discussion of the unique 'mix' of decision and control processes suitable to given circumstances (*Friedman and Hudson, 1974 : 6*).

Dahl and Lindblom revealed a preference for decisions at the margin (incrementalism).

The next contribution was by Amitai Etzioni (1968). His work was tangentially related to planning and he dealt with planning as societal guidance. He defined planning as rational decision making (*Etzioni 1968; Simon 1947*). Etzioni dealt

with the linking of knowledge and action as components of a larger context of social system behaviour, raising other central themes besides rational calculation and control. A larger part of his exposition was spent on an analysis of power and social knowledge. He defined "societal guidance" in terms of the combination of downward control, or the resistance, and upward consensus formation or conflict resolution through an improved knowledge of societal conditions (*Etzioni, 1969*).

Friedmann (1973); Schon (1971); Dunn (1971) and Hampden-Turner (1970) endeavoured to refocus planning on a central concern with "humanistic values in which existential knowledge, the life of dialogue and self-actualizing groups would become bearers of regenerative forces in society" (*Friedmann and Hudson, 1974 : 6*). The new paradigm insisted on man's psycho-social development as a central focus of planning and portrayed planning as a form of social learning. According to Friedmann and Hudson (*1974 : 7*), "these authors stressed the cognitive limits of a central intelligence and its inherent capacity to gain a comprehensive overview of large, complex and rapidly changing social systems. Planning is seen as a form of social learning occurring in loosely linked network structures consisting of small, temporary, non-hierarchical and task oriented working groups, emphasizing interpersonal transactions as the basic means of exchange between technical experts and clients. Thus, scientific and technical knowledge was seen to fuse with the personal knowledge of client/actors in a process of mutual learning".

They emphasized dialogue as the medium through which mutual learning would occur and as a means of facilitating the transition from knowledge to action.

"The future was thus collapsed into the present and the classical dichotomy of ends, means, decisions and actions was washed out" (*Friedmann and Hudson, 1974 : 7*).

4.2.1.2 The Tradition of Rationalism

The rationalism paradigm involves the setting of goals, formulation of alternatives, prediction of outcomes and the evaluation of the alternatives in relation to the goals and the outcomes. Despite its intellectual appeal, rationalism faces three problems as reiterated by Friedman and Hudson (1974 : 8);

- (a) The problem of knowledge, especially its handling of uncertainty which involves probability judgements that are subjective. Also lack of information systems required to provide decision-makers with accurate and relevant data. And the inherently partial and limited validity of social models used for estimating impact of decisions.
- (b) The problem of community welfare function. That is, a calculation of tradeoffs among a community's preferences for different objectives.
- (c) The problem of coordination.

Decision theory has failed to come to grips with these problems because it has dealt with the problem of decisions on a purely intellectual level.

The first practical application of Simon's (1957) rational decision model was Jan Tinbergen's effort to devise an econometric model for economic policy analysis (1952 and 1964). Tinbergen's model assumes a top-down process of decision-making, including the setting up of major sectoral targets.

March and Simon (1959) in their book on Organizational Behaviour, backed away from pure rationalism to a more moderate position in which they advocated satisficing as the principle of choice. Satisficing was the decision criterion of "bounded rationality" according to which all one might hope to attain was a satisfactory decision; while not the "best", it was the best available and therefore "good enough" (Friedmann and Hudson, 1974 : 9). Optimization was seen as a desirable goal in principle but unattainable in the ordinary course of events. The above notion can be compared to Lindblom's decision process as a science of

muddling through.

In 1965, Lindblom proposes incremental decision-making which is aggregated into the preferred social good by a process which he described as mutual adjustment. His model was criticised by planners as having no concern for structural decisions. This led to Etzioni's (1968) proposal of mixed scanning as a synthesis of synoptic with incremental decision-making.

A new field of policy science emerged after 1965. The latter part of the 1960s witnessed a veritable explosion of ideas on how to apply the tools of rational and scientific analysis to concrete problems of public policy. Policy analysis improves with use and it becomes increasingly experience-based. It is possible to observe the results of actions and to apply the knowledge gained to the improvement of subsequent action.

4.2.1.3 The tradition of Organization Development

An alternative approach to planning emerged in the mid-fifties which contradicted the working hypothesis of the rationalist school. It was referred to as Organization Development. Proponents of this tradition understood planning not as an intellectual process of efficiently adapting means to given ends, but as primarily a method for inducing organizational change (Lippitt et al 1958; Bennis et al 1961). In the perspective of organization development, planning could not be meaningfully separated from implementing action, and the planner's role came accordingly to be defined as that of change agent (Jones, 1969; Schein, 1969).

The operating principle of Organization development is that, "any lasting change in process and structure must come from within the organization and involve far-reaching changes in awareness, attitudes, behaviour and values on the part of its constituents" (Friedmann and Hudson, 1974 : 10).

4.2.1.4 The tradition of Empiricism

The paucity of constructed empirical studies of planning comes perhaps as a surprise. Not until the 1960s was a more intensive examination of the planning process initiated. Planning then, "was not a natural subject for investigation by disciplines, such as empirical sociology, that tended to focus more on contemporary social problems on the smaller scale of organizational units" (Friedmann and Hudson, 1974 : 11).

Yet, despite the small volume, the studies which did emerge produced a wealth of insights into the character of planning practice. Their values rather derive from the closeups they provide and their contribution to a more detailed understanding of the operational characteristics and internal dynamics of planning processes in a number of different cultural and political settings.

4.2.1.5 CRITIQUE

Muller (1987 : 10) argues that, "the tradition of rationalism constitutes the only category accurately correlating Hightowers procedural definition; that the humanism of the philosophical synthesis is far removed from the methodological concerns of planning procedure and that the transference of the tenets of organization development tradition to the institutional processes of planning is problematic". He further reiterates that, "the philosophical writings of Mannheim (1935) enter the tradition of rationalism through the means-ends conception of functional and substantial rationality and that Dahl and Lindblom's (1953) work belongs to the rationalism tradition as opposed to that of philosophical synthesis. This, he says, is due to the fact that their incrementalist decision model constitutes an interpretation of and reaction to the premises of rationality. According to him, four-stage conceptual plan derived from Meyerson and Banfield's Chicago study moves beyond the tradition of empiricism into that of rationalism".

The model of active society by Etzioni, located within the tradition of philosophical synthesis and the concept of societal guidance "is pertinent to the work of the planning theorists of the new humanism school. The meshing of elements of the synoptic and incremental decision processes in his mixed scanning strategy is in itself of importance to planning procedure but the synthesizing of the strategy with social and political systems is certainly of comparable significance" (Muller, 1987 : 10).

However, a thorough synthesis of these traditions reveals that there has been no sufficient integration of all the propositions despite their coherence. Each of the traditions has been utilized in isolation from the others.

Another observation is that some of these traditions cannot be applied in practice especially the societal guidance theory, and some of them also lack humanistic values or relevance, for example the tradition of rationalism.

The linkage of knowledge to action, which is the pillar of planning, has not yet been fully integrated in all the traditions.

Another classification was by Hudson (1979). This classification referred to as SITAR is discussed in the next section.

4.2.2 THE SITAR CLASSIFICATION

The five planning traditions, namely Synoptic, Incremental, Transactive, Advocacy and Radical (SITAR) planning will be reviewed briefly in this section. The aim is to give a background to these planning traditions, in conjunction with the previous discussion, their criticisms and adequacies or inadequacies and why Phenomenology is adopted as a methodology in explaining homelessness in this study. SITAR is a taxonomy used for these planning theories.

4.2.1.1 Synoptic Planning

The synoptic or rational comprehensive approach, is the dominant tradition and

serves as a point of departure for other planning approaches, which represent either modifications of the synoptic rationality or reactions against it.

Hudson (1979 : 388) reiterated that Synoptic planning has four classical elements:

- (1) goal setting;
- (2) identification of policy alternatives;
- (3) evaluation of means against ends;
- (4) implementation of decisions.

Each stage of the process permits feedback loops and elaboration of sub-processes. For example, evaluation can consist of procedures such as benefit-cost analysis, in relocation or providing houses for the homeless, operations research, systems analysis and forecasting research.

Synoptic planning examines problems from a systems point of view, using conceptual or mathematical models relating ends (objectives) to means (resources and constraints) with reliance on number and quantitative analysis.

4.2.2.2 INCREMENTAL PLANNING

Charles Lindblom (1959, *cited in Hudson, 1979 : 389*) describes the incremental planning approach as "partisan mutual adjustment" or "disjointed incrementalism". Criticising the synoptic approach as unrealistic, he stresses that "policy decisions are better understood and arrived at in terms of the push and tug of established institutions that are adept at getting things done through decentralized bargaining process best suited to a free market and a democratic political economy" (*Hudson, 1979 : 389*).

The case for incremental planning or the science of muddling through, derives from a series of criticisms levelled at synoptic rationality. These criticisms include, "its insensitivity to existing institutional performance capabilities; its

reductionist epistemology; its failure to appreciate the cognitive limits of decision makers who cannot "optimize but only 'satisfice' choices by successive approximations" (*Hudson, 1979 : 389*).

Incrementalists also take "issue with synoptic tradition for expressing social values (a priori goal setting); artificial separation of ends from means; presumption of a general public interest rather than pluralists interest" (*Hudson, 1979 : 389*).

Synoptic planning is criticized for its bias towards central control - in the definition of problems and solutions, in the evaluation of alternatives and in the implementation of decisions, that is, a top-down approach. These criticisms are reflected in incremental planning and in the thrust of other planning procedures.

4.2.2.3 TRANSACTIVE PLANNING

Transactive planning focuses on the intact experience of people's lives. Planning is carried out in face-to-face contact with the people affected by decisions. Planning consists less of field surveys and data analyses, but more of interpersonal dialogue which fosters mutual learning. This is similar to phenomenological methodology. Transactive planning refers to "the evolution of decentralized planning institutions that help people take increasing control over the social processes that govern their welfare" (*Hudson, 1979 : 389*).

In contrast to incremental planning, emphasis is given to processes of personal and organizational development, and not just the achievement of specific objectives. Plans are evaluated not merely in terms of what they do for people through delivery of goods and services, but in terms "of the plan's effect on people, on their dignity and sense of effectiveness, their values and behaviour, their capacity for growth through cooperation, their spirit of generosity" (*Hudson, 1979 : 389*).

By contrast, incremental planning adheres closely to the economic logic of

individuals pursuing their own self-interest.

4.2.2.4 ADVOCACY PLANNING

In theory, advocacy planning calls for the development of plural plans rather than a unit plan (*Davidoff, 1965*). Advocacy planning has been successful as a means of blocking insensitive plans and challenging traditional views of a unitary public interest. In practice, however, advocacy planning has been criticized for posing stumbling blocks without being able to mobilize effective support for constructive alternatives (*Peattie, 1968*). Advocacy planning has both reflected and contributed to a general trend in planning away from "neutral objectivity in definition of social problems, in favour of applying more explicit principles of social justice" (*Hudson, 1979 : 390*). It is embedded in procedures modelled upon the legal profession and usually applied to defending the interest of the weak against the strong, that is, the poor, undeserving (for example, the homeless) against the government and business powers. Advocacy planning can be adopted in mediation in the case of eviction of the homeless by government agencies.

4.2.2.5 RADICAL PLANNING

Radical planning is :

- (1) "Associated with spontaneous activism, guided by an idealistic but pragmatic vision of self-reliance and mutual aid" (*Hudson, 1979 : 39*). Like transactive planning, it stresses the importance of personal growth, cooperative spirit and freedom from manipulation.

Its point of departure consists of specific substantive ideas about collective actions that can achieve concrete results in the immediate future.

- (2) Radical planning thought according to Hudson (*1979*) takes a more critical and holistic look at large scale social processes, for example, the effect of class structures and economic relationships; the control exercised by culture and media; the historical dynamics of social movements (for

example, the South African Homeless People's Federation - a housing movement), confrontations, alliances and struggles.

Table 4.1 presents a list of criteria that one might use for assessing the scope, character and adequacy of the planning traditions.

Table 4.1 : Criteria for describing and evaluating planning traditions

Criteria	Characteristics and applications
Public Interest	Explicit theory of public interest, along with methods to articulate significant social problems and pluralist interests in outcomes. May include principles of distributive justice and procedures for dealing with conflict.
Human Dimension	Attention to the personal and spiritual domains of policy impacts, including intangible outcomes beyond functional-instrumental objectives- for example, psycho-social development, enhancement of dignity and capacity for self help.
Feasibility	Ease of learning and applying the theory. Implies the theory is practical to translate into policy implications and adaptable to varying types of problems, scales of action and social settings.
Action Potential	Provision for carrying ideas into practice, building on experience underway and identifying new lines of effective solutions to problems.
Substantive Theory	Descriptive and normative theory of social problems and processes of social change. Predictive capacity based on informal judgements, not just trend extrapolation, ability to trace long range and indirect policy consequences; historical perspectives on opportunities and constraints on action.
Self Reflective	Capacity for laying analytical assumptions open to criticism and counter proposals; provision for learning from those being planned for; capacity for depicting concrete experience in everyday language as well as conceptual models using aggregate data.

Source : Hudson (1979)

4.2.2.6 Evaluation of SITAR Traditions

2

Table 4.2, however, is an evaluation of the five SITAR planning traditions based on Table 4.1. The purpose of this comparison is to suggest areas of similarity and difference among the planning traditions, their strengths and weaknesses and the pattern of emphasis and neglect found in the planning field.

(a) Theory of Public Interest

According to Hudson (1979), radical and advocacy planning are based on conflict

models of public interest. Transactive and incremental planning, on the other hand, are based on dialogue and bargaining among plural interests, although without an explicit treatment of power. Synoptic planning ignores issues of conflict by referring to a unitary concept of public interest (Table 4.2).

(b) Human Dimension

Transactive planning gives attention to psycho-social and institutional processes which facilitate growth and mutual learning between the planner and his constituency (*Hudson, 1979*). Radical planning emphasizes the role of human will and ideological cohesiveness which gives effective power to technical knowledge.

"Both raise explicit questions about the limitations of social science as an exclusive way of understanding social problems. Both give specific attention to alternative epistemologies or bases for validating the uses and limits of knowledge. Both clearly emphasize the role of personal knowledge, using concrete experience and direct participation as the point of departure for problem-solving and social struggle" (*Hudson, 1979 : 392*).

Table 4.2 : SITAR theories based on selected criteria in Table 4.1

Major criteria or descriptive characteristics of planning theory	The SITAR traditions				
	Synoptic	Incremental	Trans-active	Advocacy	Radical
Public Interest	O	0	0	X	X
Human Dimensions	-	-	X	-	0
Feasibility	X	X	-	-	-
Action Potential	0	0	0	0	0
Substantive Theory	-	0	0	-	0
Self Reflective	-	-	0	0	0
* <u>Note</u> : X Indicates major strength or area of concern O Indicates partial or one-sided treatment - Indicates characteristic weakness					

Source : Hudson (1979)

(c) Feasibility

Synoptic planning can be easily grasped. Its analytical techniques are fairly standard applications of social science, its intentions are straight-forward. Incremental and advocacy planning refer to the more subtle and complex procedures of bargaining, but they come closer to what skilled entrepreneurs, politicians and social mobilizers do, so they score fairly well on the criterion of feasibility in Table 4.2 (Hudson, 1979).

The operating principles of transactive and radical planning are less well known among planning professionals. Both these approaches call for "the fostering and strengthening of community-based institutions which are presently over-shadowed by centralised and bureaucratically organized government agencies and corporate enterprises." (Hudson, 1979 : 392).

(d) **Action Potential**

Synoptic planning addresses possibilities of large-scale action. Radical planning is vulnerable to criticisms that its plans never reach the stage of implementation, for example, master plans.

Other planning traditions seek to reduce the gap between decision-making and implementation by embedding planning processes in the everyday practice of social management and experimentation.

Only in synoptic planning is there major emphasis on producing "plans". Elsewhere, planning is more characteristically a process that consummates itself in direct action rather than production of documents. Other planning theories tend to focus on the basis of continuity in existing social structures and processes.

(e) **Substantive Theory**

Mainstream theories of planning are principally concerned with procedural techniques. Substantive content is usually left to secondary levels of specialization in sectorial areas such as education, housing, poverty, industrial development or land use regulation (*Hudson, 1979*). Exceptions are radical planning and to a lesser extent, transactive planning. Planning styles and methods in both correspond to the specific nature of social problems being addressed.

(f) **Self Reflective Theory**

The science of muddling through encourages participants to keep their motives and means to themselves. In synoptic planning, there is more emphasis on openness but the rules require that one deal with technical decisions on the basis of objective data.

Etzioni (1968) suggested a composite approach called "mixed scanning" which alternates between the synoptic approach to "fundamental" decisions and the incrementalist manner of dealing with "bit" decisions (*Faludi, 1973a; Allison, 1968*).

Transactive planning emphasizes dialogue and development of trusting interpersonal relationships. Advocacy planning relies on the test of mobilizing people to challenge established procedures and institutions in protecting their collective interests.

Radical planning calls for ideas to be tested in actions aimed at permanent change in social institutions and values.

In contrast, synoptic planning refers to "a more limited test of its adequacy in addressing problems : it creates a series of feedback channels to correct errors in calculations, but the scope and substance of feedback are highly constrained" (*Hudson, 1979 : 392*).

4.2.3 OTHER CLASSIFICATIONS

Muller's (1987) classification of planning theory is shown in figure 4.1.

The classification in figure 4.1 includes Faludi's (1972 : 7) acceptance of Hightower's explicit distinction and echoes it in the split between theory of planning (procedural) and theory in planning (substantive). He suggested that the categorization "should not result in an entirely separate development of the two".

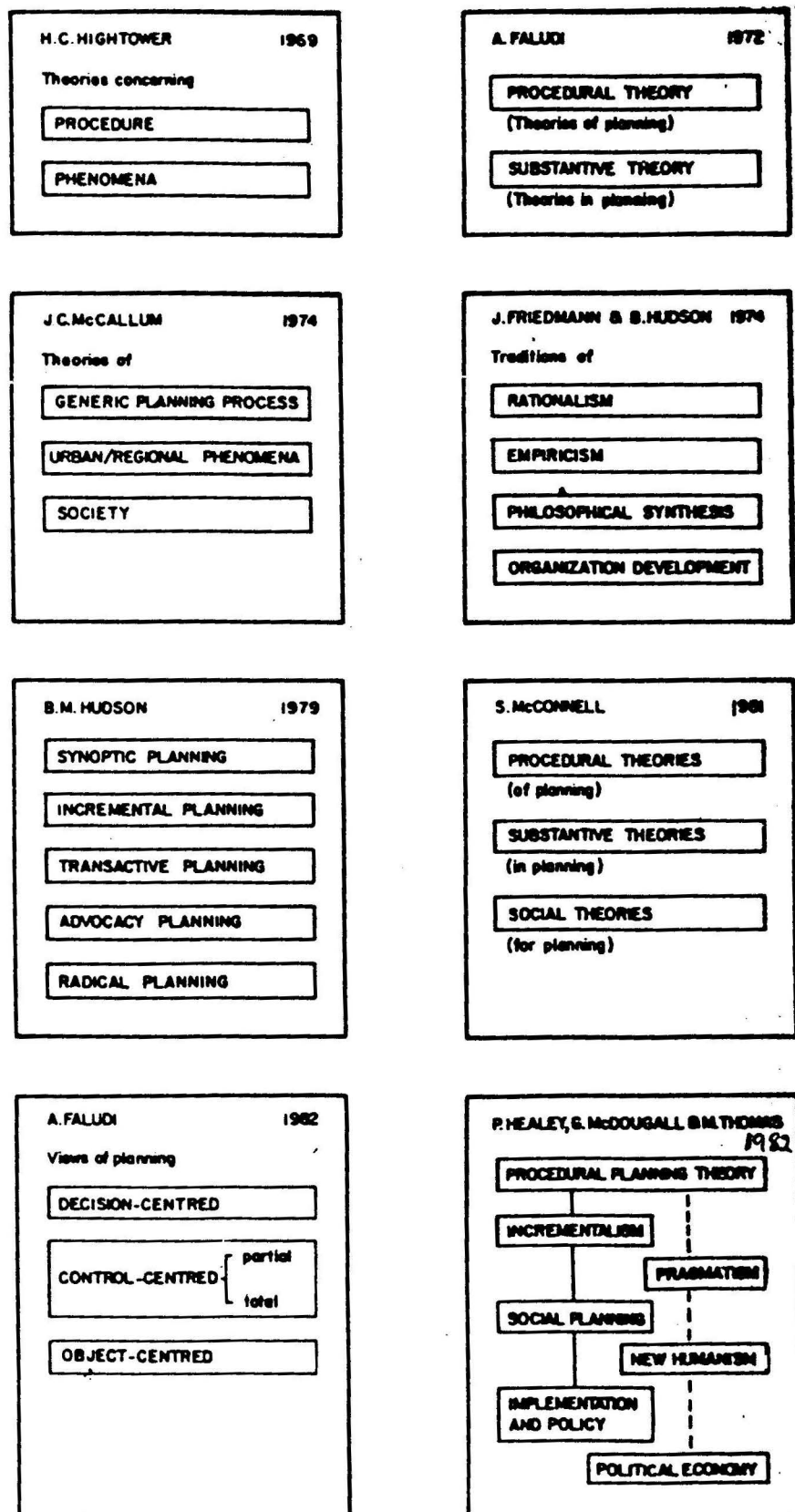
A planning procedure as affirmed by Muller (1987 : 9), "is a methodological response to an issue within prevailing societal conditions (substantive reality) and these conditions are transformed through planning intervention (procedurally structured) into new sets of conditions which must then impact on subsequent procedural approaches".

McCallum (1974 : 739) suggested that, "the body of knowledge is divided into three, theories of society, of the generic planning process and of urban and regional phenomena. He placed emphasis on the heterogeneity of the field of planning theory and the real differences between qualitatively distinct sub-sets of

the field".

However, Muller (1987 : 10) was of the view that, "inasmuch as theories of society incorporate the values and decisions of the formal institutions of society, and it is those institutional or political decisions of society that give rise to the spatial and socio-economic patterns contained within theories of urban/regional phenomena, the split simply creates a gulf across which unnecessary bridges must be built. The removal of decision-based theories of the generic planning process from institutional contexts within which planning operates places planning in a vacuum and it is against this scenario that the critique of the procedural model is directed".

Figure 4.1 : Planning Theory : Classification Models



Strategic choice was emphasised in Faludi's (1982) three planning theory paradigms. The decision-centred view, the object centred and the control-centred views of planning constitute the components of his classification.

According to Muller (1987), the Marxist ideology is equated with the total control-centred approach, the Liberalist concept with the partial control-centred approach and democratic ideals with the decision-centred view of planning.

On the other hand, Healey, McDougall and Thomas's (1982) classification was concerned with the plurality of the planning position and the lack of critical evaluation and understanding of those theoretical positions. Their argument, as reiterated in Muller (1987), centred on the contention that social and advocacy planning are classified as developments of procedural theory and are attached to the promotion of sectoral values while at the same time accepting the general method of planning.

4.2.3.1 CRITIQUE

According to Muller (1987 : 10), the SITAR classification, is unlike those previously discussed in that "it is not derivative of the procedural/substantive convention, but a mix of methodology (synopticism), political analysis (radicalism), professional role (advocacy), planning style (transactive planning) and decision-making approach (incrementalism). These five traditions, which are shown to have distinctive internal attributes, are subjected to comparison on the basis of a uniform set of criteria".

Muller (1987 : 10-11) asserted that, "Hudson accepts that selected traditions and evaluative criteria are matters of personal choice but does not query the validity of entering upon a comparative analysis of disparate approaches with essentially different purposes and perspectives. The conclusion drawn from the comparative study has a value systematic evaluation of historical precedents which would help create more realistic strategies for getting diverse traditions to work together".

4.2.3.2 SUMMARY

From the foregoing, it is quite apparent that the old traditions of planning theory did not achieve much in their application to real-world situations. They are scientific inquiries (procedural) and do not really focus on the practice (substantive) aspect. They are basically top-down approaches (planning for the people). There is need to shift the debate to a more realistic, applicable, human-centred, knowledge-action philosophy in planning, that is, a planning methodology or process that would integrate theory into practice.

Clearly, there is a need for a change of focus and that is why Phenomenology is relevant here. Phenomenology is people-centred (planning with and by the people) and a bottom-up approach. The task of a phenomenologist is to describe the nature of reality as it is. Phenomenology draws on humanistic values, principles, feelings and relations and it involves people right from the initiation or conception of the planning process.

4.3 PHENOMENOLOGY

Correctly conceived, phenomenology does not adopt any particular position, standpoint or world view philosophy of an -ism. Rather, "it is the name of a method which allows for original experiences to be seen" (*Pickles, 1985 : 2*). Phenomenology seeks precisely to describe the world as it shows itself before scientific inquiry, as that which is pre-given and pre-supposed by the sciences. It seeks to disclose the original way of being prior to its objectification by the empirical sciences. Phenomenology indicates primarily a principle of method which can best be formulated in Husserl's phrase : "Back to the things themselves" (*Pickles, 1985 : 3*). "Phenomenology is the name for the procedure of ontology which essentially distinguishes itself from all other positive sciences". (*Heidegger, 1976 : 21*).

Phenomenology means the study or description of phenomena as they give themselves in lived experience. The primary emphasis is on the phenomenon itself, "exactly as it reveals itself to the experiencing subject in all its concreteness and particularity" (*Seamon, 1979 : 16*).

Relf (1970, *cited in Pickles, 1985 : 59*) defines Phenomenology as a "procedure for describing the everyday world of man's immediate experience including his actions, memories, fantasies and perceptions", as opposed to a scientific method concerned only with an objective or rational world. It draws on values, relations, memories, feelings. It is a human centred and bottom up approach (*Pickles, 1985; Spiegelberg, 1975*) in that it pays attention to individuals and only where the opinions of many individuals converge, does it make more general statements.

The term Phenomenology designates three things :

- (1) a new kind of descriptive method;
- (2) a set of a priori or pure descriptive or regional ontologies, corresponding to, and providing the methodological foundations for, each of the domains of the empirical sciences, on the basis of which scientifically rigorous empirical methods can be established;
- (3) an a priori science - philosophical or transcendental phenomenology intended to found a rigorously scientific philosophy and consequently to permit methodical reform of all the sciences (*Pickles, 1985 : 94*).

4.3.1 Historical Overview of Phenomenology

Phenomenology in the modern sense began with Edmund Husserl, and his work influenced to a greater or lesser degree all subsequent phenomenologists. Husserl began the idea of Phenomenology (1907) with the distinction between natural and philosophical thinking. Natural thinking in science and everyday life is untroubled by the difficulties concerning the possibility of cognition. Philosophical thinking on the other hand is circumscribed by one's position

toward the problems concerning the possibility of cognition.

Phenomenology in the natural attitude denotes a system of mundane scientific disciplines or regional ontologies corresponding to each domain of empirical science (*Husserl, 1907, cited in Pickles, 1985*). To this end, a new science was developed - eidetic or descriptive phenomenology - which will provide the methodological foundation for the empirical sciences.

The goal of phenomenological ontology is to return to the original data of man's experience and to provide a conceptual clarification of these data by delineating the constitutive structures which make them what they are.

Thus, in a person perceiving an object, Husserl distinguished not only the seeing and the seen, but also the various perspectives through which the object appears. How the person viewed the object along with other factors such as their beliefs and special knowledge, would form a lens through which the object is seen. Husserl believed that it was important to know what forms the lens and how it affects what a person might see. This would help uncover the other seemingly hidden ways by which things pass into our unconsciousness (*Spielberg, 1975*). Phenomenology can be associated with the notion of beginning in as much as it attempts to go back to beginnings and look at the foundation of the system of knowledge.

4.4 Distinction between Positivism and Phenomenology

Based on the foregoing, and the long-standing debate in the social sciences about the most appropriate philosophical position from which methods should be derived, there has been a trend away from positivism and the five (SITAR) planning traditions towards phenomenology. Over the last few years, many researchers who adopt a pragmatic view combine methods drawn from both traditions.

Positivism implies that the social world exists externally and that its properties should be measured through objective methods. Auguste Comte (1853, cited in *Eastherby-Smith et al 1991 : 22-23*) was an influential proponent of this view and stated : "All good intellects have revealed that there can be no real knowledge but that which is based on observed facts". He asserts that positivism promotes:

- (a) Independence, that is the observer is independent of what is being observed;
- (b) Value freedom : the choice of what to study and how to study it can be determined by objective criteria rather than by human beliefs and interests;
- (c) causality;
- (d) hypothetic-deductive;
- (e) operationalization;
- (f) reductionism;
- (g) generalisation; and
- (h) cross-sectional analysis.

The new paradigm that has arisen during the last half-century, largely in reaction to the application of positivism to the social sciences, stems from the view that the world and reality are not objective and exterior, but that they are socially constructed and give meaning to people (*Husserl, 1946*). Phenomenology is not logically derived from positivism. Variants associated closely with Phenomenology include interpretive sociology (*Habermas, 1970*), naturalistic enquiry (*Lincoln and Guba, 1986*), social constructionism (*Berger and Luckmann, 1966*), qualitative methodology (*Taylor and Bodgan, 1984*), and new paradigm inquiry (*Reason and Rowan, 1981*).

The task of the Planner is not only to gather facts and analyze how often certain patterns occur, but to appreciate the different constructions and meaning that people place upon their experience. Phenomenology tries to understand and explain why people search for experiences, rather than search for external causes

and fundamental laws to explain their behaviour.

Within the phenomenological viewpoint, there are several direct attacks on the assumptions of positivism. One is the notion of scienticism (*Keat, 1981*), which holds that the only knowledge of any significance is that which is derived from the use of objective measures. Another is the view that science itself is based only on data that can be observed and measured directly. But one of the strongest attacks on positivism has been on its assumptions of value-freedom. This is argued most strongly by Habermas (*1970*), who points out that any form of knowledge is an instrument of self-preservation. Human interests not only guide the way we think, and the structures of mark and authority, but they also condition the way we enquire into, and construct our knowledge of the world.

Table 4.3 shows the basic classification of positivist and phenomenological viewpoints, while Table 4.4 summarises the difference from the positivist and phenomenological viewpoints.

Table 4.3 : Key features of Positivist and Phenomenological Paradigms

	Positive Paradigm	Phenomenological Paradigm
1. Basic beliefs	The world is external and objective. Observer is independent. Science is value free.	The world is socially constructed and subjective. Observer is part of what is observed. Science is driven by human interests.
2. Researcher should	Focus on facts. Look for causality and fundamental laws.	Focus on meanings. Try to understand what is happening. Look at the totality of each situation. Develop ideas through induction from data.
3. Preferred methods include	Operationalising concepts so that they can be measured. Taking large samples.	Using multiple methods to establish different views of phenomena. Small samples investigated in-depth or overtime.

Source : *Easterby-Smith, M; Thorpe, R; Lowe, A (1991)*

In Table 4.3, the positivists' basic beliefs of the world are external and objective while the phenomenologist's belief is that the world is socially constructed and subjective. The positivist focuses on facts, formulates hypotheses and then tests them. The phenomenologist on the other hand, focuses on meanings and develops ideas through induction from data.

Table 4.4 questions reliability, validity and generalisability from both positivist and phenomenological viewpoints.

Table 4.4 : Questions of Reliability, Validity and Generalisability

	Positivist Viewpoint	Phenomenological Viewpoints
Validity	Does an instrument measure what it is supposed to measure?	Has the researcher gained full access to knowledge and meanings of informants?
Reliability	Will the measure yield the same results of different occasions (assuming no real change in what is to be measured?)	Will similar observations be made by different researchers on different occasions?
Generalisability	What is the probability that patterns observed in a sample will also be present in the wider population from which the sample is drawn?	How likely is it that ideas and theories generated in one setting will also apply in other settings?

Source : *Easterby-Smith, M; Thorpe, R; Lowe, A (1991)*

On the other hand, Table 4.5 gives an illustration of the positivist, naturalist and phenomenological paradigms. The first axiom of the table deals with the assumptions about the nature of reality. One can observe that making claims about reality that are opposite to those of positivism is still constrained by positivism.

The phenomenological approach admits to a reality independent of consciousness but claims that knowledge of such reality can only come through consciousness of it, so it is better to study the reality claims made by persons through their

consciousness of it (Georgi, 1994). Thus, phenomenologists are interested in perceived reality. The researcher's phenomenological task is "to describe the nature of reality as taken up and posited by the research participants. This frees the researcher to discover possible reality claims that may be outside his/her a priori specifications" (Georgi, 1994 : 203).

Table 4.5 : Contrasting Positivist, Naturalist and Phenomenological Axioms

Axioms About	Positivist Paradigm	Naturalism Paradigm	Phenomenological Paradigm
The nature of reality	Reality is single, tangible and fragmentable	Realities are multiple, constructed and holistic	Reality statements are not made. Precisely how phenomena present themselves is described
The relationship of the knower to known	Knower and known are independent : a dualism	Knower and known are interactive, inseparable	Understood via intentionality as a principle of openness of acts of consciousness to other than the acts themselves
The possibility of generalization	Time and context-free generalizations (nomothetic statements) are possible	Only time and context-bound marking hypotheses (idiographic statements) are possible	Context unique and transcontextual generalizations possible via eidetic intuitions
The possibility of causal linkages	There are real causes, temporarily precedent to or simultaneous with their effects	All entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping, so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects	All types of relations can emerge; causal, intentional, meaningful, etc.
The role of values	Inquiry is value-free	Inquiry is value-bound	Neutrality of phenomenological reduction used to discover values

Source : Lincoln and Guba (1985); Giorgi (1994)

The second axiom concerns the relationship of knower to known. Lincoln and Guba (1985) tried to nail down one aspect of a complex relationship. However, from a phenomenological perspective, because knowledge can only come through intentionality and because acts of cognition are conscious acts (Giorgi, 1994), the

knower/known relationship is approached through intentionality, "the essential characteristic of consciousness" (*Georgi, 1994 : 203*). Intentionality according to Georgi (*1994*) means that all acts of consciousness are directed to objects that are not those acts themselves.

The third axiom of Lincoln and Guba's (*1985*) Table 4.5 concerns generalization. They seem to accept the distinction between nomothetic and idiographic, yet they think this can be surpassed. While quantitative measures lend themselves to that type of generalization known as formalization, phenomenologists point out that essential intuition is another type that resembles genus-species relationship (*Gurwitsch, 1974*).

The fourth category that Lincoln and Guba (*1985*) listed as an axiom was the causal relationship. They contrast linear causality with a type of interactionism in which no distinction between cause and effect is possible.

Lincoln and Guba (*1985 : 129 - 159*) proposed that "the term 'mutual simultaneous shaping' replace the terms 'cause and effect', because ultimately, everything is influenced by everything else and since 'reality' is constructed by researchers for useful purposes, the workability of the construction is what matters, not whether the researchers capture some 'real' causes and effects".

The phenomenological paradigm allows for other types of relationships to manifest themselves. On the other hand, "there is no intrinsic difficulty with making a causal account if that truly is the relation that renders the phenomenon intelligible" (*Georgi, 1994 : 204*).

On the question of value (Table 4.5), from a phenomenological perspective, the dichotomy between value-free and value-laden is poorly made.

Value neutrality is related to a positivist paradigm. It was claimed that results are not contaminated by unwanted influences and this has led to research with the

opposite emphasis, such as action research, where one tries to achieve a desired outcome (*Giorgi, 1994*).

Phenomenologically, (*Giorgi, 1994 : 205*), "subjectivity cannot be eliminated and should not be, but subjectivity in the pejorative sense can be transcended. That is, not all presence of subjectivity is automatically negative. For phenomenology, nothing can be accomplished without subjectivity, so its elimination is not the solution. Rather, how the subject is present is what matters, and objectivity itself is an achievement of subjectivity".

To reduce prejudice or bias, phenomenologists recommended the use of reduction which means, "an attitude to which hopes and dreams may be temporarily disengaged so that the phenomena can manifest themselves "as they are" to the temporarily "disinterested" human subject, who is the researcher" (*Giorgi, 1994 : 205*).

4.5 DOING PHENOMENOLOGY

4.5.1 Unthinking knowing

Phenomenology's task is to reveal that which we already know but which is so familiar to us that we have ceased to think about it. Seamon (1979) notes that in normal daily existence, people are caught in a state of affairs called the natural attitude. The world of the natural attitude is called the lifeworld of phenomenologist. In the natural attitude, people do not critically examine elements of the lifeworld. Phenomenology in the natural attitude denotes a system of mundane scientific disciplines or regional ontologies corresponding to each domain of empirical science (*Pickles, 1985*). "In the natural attitude we are too much absorbed by our mundane pursuits, both practical and theoretical, we are too much absorbed by our goals, purposes and designs to pay attention to the way the world presents itself to us" (*Giorgi, cited in Seamon, 1979 : 148*).

In relation to this research, the aim of the phenomenologist is to ascertain what the people perceive as homelessness and what they believe influences homelessness. To achieve a phenomenologist reduction, the phenomenologist must disengage from the life world and move into a frame of mind characterised by a questioning approach, where belief in the experience or experienced thing is suspended. This is what Husserl terms the epoch. Epochs require that looking must precede judgement and that judgement of what is "real" be suspended until all the evidence is in. That is, an in-depth investigation of the homeless perceptions and the planners interpretations and synthesis of the perceptions.

4.5.2 Describing experience

Husserl suggests a methodological principle to guide the procedure of describing experiences in an unprejudiced way. Each experience - or cogitation - has two sides : the cogito or experiencing, and the cogitatum - what is experienced (Hammond, 1991). Similarly, the descriptions must fall into two groups. Husserl terms these noetic and noematic descriptions. The noetic descriptions will describe ways in which one is experiencing (such as perceiving or remembering). The noematic descriptions will be descriptions of cogitatum of what it is experiencing (the perceived or remembered object).

4.5.3 Language ✓

The use of language is an important issue in phenomenology. The reason for this lies in the meaning that language gives to objects, actions, emotions and so on. Language is incredibly flexible and words can be used to mean many different things. Meanings given to words differ from person to person. The importance therefore is in understanding the meaning and not just the words.

4.6 PHENOMENOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

4.6.1 Phenomena and Intentionality

The term phenomenon comes from the Greek verb "phantazein" - to make visible. Pickles (1985) notes that the world and all its parts, to the extent that there can be an awareness of them, are "phenomena", and can become a point of reflection. If a pure science of human and physical nature is to be developed, we must reflect not upon the objects of our perception, but on the way in which they are originally given. Through reflection, we turn our attention away from our everyday living into the world, and focus upon the way in which we grasp the corresponding experiences.

These experiences are what Husserl called "phenomena" (*Pickles, 1985 : 95*), and the objects to which they correspond are any object of man's attention. "Thus, the world and all its parts, to the extent that there can be any awareness of them whatsoever, are "phenomena" and can become the theme of reflection" (*Jordan, 1981, cited in Pickles, 1985 : 95*).

The expression, "intentionality", refers to this basic character of consciousness of always directing itself to that which it is not. Thus, every experience of something is correctly said to be "intentionally related" to this something (*Husserl, 1927, cited in Pickles, 1985 : 96*). For Husserl, then, it is characteristic of every phenomenon that it has its own form of intentionality; that the object of an act is inseparable from the meaning of the phenomenon itself. Intentionality, for Husserl, is "the basic structure of consciousness, where every act of consciousness is directed towards its intentional object" (*Pickles, 1985 : 96*). For Heidegger, the intentional structure is present not only as this cognitive or theoretical relation between man and his world, but in man's everyday world of practical concerns (*Pickles, 1985*). In this everyday world which is pre-reflective, man understands himself as fundamentally related to his world.

The concept of intentionality is central to phenomenology. "For each individual, the essence of consciousness lies not in discovering reality, but in describing in personal terms what reality is, in the mind of the individual, intended to be" (*Muller, 1993 : 11*). The intellectual construction of a phenomenon - a cataclysm, a comedy or a commodity - derives from the participant's intention as it relates to a particular event or object. "What a participant intends an object of reality to be; what she/he interprets an object as being, is drawn from personal perception of that object, and that perception is a function of the experiences, values, beliefs, prejudices and attitudes held by the participant" (*Muller, 1993 : 11*). Phenomenology's intentionality principle is taken to be concerned with the perceived environment.

4.6.2 Perceptual Experience

The phenomenologists' insistence on the careful description of conscious experiences is partly motivated by their sense that previous philosophers have either ignored this altogether or described it in an inaccurate way. In particular, phenomenologists claim that some philosophical views have distorted this descriptive programme so that, for example, their accounts of perceptual experience have been influenced more by what this "should" be like than by description of what it actually is like (*Bannister, 1993*). This has led phenomenologists to such terms as "pre-suppositionless or free from prior judgement" (*Spiegelberg, 1975 : 10*), meaning that when perceiving an object, perception may be shaped by our experience or by how the object is being perceived, but should not be distorted by prior judgement. Phenomenologists believe that perception is a transaction between the perceiver and the world. Husserl remarks that the task of phenomenology is to make understandable that which presents itself as brute fact, by making evident its constitution (*Cairns, 1976*).

4.6.3 Everyday Life World

Pickles (1985 : 115) stated that, "the lifeworld is the cultural world surrounding us and differs from the lifeworld of other cultural worlds. It is the world which we constantly live in, and in which we find not "objects" or "things", but houses, fields, gardens, etc".

The controlled experimentation of scientific method is supplanted by the exigency of experience, the dynamics of experience as it is lived through. This is referred to as the phenomenological life world (*Lebenwelt*), the world of everyday life as experienced and described by each person (Muller, 1993). Phenomenological concepts are experiential. The phenomenologist's study of the life world is an attempt to ground science in the world experience (Pickles, 1985).

The aspect of people's lives that is important to phenomenological planning is their "everyday life world". The reality of everyday life is not only what people experience right now, but also includes phenomena that are not present "here and now", such as those presented as memories and emotions. People have "different life worlds, some of which are closer and some of which are more remote to their daily lives, both spatially and temporarily" (Bannister, 1993 : 16). The reality of everyday life is an interpersonal world which many people share, especially where the conditions of their everyday life are similar. This differentiates everyday life from other life worlds of which people are conscious.

Berger and Luckmann (1969, cited Bannister, 1993 : 16) notes :

There are worlds, but I cannot shape those worlds and therefore my interest in them is often indirect. Other people's perspective in this world is not identical to mine. My here is their there. My now is not always their now and my projects may differ from theirs. But most importantly, I know that there is an ongoing correspondence between my

meaning in this world, that we share a common sense about its reality.

4.6.4 Phenomenology as anti-science

Phenomenology, according to Relph (1970, *cited in Pickles, 1985*), is an attempt to formulate some alternative method of investigation to that of hypothesis testing and theory development. Phenomenology is concerned with how phenomena are originally given, the constitution of what is acceptable as evidence and a priori framework of meaning from which a hypothesis and a causal relationship can be framed as meaningful and relevant (*Pickles, 1985*). The view of phenomenology as anti-science has been strongly cited. It is argued that phenomenology is anti-positivist, but not anti-science (*Pickles, 1985*). Many see it as building on scientific knowledge, and it operates more as a form of criticism than as an alternative to scientific method. Phenomenology does not attempt to replace science, but does reject the abstraction of objectivity of science.

Buttimer (1977 : 38) asserts that "the positivist scientist attempts to deal with the straight logical problems of the internal structure of scientific systems, the phenomenologist deals with man-in-the-world, the issues of crisis, freedom and integrity. The former demands detachment and the clear separation of subject and object, while the latter rejects such dualism and creates an existential subjectivism".

4.7 ASPECTS OF FEMINIST THEORY RELATED TO PHENOMENOLOGY AND GENDER PLANNING

Planning theories are mostly gender blind. "Gender is not the only possible category of analysis, it is a category which has been virtually invisible in planning theory and practice" (*Ritzdorf, 1992 : 13*). At the heart of all feminist work is a

unifying idea that gender is a significant aspect of the cultural, social, political and economic construction of reality. Whether or not gender is explicitly mentioned in a theoretical construct, there is an implicit, if not explicit, set of values and attitudes about the role of women which frame the analysis.

Women face problems of such significance in cities and societies that gender can no longer be ignored in planning practice (*Leavitt, 1986*). In addition, many feminists assert that the best research ideas are those which bridge the gap between theory and practice, which acknowledge that personal experience and grounded research are valuable theory building and research tools and which do not attempt to achieve a neutral stance for the researcher towards the research (*Ritzdorf, 1992*).

Planning theory can be delineated into three different emphasis : "Planning practice, political economy and meta theory" (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992 : 49*). Theories of planning practice involve, "analysis of the procedures, actions and behaviour planners. They may also include an analysis of the context or concrete situation in which planners are working. The political economy approach examines the nature and meaning of urban planning in capitalist society. This approach might encompass speculations about the relationship among capitalism, democracy and reform. This work begins with a general theory most commonly some version of Marxism and uses case study for the planning arena to illustrate the pre-chosen theory. The meta theory approach involves work that asks fundamental, epistemology and methodical questions about planning" (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992 : 49-50*).

Gender issues emerge in each of the three approaches and take the form of such themes as "the economic status of women; the location and movement of women through the built environment; the connections between capitalist production and patriarchal relationships and public and domestic life : how women know about the world and about what is good and the forms of communication with which

women are most comfortable or by which they are most threatened" (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992 : 50*).

Fainstein (1992 : 28-29) opined that :

Feminist planners seeking to overcome female exclusion would instead privilege the female viewpoint by focusing on issues most germane to the lives of women. These include the feminization of poverty, protection of abused women, equal pay for comparable work, and the provision of an infrastructure of social services allowing women greater choice of job locations and hours. This agenda would make improvement of the economic and social situation of women rather than economic development the criterion for evaluation of planning outcomes.

4.7.1 Planning with a Feminine Voice

The first phase of feminist theorizing constituted an attack on anthropocentrism and a re-examination of social categories from a feminist perspective. More recently, theorists have attempted to go beyond scrutiny of social relations according to enlightenment values of fairness and rationality and to propose criteria that transcend Western dualism. With the contention that women speak in different voice (*Gilligan, 1982*) has come an effort to articulate new theories based on a re-thinking of the western tradition. Along with theoretical inventiveness, feminism has produced a methodological eclecticism reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of women's studies as a frequent rejection of the rationalist framework of modern social science.

Thus, feminist theories have substituted psychoanalytic insights and cultural critique for positivism or Marxist dialectics; and they have employed openly subjectivist narratives and visual media in place of standard "scientific" exposition

(*Fainstein, 1992 : 29*). This conforms with the phenomenological methodology in planning which emphasizes interpretive narration of everyday experiences as it is (original experiences). Feminism, like phenomenology, implies intuitive, participatory approaches to gaining knowledge and non-rational contextual solutions to the planning problems. Feminist theory thus introduces a perspective that starts with concepts of communal relations and incommensurable values, that substitutes the development of consensus for adversarial approaches, that protects the weak and recognizes the importance of sentiments (*Fainstein, 1992*).

4.8 EPISTEMOLOGICAL LINKAGE BETWEEN FEMINIST AND PLANNING THEORIES

An epistemology is both "a theory of knowledge and a justification of strategy" (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992 : 45*). Feminism rests on the explicit recognition that "gender and gender differences pervade all aspects of social life, including language, moral conscience, and the categories with which we think" (*Friedmann, 1992 : 40*).

Feminists have argued that traditional epistemologies have excluded women as knowers or agents of knowledge and excluded women's life experiences as valid focus of study; that the voice of science is a masculine one; that history is written only from the point of view of men of the dominant class and race.

Since the 1970s, feminists have been proposing alternative theories of knowledge that legitimate women's claims as knowers. Some of the labels given to these feminist theories have excluded, feminist empiricist epistemology and feminist standpoint epistemology (*Fonow & Cook, 1996; Harding, 1987; Nielsen, 1990*), or more simply "women's way of knowing" (*Belenky et al, 1986*).

Feminists argue for connected knowing by which we mean something like "the

head and the heart, reason and passion, rationality and politics, in other words, an effort to transcend the dualism of positivist epistemology and to discuss politics of theory and method and the origins and implications of our theoretical hierarchies" (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992 : 46*). A feminist's perspective involves the relevance of the following ways of knowing in the planning practice (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992*) :

1. Talking, especially the importance of oral traditions of story-telling, gossip (*Belenky, et al, 1986 : 116*).
2. Listening, which Forester (1989) insightfully describes as the "social policy of everyday life".
3. Tacit or intuitive knowing (*Keller, 1983; Polanyi, 1958*).
4. Creating symbolic forms (paintings, murals, music) : these may be a more important way of communicating in the process of community participation, than planners have been prepared to acknowledge.
5. Acting or learning by doing all of these is subject related.

Presently, no consensus exists on a feminist epistemology or the debates about the theory of planning either. Planning theory is part of the continuing "conversation of mankind" (*Friedmann, 1992 : 41*). Epistemology is a crucial issue for feminists and planners. Knowledge is inherently dialectical and feminist inquiry has had, and should continue to have, emancipatory, as well as critical power. There will never be a closure to these debates because knowledge is a social construction.

4.9 CONTRIBUTION OF FEMINIST THEORY TO PLANNING THEORY

Feminist theory has much to contribute to planning theory, particularly in five areas, spatial, economic and social relationships; language and communication;

epistemology and methodology; ethics; and the nature of the public domain.

4.9.1 Spatial, Economic and Social Relationships

Feminist theory however, examined the issues of women's work, childcare, transport, housing and so on. Markusen (1980) argued that women's household work had been ignored by both Marxist and neo-classical economists, even though this work has a large impact on the community. Markusen examined these issues in relation to capitalism and patriarchy. Other feminist scholars are working on the relationship between capitalist urbanization, the built environment and gender (Huxley, 1988; Mackenzie, 1989) or between household, community and city (Leavitt and Saegert, 1989; Mackenzie, 1988). Other feminists have responded with subjectivist, communication or hermeneutical approaches and have emphasized the traditional life sustaining work.

4.9.2 Language and Communication

Planning theorists are currently involved in debates over the types and uses of rational communication; the use of language as a means of empowerment, the construction of meaning (Marris, 1987) and micro analysis of communication as action and of listening as a crucial tool of social policy (Forester, 1989).

Feminists' theories of language often start by showing how language forms one's sense of reality, order and place in community. As such, language can be limiting as well as empowering (Spender, 1985; Collins, 1990). Empowering language and dominant forms of communication are frequently acquired through formal education. Where education is unequally distributed, inequalities in communication will be accentuated. The upbringing and life experiences of many women have actively discouraged them from speaking up for their own needs. And when women do speak, they are more ambivalent than men about speaking assertively and with authority and less comfortable than men with the dominant

rational, scientific modes of thought (*Okin, 1989*). Evidence of communication inequalities emerges in such areas as citizen participation.

4.9.3 Methodology and Epistemology

The case for a feminist perspective on epistemology and methodology in planning is grounded in feminist critiques of content, theory and method in social sciences. Feminists argue for what *Belenky, et al (1986)* called connected knowing which emphasizes relationship, rather than separation between self and the object of research, and for discussion of the politics of theory and method and of the origins and implications of theoretical hierarchies.

Collins (1990 : 213) elaborates four elements that shape her articulation of an Afrocentric feminist epistemology : "concrete experience as a criterion of meaning, the use of dialogue in assessing knowledge claims, an ethic of caring that stresses a capacity for empathy and the appropriateness of emotions in dialogue, and an ethic of personal accountability".

4.9.4 Ethics in Planning

Feminist attention focuses on ethics in response to the influential and controversial work of Gilligan (1982). Gilligan notices that women rarely did as well as men and proposes that this was not because of inferior moral development, but rather because of their different development. Gilligan suggests that women tend to develop a moral responsibility and care, based on relationships with loved ones in stark contrast to liberal individuals who focus on abstract reasoning about rights and justice. Other feminist philosophers pose the possibility of an ethic based on maternal thinking.

For planners, the expanded feminist ethic relates to the ideas of community, the new communitarian theorists tend to be complacent about traditional structures,

such as the family or nation, which are hierarchically organised and oppressive to women (*Sandel, 1982; MacIntyre, 1981*). Feminists propose alternative models based on such communities as trade unions and political self-help groups (*Friedman, 1989*). Thus, cognisance needs to be taken of the need for caring among women not only on economic or political criteria.

4.9.5 The Public Domain

The feminist political struggle in recent decades has had three components :

1. Claiming women's rights to be actors in the public domain and to work and participate fully in the life of the city.
2. Carving out and protecting public space for women.
3. Re-defining the nature and extent of the public domain. (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992 : 53*).

The contribution of feminists to the philosophical and theoretical questions that planning theory alone could barely begin to address, cannot be ignored. From the articulation of a social movement, feminist theory ensures that issues of different standpoints are essential and will receive renewed and refined attention (*Forester, 1992*). Feminist attention to difference will mean fresh concern with issues of "liberal political theory, inequality, equity, participation, dignity, respect, autonomy, political responsibility and membership. Attention to standpoint will mean renewed and refined concern with issues of procedural and substantive theories, philosophy of science, rationality and phenomenology: intentionality, subjectivity, objectivity, relativism, justification, constructivism, affect and cognition, knowing and feeling and the word Truth. While attention to essentialism will mean concern again with issues of language, discourse and politics : games, conceptual schemes, translation and incommensurability, identity and self-interpretation, knowledge and power" (*Forester, 1992 : 51*).

All of these, according to Forester (1992), promise a renewed intellectual debate in planning that planning theory or phenomenology or critical theory of any variant has been incapable of sustaining.

4.10 PHENOMENOLOGY AND EMPOWERMENT

Phenomenology is important in the planning process in a number of aspects, one of which is, as a tool in participation and empowerment (these concepts are developed further in Chapter 5). Community participation has a variety of aims: education, self-help conflict resolution, project efficiency, staff-supplementation, co-production and co-operation (Muller, 1993). The major goal is the empowerment of the least privileged sector of the community, of which the homeless is a part. The empowerment of this sector seeks to decrease their dependency, increase their social, economic and personal development, promote their self-reliance and dignity.

In his work on empowerment, Friedmann (1992 : 170) asks, "What planning modes are appropriate to community self empowerment?" He suggests that his social mobilisation and social learning approaches might fit the bill since both require substantial departures from traditional planning practice, which is typically imposed from above rather than generated from within the communities of the disempowered themselves. In the case of the disempowered homeless women, the starting point is the emancipation process (which requires empowerment that is, psychological and political) of the women situated in their specific life situations. For emancipation to succeed, male habits of power must be broken, leading to new householding arrangements, a de-gendering of the division of labour, and social arrangements which acknowledge for both women and men a life of their own, at the same time sacrificing that which they hold in common between them : the family, community and nation (Friedmann, 1992).

Feminist epistemologists are an element in the continuing struggle for women's emancipation. They also enlarge our understanding of what constitutes valid knowing. They take knowledge from the philosophies of science into the field of everyday practice. Friedmann (1987) identified a radical tradition in planning which he calls social mobilization and which he presented as an amalgam of anarchism, utopianism, critical theory, marxism and other forms of radical thought and practice, including feminism. What is significant is that all these struggles must be carried out by the disempowered themselves, that is, the homeless. No one can liberate people from outside. Thus, empowerment must be seen as a process of collective self-empowerment.

Although the anti-naturalist school has not sought to express its philosophical principles in procedural form, it has a number of approaches that provide a basis to root participatory methodology. These approaches include Habermas' (1971) critical theory, Kuhn's (1970) paradigmatic thesis and Husserl's phenomenological philosophy. The essence of phenomenology is "in the entering of a phenomenon into the (subjective and experientially-based) consciousness of the participant" (Muller, 1993 : 11). Conceptual considerations attaching to consciousness - reflection, perception and intentionality - thus offer support to the structure of phenomenology. Phenomenology brings the planner closer together with the community in the planning process.

4.11 PHENOMENOLOGICAL CONCEPTION OF KNOWLEDGE

A phenomenological conception of knowledge focuses on unique and particular situations (the homeless) and on everyday world; it emphasizes the subjective meanings of the problems to the actors, it assumes knowledge is constructed in a community rather than having an independent existence, and it accepts that information is shaped by pre-conceptions.

As a guide to planning practice, De Neufville (1987 : 86-87) notes that phenomenology can better link knowledge to action because :

1. It deals with issues in forms more recognisable to decision makers;
2. It offers a more realistic model of what many practitioners actually do;
and
3. It engages the decision makers in the information process so they are more prepared to act on results.

The phenomenological approach defines knowledge to include a recognisable social reality and assumes researchers cannot be simply detached observers. As a result, it offers a model for practice which provides significantly more opportunity to link knowledge to action (*De Neufville, 1987*).

4.11.1 The Phenomenological Perspective

The phenomenological or interpretive approach focuses attention on different kinds of knowledge and different processes for deciding what is true. Certain key ideas, however, about the content of this knowledge, the styles of research and the processes of creating knowledge have considerable application to planning. In particular, they help to link knowledge and action.

The central object of an interpretive approach is the understanding of particular phenomena in their own terms and contexts:

It is grounded in everyday world and pays attention to ordinary language and beliefs. It is holistic in that it attempts to see all the influences at work. The goal of this approach is to make sense of particular situations rather than generalizations. The research itself is qualitative and exploratory rather than mainly hypothesis testing and measuring. Its results are stories accounting for events, behaviour and attitudes. Such stories add to the user's knowledge, experience and build their understanding of complex processes rather than necessarily reveal specific facts or simple principles (*De Neufville, 1987 : 86-87*).

Meaning is the major focus of attention in the interpretive tradition. Behaviours and voiced opinions are not be taken at face value because human behaviour can only be understood in terms of its meanings to the beliefs themselves which constitute facts. For example, "A meeting, a document, or a housing unit is defined in terms of what it is believed to be". (*De Neufville, 1987 : 88*).

4.11.2 Link Between Knowledge and Action

The interpretive or phenomenological model offers planning much stronger ways to link knowledge and action for two primary sets of reasons (*De Neufville, 1987 : 90*):

1. This kind of knowledge is more reflective of the world that policy makers and planners inhabit. It deals with concerns that are recognisable and it provides knowledge in forms that match the tasks that have to be done.
2. This model of knowledge offers opportunities to engage and motivate policy makers and citizens so they will be prepared to act on the knowledge produced.

Phenomenological knowledge deals with particulars rather than universals, it can be tailored to address the unique situations which are the norm in planning. Its translation for practice is easier because it employs concepts that are based in ordinary language and focuses on everyday world. It deals with beliefs and their relation to action. This knowledge gives direct attention to the understanding of goals and values that must frame the planning process. The interpretive model is more realistic in the analogy it provides for planning practice. John Friedmann's synthesis of planning theory, planning in the public domain; from knowledge to action is an example of planning theory's uncertainty about its knowledge base. Initially, he defines his theoretical object - planning as the linking of scientific and technical knowledge to action in the public domain. But in conclusion, he turns away from purely technocratic planning and embraces

subjective knowledge as the foundation of a radical planning approach - a stance more sympathetic to feminist critique (*Friedmann, 1987*).

Knowledge is gained through talking, oral traditions and gossip. Gossip, like poetry or fiction, penetrates to the truth of things (*Belenky et al, 1986*). It is a special mode of knowing which moves back and forth between large and small, between particular and general, knowledge is gained through listening in which Forester (1989) insightfully describes as the social policy of everyday life and indispensable to those working in planning. Knowing is also taught or intuitive (*Polanyi, 1958*), and creating symbolic forms through painting, music and poetry is a more important way of knowing and communicating. And acting and reflecting on the meaning of action yields information about the world in a way that is unavailable through books and reports (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992*).

The planner in practice is more immersed in interaction. This kind of knowledge is realistic, and effectively motivates decision makers and mobilizes public support through two principal mechanisms :

- (a) Its results, in the form of stories, have a vividness and can engage emotions, beliefs and values in a way that objectified data do not (*De Neufville, 1986*).
- (b) The way in which knowledge is created. That is, the engagement of policy makers, clients and citizens in the process of deciding on values, assumptions, concepts and methods, means these participants can feel the knowledge produced is their own. They can trust and see the relevance of research of analysis which is grounded in their own understandings.

4.12 PHENOMENOLOGY : A CRITIQUE

Relph (1970, cited in Pickles, 1985 : 52) claims that phenomenology opposes

"many assumptions and methods of physical science", especially those of positivistic science and scientism, but it is not to be seen as some type of irrational anti-science. Instead of opposing science, phenomenology opposes the presumption that science is the privileged form of knowing and the corresponding "dictatorship ... of scientific thought over other forms of thinking" (*Pickles, 1985: 53*).

Implicit in this view is that phenomenology provides the 'essential' basis for science but does not replace science (*Entrikin, 1976 cited in Pickles, 1985 : 53*).

Many authors have discussed phenomenology and geography but very few allude to phenomenology in planning. The approach is therefore relatively new and what is posited in this discourse is a more flexible phenomenological methodology in explaining the homelessness situation. Phenomenology seeks to ground the relationship between the scientific and the pre-scientific, the theoretical and the everyday ontology. Thus, the expression : "Phenomenology" signifies primarily a Methodological Conception (*Pickles, 1985 : 141*).

4.13 LIMITATIONS OF THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

The phenomenological approach has much to offer as a model for many aspects of professional practice, but its limitations need to be recognised. While it can help assure a greater mesh of the expert and client's perspectives, it does not provide a way to confront ideology that both share - ideology that may blind both to more useful or productive ways of seeing problems. This approach assumes that concerns can be achieved and it allows no place for basic conflicts in power and interests. The risk is that the planner plays simply the role of rationalizer helping to justify actions that serve powerful prevailing interests.

4.14 SUMMARY

Planning is seen as a process as well as a methodology to guide future action. The crisis in planning stems from the idea or conception that planning is a scientific inquiry and a technical process. Planning in contemporary society must be seen as more than a technical process. Planning is a democratic process involving people. It is a bottom-up process rather than top-down.

Sustainable planning and development today emphasise the notion that people should be involved in all stages of the decision-making process. It focuses on humanistic planning (people-centred) or Ubuntu and collectivism through cooperative exploration.

The previous planning traditions emphasised empiricism, rationalism, philosophical synthesis and organizational behaviour. But with the new planning approach, the emphasis is on participation.

Thus, phenomenology is a planning process or methodology that emphasises participation as an important planning tool. Phenomenology is important in planning because it is directed towards people's experiences in their lifeworld. Phenomenology as an interpretive process allows user groups interpretations of their experiences. Phenomenology is an explorative methodology which uses translation and interpretation to form a connection of understanding. The use of phenomenology in planning helps provide a better link between knowledge and action. An application of phenomenological principles to the street homelessness problem is therefore being able to recognise in the street homeless what planners see in themselves. That is, anger, happiness and frustration. Planners must be able to infer from the street homeless actions. Planners must be able to understand the background of both the street homeless who is giving the interpretation and the object (homelessness) which is under interpretation. This involves understanding its history, having a knowledge of events that have shaped

the object and that have shaped the understanding of the homeless person being interviewed. This may be done through research or through probing the interviewee (homeless). Then the street homeless person is taken through a phenomenological process which attempts at all stages to look behind what is presented as the obvious. The important perceptions are those of the street homeless person being interviewed and it is the planner's job to understand their interpretations. Phenomenology, a method which allows for original experiences to be seen has been discussed fully in this chapter.

The next chapter examines further theoretical argument on the concept of participation, empowerment, emancipation and autonomy in planning. As well as the knowledge-action-power relevance and the cooperative encounter and cooperative exploration in phenomenology.

This discussion will substantiate further, the relevance of Phenomenology in understanding and solving the homelessness problem.

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On the Street

Cardboard House
on the corner,
Next to the robot,
on the pavement.

It's full moon tonight,
and the wind is blowing,
The rain is pouring,
and it's cold in the street.

Level with gravel,
and in tune with the moon.
Johnny Floorboard,
and his cardboard house.

Why, why, why.
The words of reason
are so far from the truth.
Johnny Floorboard and his
cardboard house,
Needs me, and you.

Block, 1996

CHAPTER FIVE

THEORETICAL PLANNING APPROACHES

5.0 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

Further to the argument that phenomenology is the appropriate methodology and approach in understanding and solving the homelessness problem, this chapter discusses theoretical planning approaches that are embedded in the phenomenological process. This chapter explains the concept of participation, empowerment, emancipation, autonomy and their relevance in planning and phenomenology. It further examines the concept of knowledge-power-action and its relevance in phenomenology. These theoretical planning approaches are discussed within the context of street homeless women.

5.1 PARTICIPATION

A proper understanding of public/citizen/community participation can be achieved when viewed against a philosophical background which includes "theories of planning, social organisation, political processes including decision-making, communications, urban management and ideologies in the society" (*Oosthuizen, 1986 : 206*). Participation is closely related to the value system of the society within which it operates and it goes hand in hand with the concept of public interest.

Prior to the 1960s planners were concerned with helping to guide urban decision-making to reflect community values through rational planning, on the assumption that public interest was the embodiment of community values.

Planning was thus seen as concerned with identifying public interest,

incorporating public interest into a plan and incorporating the planning process into the urban decision-making process.

Arising from this was the development of various mechanisms such as "planning commissions, incorporating in the planning process the suggestion, review and approval of the representatives of the public interest" (*Oosthuizen, 1986 : 215*) and also the use of development plans (*Pheiffer, 1973*).

Various fundamental reasons have emerged for the adoption of participation into planning and development programmes or projects.

Firstly, on issues where citizens' interests are threatened such as slum clearance, urban renewal, rehabilitation/redevelopment projects and transportation plans, participation has been very significant in alleviating the fears of urban dwellers. Secondly, due to growing public interest in the environment, participation has emerged to raise the awareness and consciousness of citizens. Thirdly, participation has emerged due to the growing complexities in life and the shift from traditional planning paradigms to more practical and evolving paradigms in planning theory.

Participation can be seen as both a product and a process. Pather (*1994 : 32-35*) asserted that, "As a product, participation is seen as a way of achieving a pre-determined goal or objective. In this participation, development decisions have already been made and people are invited to participate by co-operating with these decisions as well as to be informed of what is taking place. Participation is passive and the benefits only accrue to the project planners. On the other hand, participation as a process is seen as an essential pre-condition for the development process as well as a tool for promoting empowerment".

The main motivation is to empower people and promote their capacity so that they can make decisions and play active roles in issues that concern them. The importance of participation as a process is that it is seen as the outcome and central objective of the development exercise.

"Although the anti-naturalist school has not sought to express its philosophical principles in procedural form, it has a number of approaches that provide fertile fields in which to root a participatory methodology". (*Muller, 1993 : 10*).

These approaches include Habermas' (1971) critical theory, Kuhn's (1970) pragmatic thesis and Husserl's phenomenological philosophy. Thus, it becomes pertinent to discuss phenomenology as a participatory methodology especially when, as Burkey puts it:

Participation is an essential part of human growth. That is, the development of self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, cooperation ... The process whereby people learn to take charge of their lives and solve their own problems, is the essence of development (*Burkey, 1993 : 56*).

The mainstream argument here is that there is a strong linkage between phenomenology and participation. The overall conclusion is that women's participation and knowledge coupled with their role in communication and development planning, is crucial in promoting, empowering, emancipating and liberating the street homeless women.

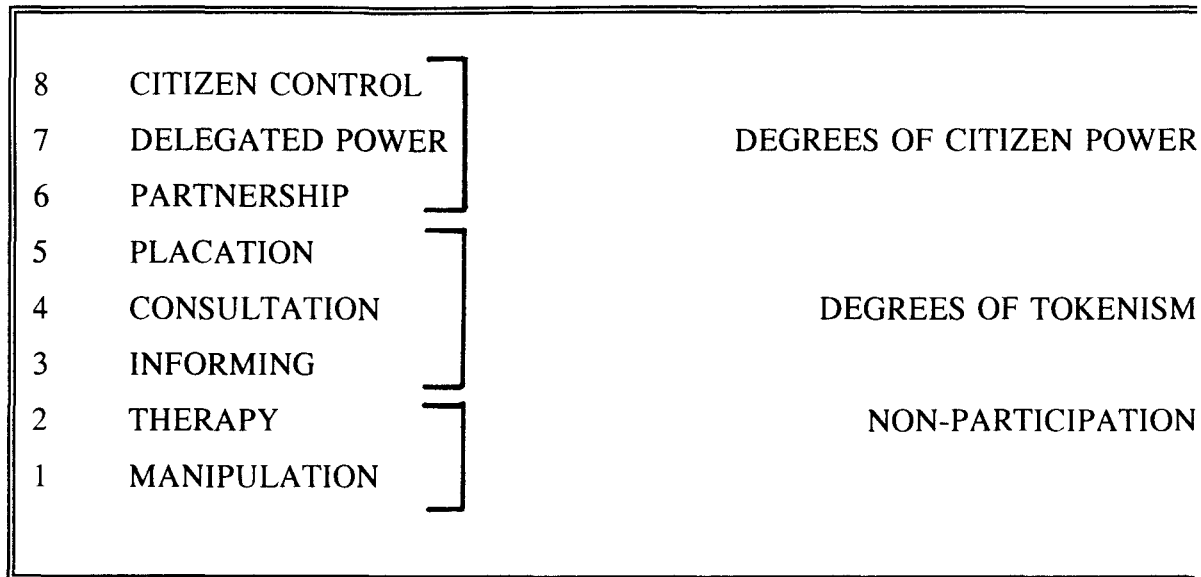
The different patterns of participation are discussed as a background to phenomenological participation and public interest.

5.1.1 PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION

The basic concept of public participation is based on the desire to stimulate the involvement of the public in planning and development matters. The increasing importance of public opinion in the planning process tends to change planning and development from a predominantly one-sided bureaucratic decision-making process to a process of participation which varies in scope and intensity (*Oosthuizen, 1986*).

Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation identified eight levels of participation (Figure 5.1).

FIGURE 5.1 : LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION



Source : *Arnstein (1969)*

Stages 1 and 2 : Manipulation and Therapy describes levels of non-participation.

At this level, citizens are persuaded, advised and educated.

Stage 3 : This is the informing stage. Citizens are informed of plans that have been formulated and are expected to approve of such plans. People have no opportunity to influence the programmes/plans designed for them at this stage. Informing can be viewed as a step towards empowerment, but, too frequently, emphasis is placed on a one-way flow of information - from officials to citizens - with no channel for feedback and negotiation.

Stage 4 : The consultation stage described as a form of tokenism allows the "have-nots" to be heard and have a voice, while they still lack the power to ensure that their views are considered.

Stage 5 : Placation stage is described as a higher level of tokenism because the rules allow the have-nots to advise, but retain for the power-holders the continued right to decide. At this stage, citizens begin to have some degree of influence.

Stage 6 : Partnership stage enables citizens to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with the traditional power-holders. Power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power-holders. They agree to share planning and decision-making.

Stages 7 and 8 : Delegated power and citizen control is where the "have-nots" obtain the majority of decision-making seats or full managerial power.

Arnstein's classification is explicit in its analysis of participation. It shows clearly that participation can only be measured in terms of the level of power that those participating have. It also portrays the traditional top-down approach to participation in planning, which has since given way to a more practical approach involving bottom-up, or people-centred participation.

In the patterns of participation laid out by Arnstein, citizen involvement varies in intensity as one moves from one level to the other. There is no distinction in the locus of power between the different rungs. The pattern involves that of dictating what to do to the people/citizens instead of involving the people and discussing what decisions to take or make. The power always remains in the hands of the authority or the person initiating the participation process.

Susskind and Elliot (1986 : 158) on the other hand, identified three patterns of public participation :

1. Paternalism - this pattern of participation is one in which municipal decision-making is highly centralised and advice given by citizens is either discouraged or closely monitored by officials.
2. Conflict - this pattern of participation is where centralised decision-making is dominant but in which resident and consumer groups struggle openly and wrest control over certain resource allocation or policy decisions. Conflict leads either to fragmentation of political power or confrontation or to acceptance by public officials of the need to adjust relationships between citizens and the government.

3. Co-production is a pattern of participation in which decisions are made through face-to-face negotiation between decision-makers and residents claiming a major stake in particular decisions.

With regard to the above classification, paternalism is still a top-down approach, while conflict does not really achieve much in participation, except through conflict resolution or arbitration.

Co-production is a pattern of participation that fosters dialogue, especially dialogue between the street homeless and the planner or decision-makers.

Ideas could be exchanged through co-production and it also enhances interaction between the planner and the street homeless gender.

Wilcox (1994 : 78 - 92) developed 10 key ideas about participation which are :

1. **Level of participation**

This involves :

Information - telling people what is planned;

Consultation - offering some options, listening to feedback;

Deciding together - encouraging additional options, ideas and providing opportunities for joint decision-making;

Acting together - not only do different interests decide together on what is best, they form a partnership to carry it out;

Supporting independent community interests - local groups or organisations are offered funds, advice or other support to develop their own agendas within guidelines.

2. **Initiation and process :**

Participation is initiated and someone (planner/practitioner) manages the process over time. Adequate preparation of the participation process.

3. **Control :**

The initiator is in a strong position to decide how much or how little

control to allow to others.

4. **Power and Purpose :**

Understanding participation involves understanding power (the ability of the different interest to achieve what they want). Power will depend on who has information and money. It will also depend on people's confidence and skills. People are empowered when they have power to achieve what they want - their purpose.

5. **Role of Practitioner/Planner in managing the participation process.**

6. **Stakeholders and community.**

7. **Partnership.**

8. **Commitment.**

9. **Ownership of ideas.**

10. **Confidence and capacity.**

Wilcox's idea is appropriate to the phenomenological process as will be seen later in the thesis. Thus, the exposition on the concept of participation in phenomenology is discussed in the next section.

5.1.2 Participatory Communication in Planning

The synoptic versus incremental debate rapidly grew to be the most important one in the theory of planning after Lindblom (1959), *Science of Muddling Through*. While the synoptic ideal type gives room only for communication as one-way transmission of information, the re-stated incremental mode incorporates the virtual view of communication which accentuates understanding and commonality (Carey, 1975).

Forester (1981) connects the concept of communicative rationality in planning theory to the fact that dialogue can be used to overcome repressive political bounds in planning. He argues that making processes communicatively rational and dialogical is a strategy for emancipative planning.

The transactive mode of planning is essentially a response to the communicative gap between planner and client. The planning process transforms knowledge into action through an unbroken sequence of interpersonal relations.

According to Friedmann (1973 : 191), the term "transactive itself indicates that planning is conducted in face-to-face contexts exchanging the planner's processed knowledge for the personal knowledge of the client".

Sager (1994) viewed public planning as a technique of communication aimed at organizing knowledge and it provides a basis for decision-making on future collective action. On the other hand, Muller (1992 : 333) asserts that participation "is a democratic principle that it is the prerogative of any community to participate in decision-making process which affect the lives of its members. This is particularly pertinent to disadvantaged or vulnerable communities who have been systematically deprived of involvement and who should now be empowered to engage in negotiation processes."

The people-centred approach sees participation as a fundamental pre-condition for development. Participation is an important fact of democracy - the right of people to participate in decision-making at all levels. This is buttressed by the ANC (1994) report which also emphasized that development is not about delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment. In taking this approach, forums have to be built, peace structures and negotiations have to be put in place, so that the citizens are involved.

For advocates of participation, citizen involvement in decision-making is synonymous with:

- (a) democratization of choices involving resource allocation;
- (b) decentralization of service systems management;
- (c) deprofessionalization of bureaucratic judgements that affect the lives of residents; and

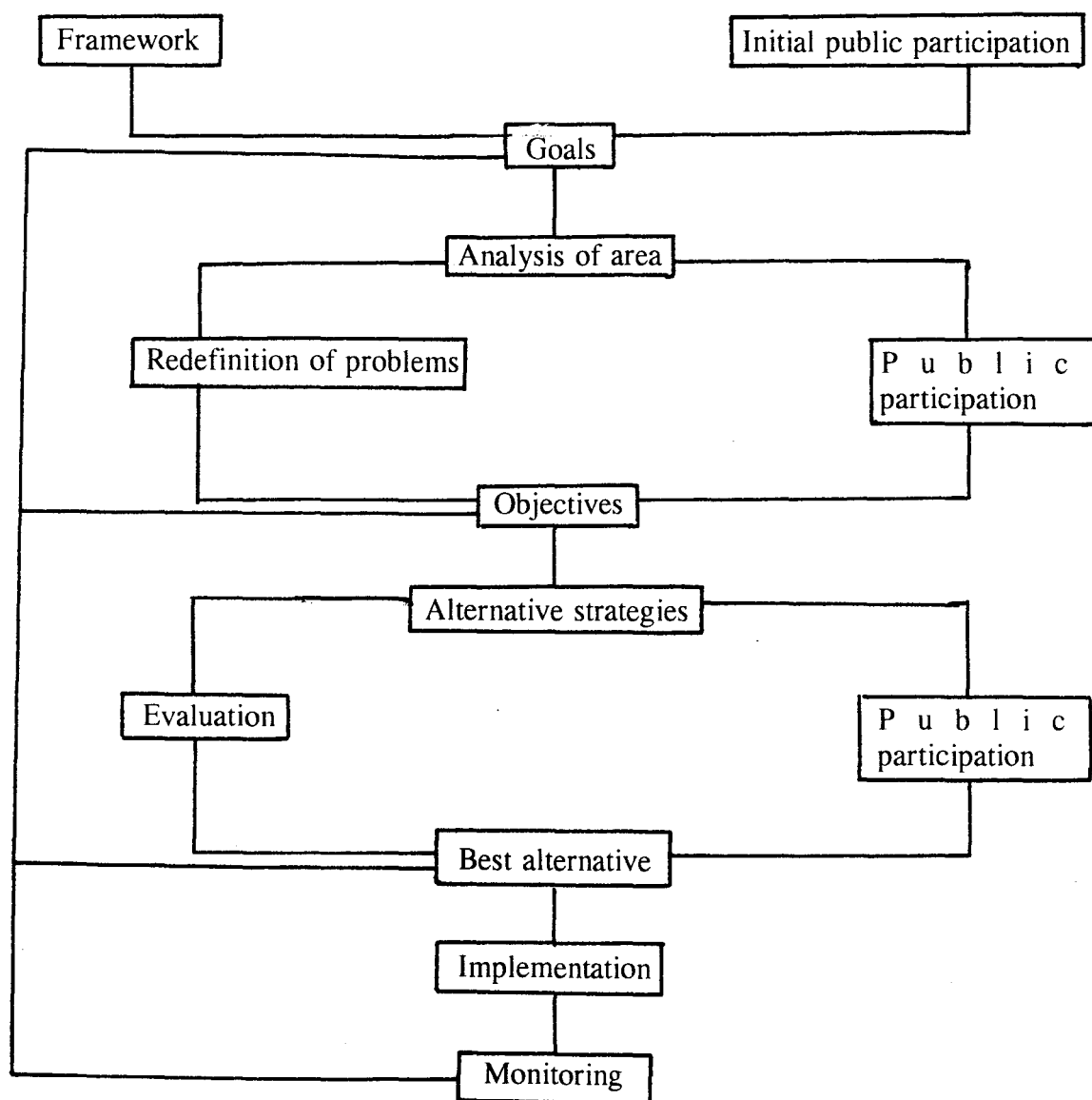
- (d) demystification of design and investment decisions (*Susskind and Elliot, 1986 : 155*).

The emerging paradigm of communicative planning, sees planning as an interactive communicative activity and depicts planners as deeply embedded in the fabric of community, politics and public decision-making (*Innes, 1995*).

5.1.3 PHENOMENOLOGY AS A PARTICIPATORY PROCESS

The relevance of phenomenology as a participatory process in planning cannot be over-emphasized. Phenomenology orientates the planner towards a community participation based approach to planning. It brings the planner closer to the community by getting the planner involved in understanding the life world and everyday experience of the community, in this case, the street homeless people. This process enables the planner to have an original insight and better understanding of the homeless community as well as improved knowledge. By carrying the homeless along from the onset, it enables the planner to develop plans suitable to the needs of the homeless community.

An early example of participatory methodology was provided by Kozlowski (*cited in Muller, 1992 : 145*), who presented four key points at which public involvement facilitates decision-making, "these points are at the stage of goal formulation, the selection of alternatives, the choice of preferred alternative and sanction of the plan". The engagement of the public in the conventional rational procedure is well illustrated by the local planning process set out by Loew (*1979*). This model (Figure 5.2) makes provision for participation in three stages : definition of goals, generation of objectives derived from the local situation & survey, and the choice of the best alternative. While the methodology "reflects the features of procedural theory, the underlying approach is essentially practical - as indeed it must be dealing with the reality of public opinion" (*Muller, 1992 : 146*).

FIGURE 5.2 : PARTICIPATORY PROCESS

Source : S Loew (1979)

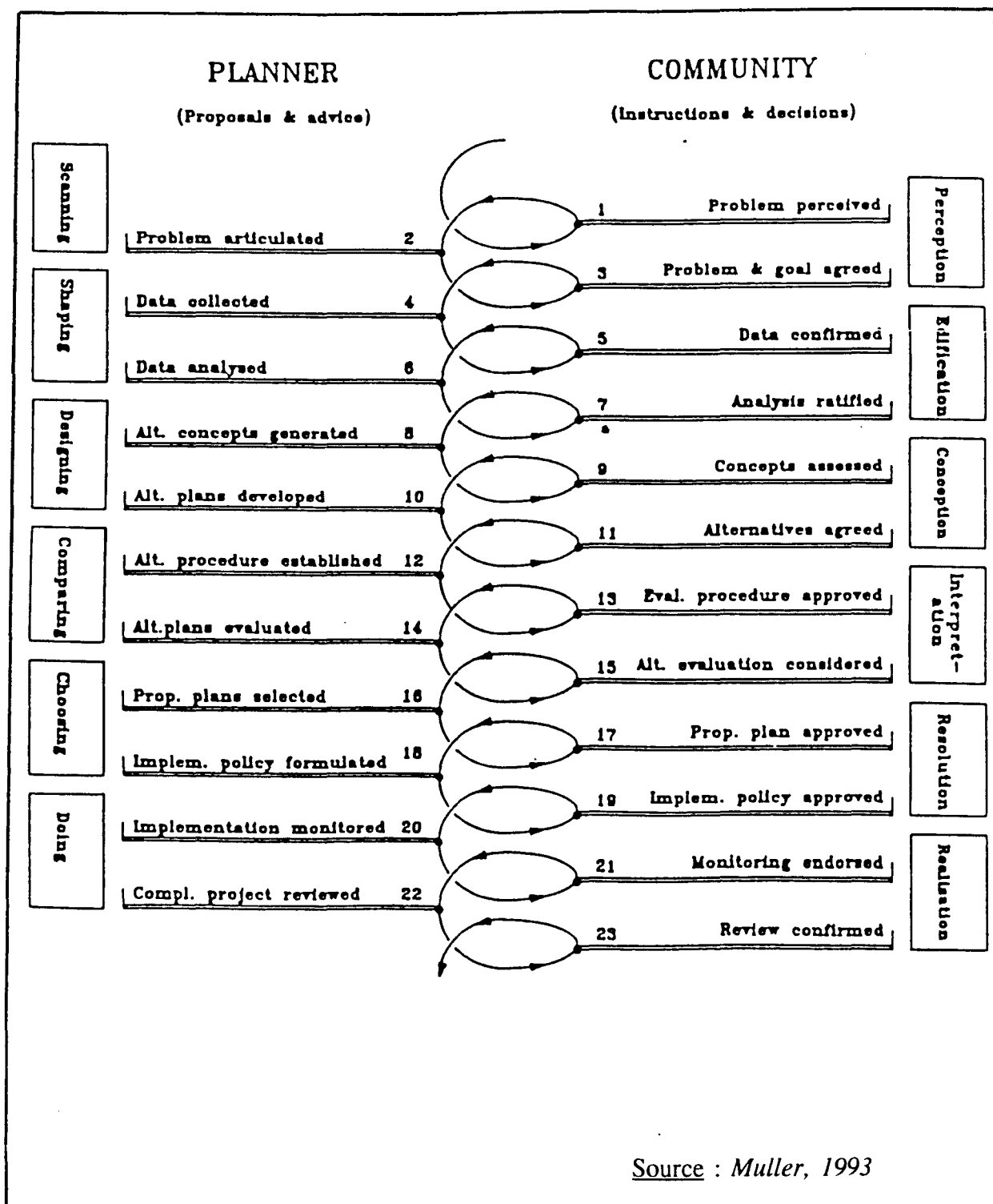
The community-oriented decision-making model (Figure 5.3) which could be referred to as "a promotive process, shows the phenomenological consciousness experienced by the community : perception edification, conception, interpretation, resolution and realization" (*Muller, 1993 : 15*). These form the intuitive and experiential bases of the community's decision-making activities. It is a collaborative, cyclical procedure that progresses in activity loops and can incorporate feedback and feedforward mechanisms.

This information, "when passed through the community's phenomenological filter, provides the basis for decision and actions - which then constitute input for the ensuing phase of decision-making. When the community experiences difficulty in resolving a problem or accepting a proposal, the matter can be cycled back to the preceding stage/s for revision or refinement" (*Muller, 1993 : 14*).

5.1.4 Participation as an Empowering Mechanism

Embodied in the idea of empowerment is the belief that participation is equated with achieving power (in terms of access to resources and knowledge). Also, differences in power can be reduced through the process of participation. Participation as empowerment seeks to change the status of people in development from objects of development to the subjects of development. Participation is the intended goal of development achieved through a process of empowerment. Rogers (*1992*) asserts that empowerment means people gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic and/or standing in the society. The process is therefore as seen in the homelessness context in South Africa and in this study is one that proceeds from EXCLUSION to → PARTICIPATION to → EMPOWERMENT. Instead of thinking of people in negative terms, as poor and backward (growth and modernization views), or as deprived, ignorant and needy (basic needs approach), or as oppressed and exploited (dependency views), or as blind and powerless (liberationists views), people are now viewed in positive terms as marginalized potential participants (*Rogers, 1992*).

Figure 5.3 : Community Decision Model



Development is thus seen as a process of empowerment, of helping street homeless people to identify and maximise their own potential. Development as empowerment seeks to help all people, individually or in groups, to see themselves for what they are and the contribution they are already making.

Furthermore, PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) has much to offer by at least setting the process of empowerment into motion. The PRA methods discussed in this chapter can create a feeling of achievement amongst street homeless women in particular which in turn helps to enhance their self-confidence and self-esteem. Participation in social processes of analysis and planning can be an empowering experience, not only for the individuals and the community involved, but also a defusing of frequently tense experience for the facilitator (*IIED, 1995*). Empowerment can reveal new and exciting venues for development and change out of which choices have to be made. Empowerment also involves heightened exposure for individuals and communities to their social, political and economic antagonists (*IIED, 1995*).

5.1.5 PARTICIPATORY LEARNING AND ACTION IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

The concern with participation in development is reflected in the literature existing on various aspects of participation, research undertaken by academics and research institutions, and the commitment by various organisations involved in development to incorporate participation in their programmes and projects. Also a number of terms have been used to reflect this growing concern with participation. These include Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Participatory Urban Appraisal (PUA), Participatory planning, participatory field-action, participatory research, people-centred development and more recently, Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) or Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Participatory Learning Method (PALM). All these approaches further corroborate

the fact that participation is pivotal to development.

5.1.5.1 Bottom-Up Participatory Planning

Participative research is the basis for improved project sustainability in the medium and long term. Only the involvement of street homeless women can ensure success of initiatives at community level. The techniques of participatory research are an important tool to secure this involvement.

Parallel to the development of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), bottom-up planning methods were being pioneered in urban communities as early as the late 1960s (*Wratten, 1994*). These ranged from advocacy planning in which professional planners acted as advocates for a particular community, bargaining with city authorities on the community's behalf and interpreting technical language (*Davidoff, 1973*); through formation of neighbourhood corporations where participants directly managed state grants to plan their own economic development programmes in the ghetto (*Arnstein, 1969*); to the use of cardboard models to facilitate community decision-making and planning of resources (*Dean, 1993*).

PRA methods have been applied in urban community projects in developing countries from the early 1990s but the results have not been documented or widely disseminated. PRA is a rural technique later adapted in cities or urban areas in form of participatory urban action (PUA) or participatory learning and action (PLA). PRA/PLA builds on the recognition that social meaning may be created through visual as well as verbal forms. Tyler (*1986*) argued that, it is the said and the unsaid together that create meaning, and that visual representation offers a way to report the unsaid. Participant observation and focus group discussion form a vital complement to the use of PLA/PRA in communities. They provide important insights and richness to understanding.

5.1.5.2 Development Planning for Real

Planning for Real is the label people give nowadays to a cluster of techniques and materials which have developed over the years. They are simply "a tool kit that allows people to explore possibilities, sort out options, rank priorities, share out responsibilities, set out a plan of ACTION" (*Gibson, 1994 : 43*). All this is done without having to endure talking shop which could be frustrating. They are a strategy designed to establish a common ground between people ("us") and government ("them") (*Gibson, 1994 : 47*) as a basis of a combined operation to create a working environment.

Wratten (*1994 : 85*) asserts that, "Development Planning for Real is an innovative methodology which uses a three-dimensional model of the neighbourhood built by members of the community to initiate a community-driven planning process". The methodology enables everyone in the homeless community to play an active part, using their own local knowledge to reach appropriate solutions and organising skills and resources in order to make their plan work. It shifts the power to initiate and implement away from the experts in the government or development agency towards the local homeless community.

Development Planning for Real is a new approach for integrating participation into the urban planning process :

It encourages people to build a model of their area and use it to identify their problems and resources, find solutions which best use scarce resources and which address problems in an integrated way, prioritise action, determine what they can do for themselves and what kinds of outside assistance is needed and decide when and by whom each activity is undertaken (*Wratten, 1994 : 85*).

It extends PRA in providing a framework within which local people (homeless people) can direct the entire planning process from information-gathering and decision-making to implementation and monitoring.

5.1.5.3 Advantages of Development Planning for Real

The Development Planning for Real model has the following advantages:

- * The model is flexible;
- * People identify with the model : they can point to their own homes and workplaces and they enjoy working with it;
- * Conflicts of interest between different members of the community are mediated because people concentrate on the real problems (represented in the model) rather than personalities in the group;
- * The model allows for every member of the community to speak, to contribute their knowledge and experience of the problems faced in the community and to have an equal say in decision-making;
- * The model shows the inter-twining nature of development problems and leads to an inter-sectoral approach to solving them;
- * The model emphasises non-verbal communication of ideas in multi-ethnic urban communities like South Africa, where there is no single common language;
- * It also builds on the opportunity to negotiate for resources (*Wratten, 1994* : 88-89).

Development Planning for Real adds to the existing panoply or chain of PRA techniques. It is a systematic, community managed planning process which has potential for raising awareness, confidence and bargaining skills - to initiate longer term community building process.

5.1.6 PHENOMENOLOGY AND PUBLIC INTEREST

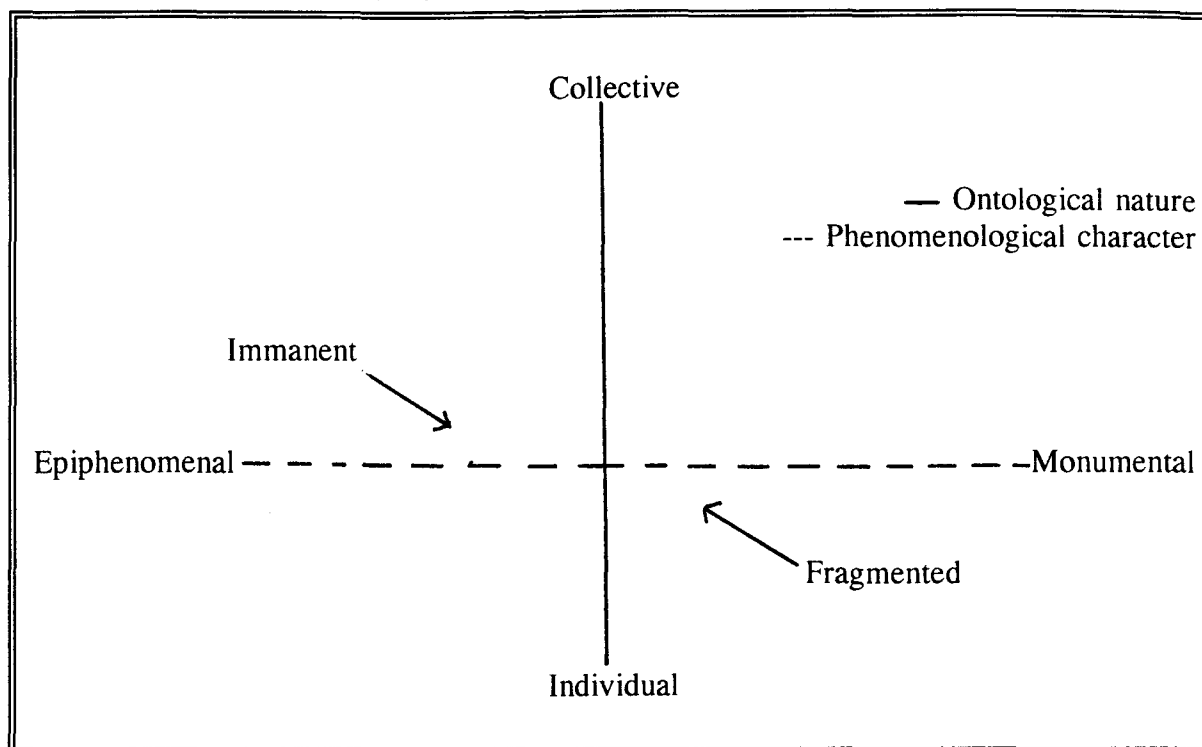
Along with rational knowledge, planning is often tied up with the idea of a public interest or the common good. It seems useful in thinking about planning and the public interest (homeless interest) to divide the traditional unitary-individualistic opposition along two continua (Figure 5.4).

According to Weaver, Jessop and Das (1985 : 160-164), "the horizontal (broken) axis might be referred to as phenomenological character. This means how the public (street homeless) interest is perceived to appear in all the world events. It goes from epiphenomenal on the left, through immanent to monumental".

Epiphenomenal, according to Weaver, Jessop and Das (1985 : 160-164), is in fact "no real public interest. It is non-existent, a ratification. Immanent, describes a public good which "works its way out" in ordinary affairs; a little part of other things, like vitamins in food, which eventually helps produce a healthy population or proper housing that, arguably, contributes to the same end.

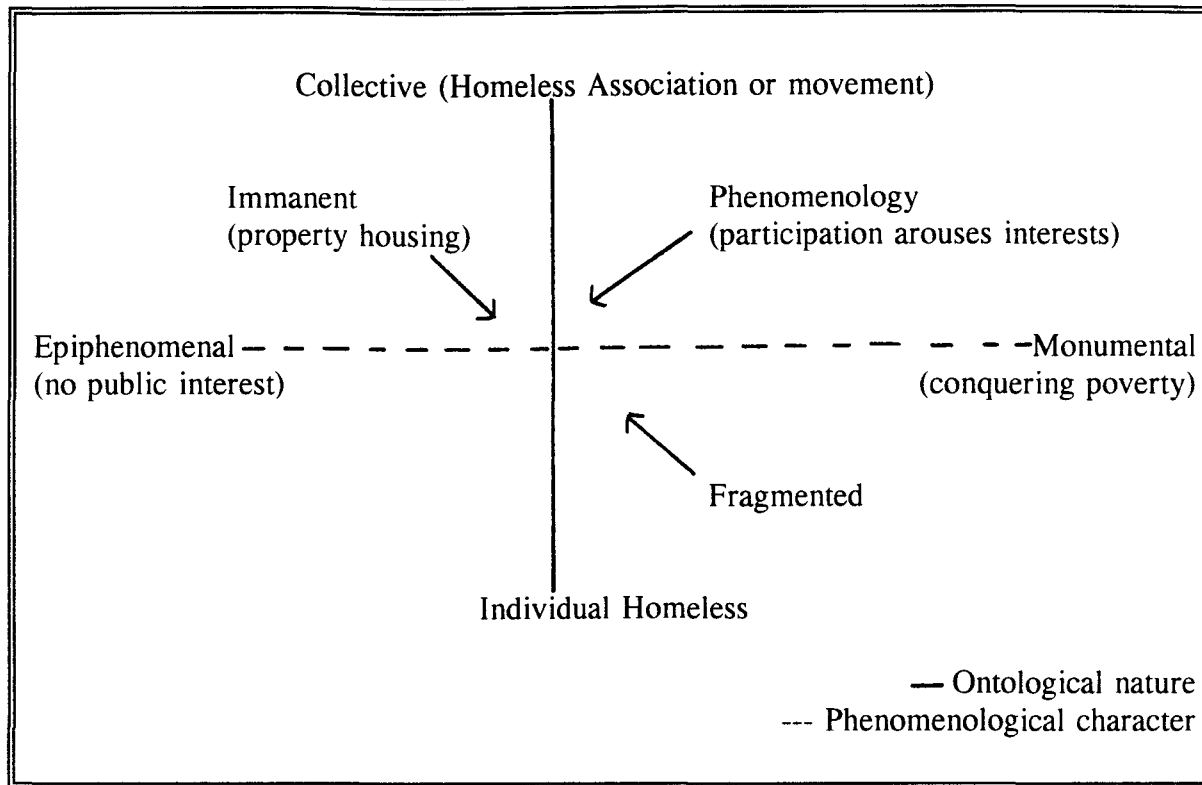
Monumental public interest, on the other hand, would be a substantial, overriding common purpose, like conquering poverty which, like a great building or statue, dominates and shapes everything around it". The homeless themselves emphasise that poverty is one of the main causes of their homelessness. This indicates that "poverty", like a statue or monument, dominates the everyday world/life of the homeless.

The vertical (solid) axis has been dubbed ontological nature. This refers to the fundamental quality and "location" of public interest. Going from bottom to up, is the public interest, an attribute of individuals inherent in the fulfilment of their private needs and wishes. With loss of faith in a common ground of rational interests, the bywords have become communal identity, self-sufficiency and independence. The shadow of self-sufficiency is survivalism based on competition at the expense of cooperation.

FIGURE 5.4 : ASPECTS OF PUBLIC INTEREST

Source : Weaver, Jessop and Das (1985)

An adaptation of this model to the interests of the homeless is illustrated in Figure 5.5. The homeless' (on the vertical axis, going from bottom to top) interest is the fulfilment of his/her needs, hopes, dreams and aspirations. Because of the homeless' failure to meet his/her needs it behoves them to identify with a group or movement (Homeless Peoples' Federation or Johannesburg Homeless Association). Their shadow of survivalism, self-reliance and self-sufficiency is then based on cooperation.

FIGURE 5.5 : ASPECTS OF HOMELESS INTERESTS

5.1.7 Representation of the Homeless

The presence of the homeless for a decade along with predictions of a growing problem suggest that it is less insightful to examine the phenomena as an anomaly than to analyze it as an aspect of post-modern society. In the post-modern life, "the homeless are watched rather than being related to" (*Ligget, 1991 : 201*). This appropriation limits the kind of solutions that are possible. On the contrary, re-contextualising the homeless by reviewing the ways by which they can be represented, empowered to participate and the culture of their everyday life within the phenomenological method, makes them more accepted rather than excluded in the society.

Attempts within planning to deal with homelessness occur in the context of macro or larger social, economic and political forces. *Ligget (1991 : 203)* posits three

aspects of representation that are relevant to constructing the politics of reason(able behaviour) and the exercise of (realistic) judgement within public discursive practices. These are:

- (1) The logic which generates meaning. This refers to a larger historical or social grammar within which meaning is constructed (Derrida, 1982b). Rather than leading to studies of homeless people themselves, asking about the generation of meaning leads to interpretations of the systems or processes in terms of which public issues are framed.
- (2) Usurious exchanges. This highlights the extent to which the processes of signification have a dual character. The "value-added" within the generation of new meaning, that is, the ability to deal with a problem is only half the story. Constituting a problem within a policy frame allows it to be addressed while at the same time the particular generative practices that produced it in its former, non-policy oriented setting are lost.
- (3) The allocative force - of particular representations underlines the value component of generative schemes and usurious exchanges. That is, the interplay of inclusion and exclusion that entail significance are inherently political.

Liggett (1991) interpreted the three schemes in the following ways:

5.1.7.1 Representation of homelessness in local government

Elected local government could provide homeless people with their first opportunity to affect decisions which are made about them.

The concept of affordable housing is an example of planning and policy discourse at the local level. The generative structure is the logic of capital, as it is to a certain extent within any activity that requires private sector acquiescence and support. The relevant configuration has to do with ability to pay. Therefore,

neediness is defined in terms of a formula based on median income. The desirability of manufactured housing is a ratio of cost to the quality of product, and governmental support is expressed directly through financial subsidies and indirectly through zoning arrangements which affect property values. Underlying the logic of capital is an imperative for profit and exchange based on the interchangeability of all value into a unitary system.

Within the logic of this capital scheme, differences among different categories of people who need housing are reduced to differences between those who can pay and those who cannot.

The worthy are the financially viable who are brought into the system and serviced by it. The excluded are those most in need of shelter and are lost to the scheme.

5.1.7.2 The representation of homelessness within social service discourse

Homelessness is also constituted as a public issue within the social service discourse. Here, the generative structure is the logic of charity or what Hoch and Slayton (1989) called the logic of compassion and entitlement.

This can be applied to the role of some non-governmental organizations, religious bodies and the Johannesburg Homeless Trust, who, out of compassion, decided to assist the homeless in Johannesburg inner city (Chapter Three).

Then comes the question of morality and deservedness. Morality in public entitlement programmes support the logic of capital by providing a structure for need-based distribution of resources that does not challenge the principal ideology, which attaches wealth to worthiness through work.

5.1.7.3 Social scientific representation of homelessness

"The generative structure in the practice of policy research is observability. Although most social scientists have a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between theory and empirical observation, the standard research instruments in the policy sciences, such as surveys are based on positivist logic. The question of count and accountability are related to allocative decisions in public social service agencies which gives the issue of observability a heightened value" (Ligget, 1991 : 203).

5.1.7.4 The representation of homelessness and political activism

Political activism has been an important generative structure in the formulation of homeless policy (in spite of their marginalization) in many countries. Political participation is narrowly defined in terms of voting and the activities of recognized interest groups. The discursive practices of homelessness advocates have operated outside the policy community. Political activism is included here because "in spite of the homeless marginalization, it has been an important generative structure in the formulation of the homeless policy in many cities in the United States (New York, Boston, Washington D.C.)"(Ligget, 1991 : 204). The generative system of homeless advocates can be identified with the logic of social movements (for example, the South African Homeless Peoples Federation). Social movements work by presenting a challenge to the status quo both in terms of who participates and in terms of substantive policy directions.

Worthiness is defined by Ligget (1991 : 205) "as the ability to speak, empowering of communities to speak on their own behalf". Political activists turn this logic around by defining democracy as participatory democracy. Social movements often base their claims to legitimacy on the fact that they speak for the voiceless. Thus, "while theoretically an apolitical stance or non-participatory ideology can be opposed to, the concern within social movements to give people a voice justify

the continued involvement of activists" (Liggett, 1991 : 205).

5.1.8 SUMMARY

Participation is an important mechanism to overcome apathy, lack of confidence and make women more visible in society. Phenomenological participation among other things, seeks to explore, search for essences, bracket, allows for individual or community perception, allows options to be made and ranked according to priorities. It involves dialogue, communication, interpretation, as well as action. All these have been manifested in the interaction with and analysis of the street homeless survey in this research (see subsequent chapters). Phenomenology is a promotive process especially when the street homeless women go through the phenomenological filter process (Figure 5.3). They can make decisions and act on these decisions. The phenomenological participation process adequately fits into Spiegelberg's (1975) cooperative encounter and cooperative exploration phenomena which are brought out explicitly in Chapter 9. Cooperative encounter and cooperative exploration (that is, cooperation or interaction between the planner/decision-maker and the under-privileged homeless/community) fosters communication and facilitates decision-making and decision-taking. Phenomenology, by and large, is a community-driven process which allows the street homeless women to make contributions based on their own knowledge, to be involved in issues that concern their everyday life.

Street homeless women's participation, specifically in housing programmes and policies, is an end in itself. They should be involved in the planning, decision-making and execution/implementation process of the programmes that affect their lives. Street homeless women's participation is a means of improving the results of any programme or project targeted towards them. Participation in housing activities stimulates women's participation in other spheres of life. This is observed among the female members of the South African Homeless Peoples Federation (SAHPF). These women single-handedly constructed permanent

houses as seen in Chapter Three.

Street homeless women's participation has the ultimate goal of increasing their autonomy, efficiency, empowerment and capacity building. They need to be informed through appropriate information and communication strategy.

This strategy needs to be directed at enhancing their participation in mainstream development activities. Gender specific information enhances the contribution of women to development, and settlement development policies can be more effectively formulated and implemented. Among the street homeless community, the women are yet to constitute a formidable group to consolidate their actions, experiences and attitudes towards participation, while a few of the men are involved in writing or contributing to the Homeless Talk newspaper.

In South Africa, the street homeless women can be involved both in democratic participation and representative participation. Participatory democracy is a process of enabling everyone to contribute to reconstruction and development. The right of the street homeless women to participate in decision-making at all levels is crucial. The right to participate consolidates the objective of participation which ranges from empowerment, capacity-building, mobilization (enforced - top-down or voluntary by community or individual - bottom-up), means of transferring knowledge and a guide for action.

However, participation could be delayed by operational, structural, administrative and social problems. According to Friedman (1992 : 7), "communities are not necessarily *gemeinschaftlich* (homogenous). There are many cleavages along racial, religious, ethnic and class lines". He points out the universally subordinate role of women as a source of tension and conflict that cuts across all the others.

5.2 EMPOWERMENT

The practice of city planning has evolved over the years from an initial emphasis on physical determinism to planning with the people (advocacy) and now to people planning for themselves - empowerment and self-help (McClendon, 1993). The empowerment of people to control their own lives and resources and to direct and pursue their development as human beings is both a purpose of people-centred development and a means to its attainment (*Korten and Klauss, 1984*).

Empowerment is a working style which aims to help people achieve their own purpose by increasing their confidence and capacity (*Wilcox, 1994*). The ANC (1994) document reiterated that empowerment means the enfranchisement of all South Africans ... Democracy for ordinary citizens must not end with formal rights (however) ... the democratic order we envisage must foster a wider range of institutions of participatory democracy in partnership with civil society on the basis of informed and empowered citizens and facilitate direct democracy.

Empowerment could be seen in terms of developing people's skills and abilities. Empowerment entails power-sharing : a change in the balance of power between people.

Empowerment has become a catchword among feminists. Writers in recent years and different authors and practitioners have used it (*Friedmann, 1992*). For some, empowerment stands for social mobilization around women's major concerns, such as divorce, property rights, cost of living, peace and the environment (*Andreas, 1985*). For others, it is a change in women's state of mind (*Raczynski and Serrano, 1985; Logan, 1989*).

Empowerment entails power sharing, that is, a change in the balance of power between people. Empowerment of the homeless people, particularly the women, could be seen in terms of developing their skills and abilities.

This section discusses the various forms of empowerment, as well as

emancipation and autonomy concepts, as it relates to the street homeless. It further examines the linkage between knowledge - power - action and how the street homeless could be empowered through knowledge.

5.2.1 PRINCIPLES OF EMPOWERMENT

5.2.1.1 People's Knowledge

The principle of people's knowledge draws on the understanding that development is a humanising process and should therefore be based on people, their needs and their analysis of the issues affecting them. Burkey (1993) opined that people must feel and believe that it is their own efforts that drive the development process. The homeless must feel that they are contributing the maximum of their own human, financial and material resources and that outside assistance should only be sought for things they cannot manage themselves.

5.2.1.2 Education and Empowerment

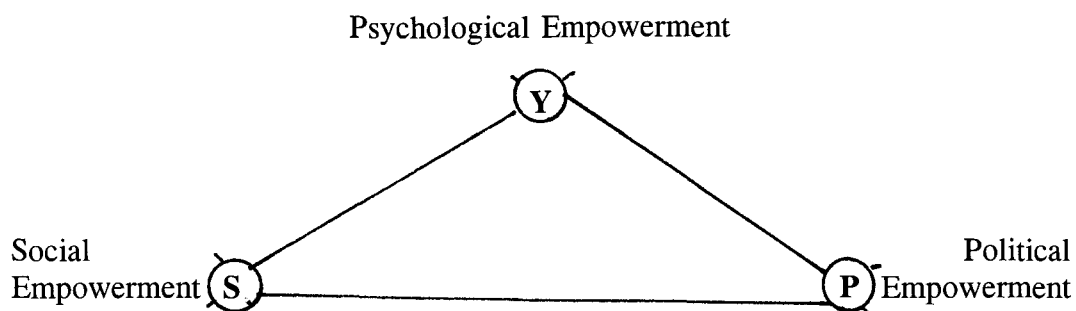
Education is an empowerment tool and the objective of educating disempowered people, especially the homeless, is to equip them with skills and knowledge that will enable them to play an active role. The role of education in development is largely influenced by the work of Paulo Freire, who argued that people who had been marginalised, oppressed and made dependent could break the barriers that enforce their marginalization through an educational process in which they became the subjects of their own development rather than the objects of other's development (Oakley, 1991 : 12). They could emerge from this educational process empowered and could thus become actively involved in development.

5.2.2 FORMS OF EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment as an alternative development is centred on people (the homeless, underprivileged) and their environment. Worldwide it has been estimated that, "30 - 40 per cent of urban households are headed by women" (*Friedmann, 1992 : 107*). Therefore the empowerment of homeless women becomes imperative. As its central process, an alternative development seeks the empowerment of households and their individual members in these three forms:

1. Social Power - This is concerned with access to certain bases of household production such as information, knowledge and skills, participation in social organizations and financial resources.
2. Political Power - This concerns the access of individual household members to the process by which decisions, particularly those that affect their own future are made. Political power is not only power to vote, it is as well power, the power of voice and of collective action.
3. Psychological power is best described as an individual empowerment, and is often a result of successful action in the social or political domains, though it may also result from intersubjective work (*Friedmann, 1992 : 33*).

All the three kinds of empowerment are relevant to the homeless, especially the women. They form an interconnected triad as seen in Figure 5.6.

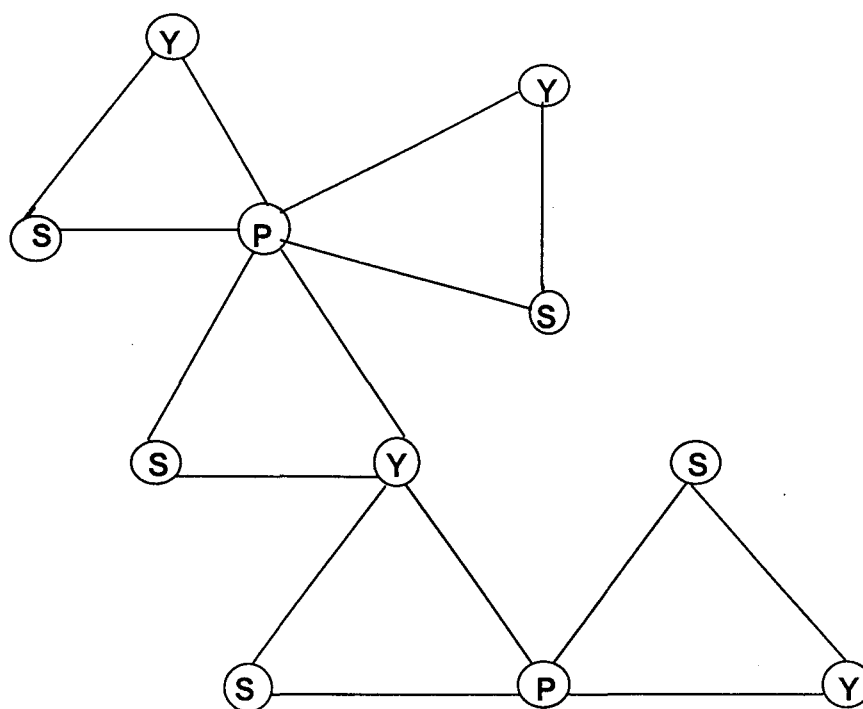
FIGURE 5.6 : FORMS OF EMPOWERMENT

Where, Y = Psychological
 S = Social
 P = Political

Source : Friedmann, 1992

When this triad, centred on an individual woman and household is linked up with others, the result is a social network of empowering relations (Figure 5.7). Networking and organization among the street homeless women reinforces or consolidates the process of their social, political and psychological empowerment which is lacking among them. The street homeless people do not have access to information. Their knowledge and skills are incapacitated due to poor or no education. Their poverty and unemployment do not give them power, they are voiceless and powerless. When it comes to collective action, they are found wanting because of their itinerant nature (very mobile population group). Psychologically, the street homeless are a disturbed people.

Figure 5.7 : Empowering Networks



Where, Y = Psychological

S = Social

P = Political

Source : Friedmann, 1992.

5.2.3 EMPOWERMENT : AN EMANCIPATION TOOL FOR THE STREET HOMELESS WOMEN

Empowerment means self-determination, which, in turn means the exercise of control. Self-help is also part of the notion of empowerment. Since knowledge is required for the practice of self-determination and self-help, receiving and learning to ask for information is another aspect of empowerment philosophy.

Friedmann (1992), in his work on empowerment, suggests that social mobilisation and social learning approaches might fit in since both require substantial departures from the traditional planning practice which is top-down rather than bottom-up. Friedmann's (1987) model offered a useful intellectual framework for planning activity, but it does not provide a methodology or procedure built around actions geared to empower the affected community.

Empowerment embraces the principles of normalisation. "Empowerment must be seen as a process of collective self-empowerment" (Friedmann, 1992 : 42), especially among the street homeless generally and women in particular. Empowerment, which is presently lacking among street homeless women interviewed, gives them a public voice, brings them into the limelight, enhances their interaction in all spheres of life, and emancipates them.

According to Friedmann (1992 : 40), "the feminist project rests on the explicit recognition that gender and gender differences pervade all aspects of social life. This includes language, moral consciousness and the categories in which we think. Because women have been and continue to be subordinated to men in both the public and private spheres, the feminist project is one of emancipation, that is dissolution of the patriarchal relationships." The power dimension is a central concern of feminist practice.

With regard to Figure 5.8, the concepts of planning, phenomenology and

feminism all reiterate the importance and relevance of participation, empowerment, emancipation and, to a large extent, autonomy.

When the street homeless women participate, they become empowered. Their empowerment emancipates them from the streets and gives them autonomy.

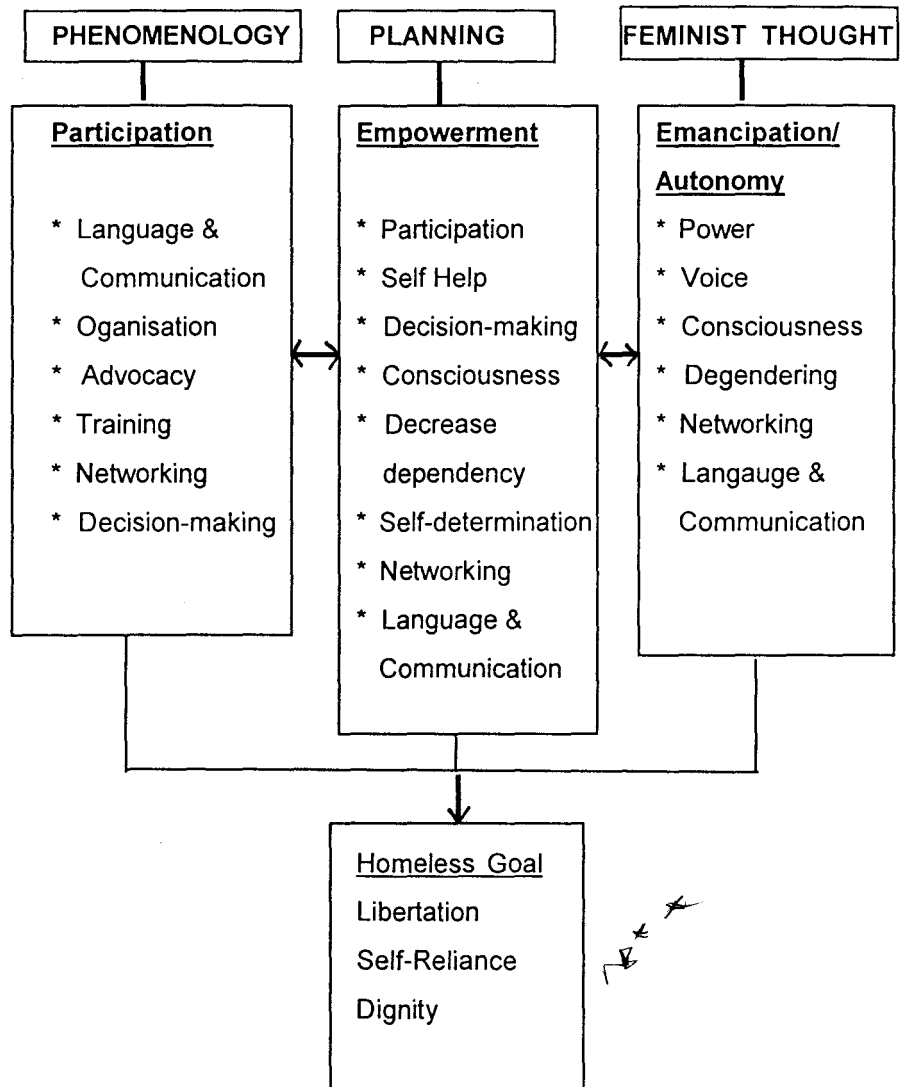
Emancipation and autonomy of the street homeless gives them dignity, makes them self-reliant and liberates them from poverty, unemployment and dependency on others.

Several correlates might be drawn from this supposition according to Friedmann (1992 : 40):

1. Emancipation requires a freeing-up, a liberation of consciousness of both genders.
2. Emancipatory processes require the empowerment - psychologically and politically of women situated in their specific life situations, for example the homeless women in this case.
3. Women's emancipation needs to be informed by an alternative vision of good society from which the power to dominate others is absent, and in which difference and equality can co-exist. For emancipation to succeed, male habits of power must be broken. There should be a de-gendering of the division of labour and social arrangements which acknowledges for men and women a life of their own, without at the same time sacrificing that which they hold in common : the life of family, community and nation.

For the street homeless in this study, empowerment and emancipation are their ultimate goals. The power to be able to do things by themselves and be recognised. The power to develop and upgrade their skills. This will empower them to be integrated into the larger society and liberate them from the streets and from poverty. Consequently, this will enhance their dignity and self-reliance.

Figure 5.8 : Planning, Phenomenology and Feminist Linkage in the Homelessness Phenomenon



Habermas (1984) focused his attention on the development of critical or emancipatory ways of knowing that are designed to get past the embedded power relations in a society. The principles for emancipatory knowing fit with the basic inclination of many planners. To achieve emancipatory knowledge, the planner must start by challenging assumptions because hidden within these are power relations. Such challenges come naturally to planners because of their multi-disciplinary education. Critical theorists go a step further by contending that the knower's responsibility is to oppose the status quo because doing so allows the revelation of what is hidden (*Innes, 1995*).

5.2.4 RELEVANCE OF AUTONOMY IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

The concept of autonomy in gender and development planning concerns a transformation strategy which must be incorporated into practical and strategic gender needs and interests, as well as processes of change. The concept of autonomy is not only useful for the analysis of women's participation and/or empowerment processes. Its analytic scope extends to "all social subjects who, from their specific positions in the society and their particular vindications, seek to transform their subordinating conditions" (*Meynen and Vargas, 1994 : 29*). Autonomy is associated with the street homeless individual's capacity to develop power over his or her life, through development of both material and non-material needs.

Autonomy according to Meynen and Vargas (1994 : 29-30) "confronts and implies power. Not power acquired at the expense of others, but power understood as the capacity to define one's own agenda. As such, power does not give individuals the right to exert power over others but to have power over their own lives". They reiterated that autonomy has implications for collective action. This kind of action does not suffocate autonomy, but rather, it nurtures, sustains and enriches it. In this sense, according to Meynen and Vargas (1994 : 30), the

concept of autonomy "focuses both on internal processes which allow self-determination, self-definition and self-realization and on the processes directed outward, like empowerment".

Autonomy is a multi-dimensional continuum. It is a flexible and dynamic concept. A fundamental characteristic of the autonomy process is the emancipatory strategy. Giddens (1991) asserted that the principle of autonomy is a behavioural mobilizing principle in emancipatory policies.

5.2.4.1 Types of Autonomy

There are four types of autonomy according to Meynen and Vargas (1994 : 33):

1. Physical autonomy, that is control over sexuality and fertility.
2. Economic autonomy based on equitable access to basic control over the means of production.
3. Political autonomy refers to basic political rights including self-determination and the creation of pressure groups with particular orientations and proposals. For example, the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF) which is a housing movement with the aim of empowering women to control their lives through housing savings scheme.
4. Socio-cultural autonomy refers to the capacity to assert one's own identities and to self-esteem.

The principles of autonomy prepare the ground for exercising democratic participation, especially the multiple interests and demands of the street homeless can force them to negotiate, to accept others' rights and demands and to accommodate diversity of interests. Autonomy, in short, is a "human and political process which contains a strategic view of the future" (Meynen and Vargas, 1994 : 33).

5.2.4.2 Gender Autonomy in Development Planning

Gender analysis and planning requires new relational concepts sensitive to the issue of power and also capable of acknowledging processes of change, especially in women's subordinate position. Autonomy as affirmed by Meertens (1994 : 49 - 50) implies, "a wider, comprehensive and ethical vision which leads us beyond the narrow economic parameters implied in the idea of development. It allows an analysis of gender relations and the possibilities of strategies to eliminate women's insubordination. Autonomy comes closer to women's insubordination and women's strategic interests than to their practical gender interests. It helps overcome the dangers implied in these niches by highlighting transformation processes beyond the rigid dichotomies".

Autonomy has to be built from bottom-up. The right of the homeless (physical autonomy), the strategy to transform gender relations (political autonomy) and the right to diversity are all closely linked. The autonomy of the homeless, particularly homeless women, means the right to construct their own understanding and development model, to determine which is the most desirable direction development should take. The concept of autonomy reveals a great potential as an instrument to grasp the processes of change in gender relations (Meertens, 1994).

Strategic interests comply with the quest for more autonomy. The classic approach to gender planning (that is the practical and strategic gender interests developed by Molyneux) and later enriched by Moser (1993), Young (1993) and Anderson (1992, 1994), proposes new approaches to the complexity of the changes desired in gender relations : the autonomy approach, the procedure approach and the equality approach.

According to Anderson (1994) cited in Guzman (1994 : 139), "the focus on women's practical and strategic gender needs (or interests) applied to planning is

particularly appropriate when one is trying to redress oppression against women generated by the sexual division of labour".

The autonomy approach "calls attention to the articulation among the different experiences of women and the need that any transformation project consider a reformulation capable of encompassing women's broad situation and or re-valuing their diversity. It puts emphasis on women's multiple identities as people who belong to a generic category, a social class, a spatial or ethnic group, a residential or occupational group, and who are at the same time, individuals with a single personal history" (*Guzman, 1994 : 140*).

The procedure approach "abstracts the procedure rules from the operation of the various institutions that join men and women. Procedure rules are norms which define how the institution will be organized, how it will perform the particular activity it was formed for and especially, how the decisions about that organization and about those activities will be undertaken" (*Anderson, 1994 cited in Guzman, 1994 : 140*). The procedure approach calls attention to the nature of rules, in order to determine if they discriminate against women, or if they establish differences and inequalities in the participation of men and women.

The equality approach starts by recognising that "equality is one of the central aims in development projects with and for women. It identifies at least three types of equality - equal treatment, equal opportunity and equal results" (*Anderson, 1994 cited in Guzman, 1994 : 140*).

5.2.4.3 Critique

For some feminists, the notion of autonomy is too closely linked to the enlightenment, the rise of modernity, and to the notions such as rationality, independence and the central place of the individual which might be the product of "masculine philosophy" (*Meertens, 1994 : 51*).

Gilligan (1982) was of the view that the importance of ego frontiers implied in the concept of autonomy is overestimated. On the other hand, Wieringa (1990 : 1) states, "we do not want an autonomous corner in your great universal home; we women want political and economic power to transform that home".

The defenders of autonomy have insisted that although autonomy is a sort of counter power against subordination, an autonomous person takes on power as power for and not as power over. Power is about potentiating oneself without taking up domination relationship (*Schrijvers, 1985*).

This meaning of power is similar to that of empowerment (*Dawn, 1985; Moser, 1991*). But perhaps the concept of autonomy may imply, "the capacity to renounce the power to dominate others and become self-determinant without injuring other people's interests" (*Meertens, 1994 : 51*).

According to Safilios-Rothschild (1982 : 117), feminine power "is women's ability to control or change other people's behaviour and determine the course of their lives at key moments, even against men's or other (older) women's will".

5.2.5 KNOWLEDGE - ACTION IN PLANNING AND PHENOMENOLOGY

The leading proponent of experiential knowledge in recent times was Dewey (1929, 1938, 1958). Dewey's arguments for learning by doing and by hard work have been championed most recently by Illich (1971) cited in Goldberg (1985). Knowledge rooted in subjective experience, normative values and intuition must be part of a broad based meta-rationality. However, such "a meta-rationality should also include additional knowledge, specifically knowledge about those things we do not and perhaps cannot know. Explicit acknowledgement of ignorance and uncertainty is an additional building block of meta-rationality" (*Goldberg, 1985 : 120-136*).

Popper 1972 (*cited in Faludi, 1985 : 27-28*) in his "The Logic of Scientific

Discovery" reiterated that "I must first make clear the distinction between the psychology of knowledge which deals with empirical facts and the logic of knowledge which is connected only with the logical relations". As posited by Healey (1992 : 11) "... all dimensions of knowing, understanding, experiencing and judging may be brought into play". The influence of post-modernism is towards accepting that all types of knowledge are relevant and important.

The rational conception of knowledge places reason as a basis for knowledge, while empiricism holds that all human knowledge is ultimately derived from sensory observation (*Muller, 1992*). Another perspective of knowledge is based on a criticism of the positivist attitude which does not take into account the fact that social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful (*Muller, 1992*). As a result, the phenomenological paradigm is based on the understanding of the society on the basis of the meanings that people attribute to the social practices of the society. It therefore places importance on human consciousness, understanding and interpretation and it is therefore an "experiential form of common sense knowledge of human affairs" (*Muller, 1993 : 338*).

Critical theory developed by Habermas aimed at a form of knowledge that generates enlightenment and emancipation whereby it is believed that critical reflection as an emancipatory process leads to structural transformation of the society.

Dewey's pragmatic theory of knowledge which Friedmann (1987 : 47) defines as the "theory of getting things done; of learning by doing" is also a significant development. He argued that all valid knowledge came from experience which is derived from interaction between people and their environment. The next section discusses the dimensions of knowledge.

5.2.5.1 Dimensions of Knowledge

A new rationality requires that social science be informed by different realms of experience and knowing, all essential to human affairs (*Weaver, Jessop and Das, 1985*). Heuristically, these dimensions of knowledge can be divided into three (*Weaver, Jessop and Das, 1985 : 145-148*) as shown in figure 5.9 and below :

2

- (a) "Personal knowledge - this knowledge is experiential in nature (*Dewey, 1929, 1938a*), embodies our subjective internalized experiences and provides the root of individual competence as seen in the homeless.

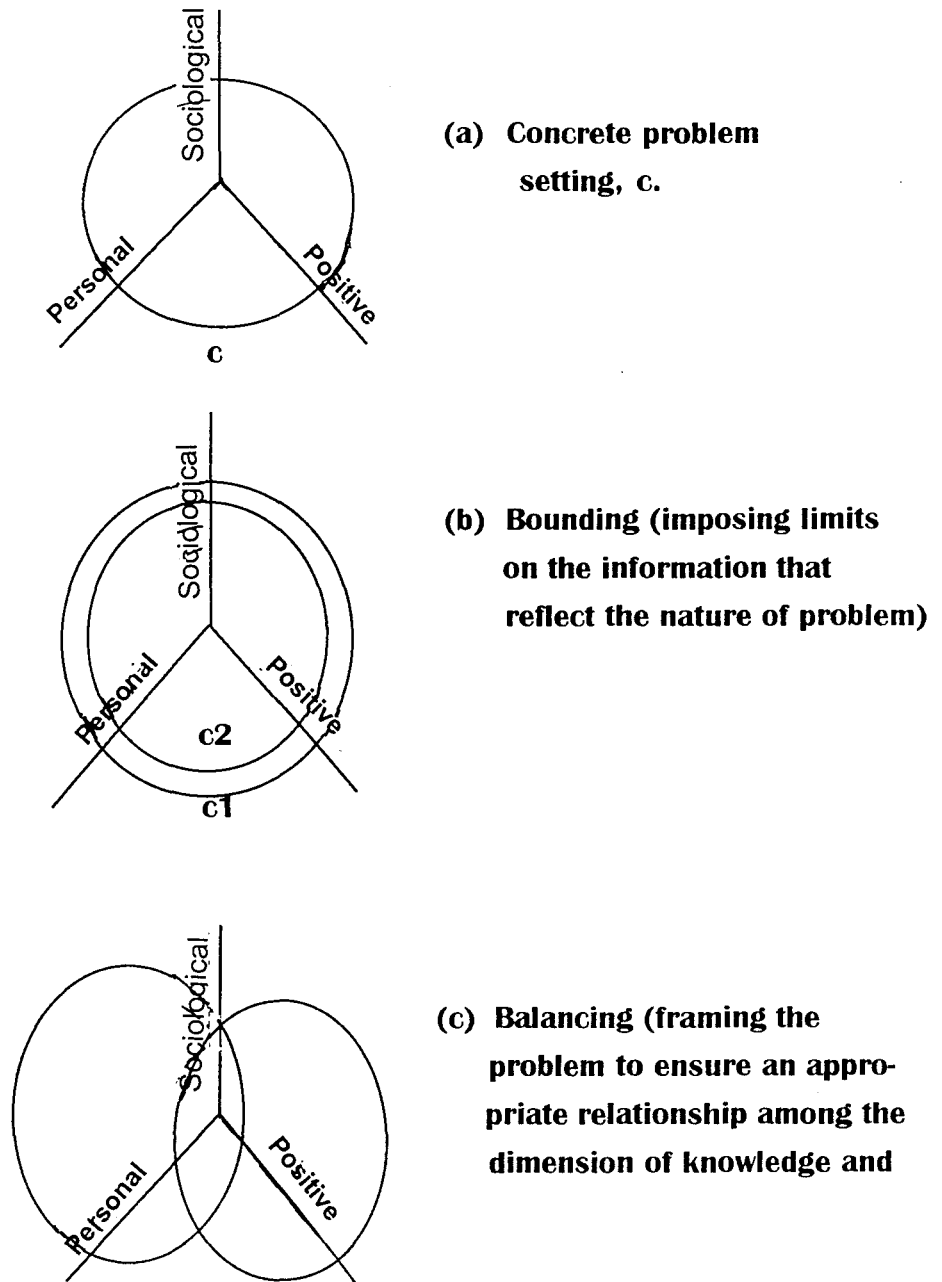
It is also a source of innovation : the spontaneous creative products of the mind. At this point, knowledge and action are linked, establishing a framework for learning. Personal knowledge is ultimately an historical a-spatial awareness that finds expression in personal insights and intuition. It is the tacit dimension of understanding (*Polanyi, 1967*). Through personal knowledge, we are aware of the self and our relationship with the existential world : truth becomes freedom to explore (*Heidegger, 1949, Jaspers, 1949*).

Personal knowledge serves as a stepping stone in the world of social relations through dialogue (*Friedmann, 1973b, 1979*) and as a basis for cosmologies and philosophies that unite people with the environment.

- (b) Sociological knowledge is the social construction of reality (*Berger and Luckmann, 1966*). Here facts are seen as value-shaped by historical conditions, mainly class structure, position and social forces (*Barnes, 1974, 1977; Barnes and Bloor, 1982; Bloor, 1976*).

Knowledge is grouped into bodies of ideological and opposing Utopian explanations founded in conceptual categories and assumed structural relations (*Mannheim, 1935, 1936*). The sociology of knowledge should be approached through causality, impartiality, symmetry and reflexivity (*Hollis, 1982*). Sociological knowledge provides a world view reflecting

Figure 5.9 : The Dimensions of Knowledge



Source : Weaver, C; Jessop, J; Das, V (1985)

conceptually organised social experience. It is within this realm that metatheories are developed to explain social tectonics (that is, structures, processes and functions).

- (c) Positive knowledge is information gained about the environment based on deductive reasoning, empirical observation and experimentation. It is objective universal knowledge whose function is object appraisal, prediction and control (*Popper, 1959; Schlick, 1936; Feigl, 1964*).

The above dimensions of knowledge represent the product of a specific form of consciousness among the street homeless women. The appropriate epistemology reflects the characteristics of that particular style of reasoning. The personal knowledge of the street homeless women which is experiential in nature and that knowledge which is related to self and existential world is very important in developing a knowledge-action linkage based on phenomenology. This knowledge is based on the homeless self-experience in relation to the environment. While the street homeless women's sociological knowledge is based on reflexivity and causes of their predicament or problem, their positive knowledge could be linked to the limited information gained about their environment.

5.2.5.2 Ways of Knowing

The method of knowing according to Habermas (1984) involves several elements. One element is self-reflection, designed to identify one's own rationalizations and uncover what is hidden in the self. A second crucial concept is that emancipatory knowing comes from discourse or dialectic. Such discourse can illuminate the many sides of rationality and if designed properly, can uncover the rationalizations which reinforce power relations.

A third way of knowing comes through praxis. That is, those who have long experience and know-how play a part in uncovering concepts and assumptions. Theory and practice intertwine in emancipatory knowing. Theory also makes sense through practice and vice versa. Finally, this method can lead to action through a conversion of experience.

These principles of emancipatory knowing are not only compatible with the ways planners actually go about generating knowledge and influencing action, they provide some broad guidance for their practice. For Forester, Planners' critical self reflection is crucial, as is taking the part of the oppressed to ensure they use their power in ethical ways.

Planners in many contexts where knowledge and values are in contention, have created innovative, stakeholder-based, consensus-building processes. Habermas (1984) spells out a process of learning and deciding that bears close resemblance to such practices and which provides principles for managing these processes, such as assuring representation (in this study, representation of the homeless' points of view); disseminating information among the group (homeless associations) members; and creating conditions within the group so that the force of argument can be the deciding factor rather than an individual's power outside the group. This form of learning is termed communicative rationality by Habermas (*Innes, 1995*).

As planning is a communicative activity, language, discourse and representation have become crucial foci for theorists. Feminist theory, with its emphasis on empowerment and disempowerment and the ways these occur in the world, and its interest in language provides a rich set of ideas that addresses the questions raised in the study of practice (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1990*).

5.2.5.3 Knowledge and Action Relevance in Phenomenology

The question of how data or research findings can be linked to action and under what circumstance comes into play when discussing the linkage between knowledge and action in phenomenology. Phenomenology provides a theoretical framework that enables one to define the kinds of knowledge that are useful to practice or action within the planning process. With regard to the Interpretive or phenomenological approach, the style of research, the content and the processes involved have considerable application in planning and provide the basics that can be used to link knowledge and action.

The basic fact that phenomenology is grounded in everyday world, its use of language and beliefs, and its holistic approach makes it relevant in the knowledge-action linkage.

Within the street homelessness context, the phenomenological approach makes use of dialogue, communication, language, belief, story-telling, music, drama, traditional songs and even gossip. All these add to the users' knowledge experience and builds up their understanding and enables the street homeless to take action when and where necessary. The use of language and the idea of bracketing (setting aside one's own ideas and reactions), search for essences, help develop the process of knowledge that is relevant to practice.

Crucial to knowledge creation in phenomenology is the idea of cooperative encounter and cooperative exploration. This facilitates interaction, experiential, understanding, sharing, explanation of stories and experiences. It gives meaning to the street homeless experience. This process can be likened to what Berger and Luckmann (1966) termed the social construction of reality. It assures that within any social group (e.g. the South African Homeless Peoples Federation), common experiences, communication and collective action would be realisable.

Phenomenology is more reflective of reality and it enables planners, citizens and

and whole problems and addresses concerns with comprehensiveness. Phenomenological knowledge concentrates on the understanding of goals and values that must frame the planning process and in this "it provides crucial understanding of the politics that shape decisions and influence their implementation" (*de Neufville, 1987 : 89*). In the phenomenological reduction, both the citizen's and client's understandings are essential components of knowledge.

The involvement of policy-makers, clients and citizens in the phenomenological process fosters trust and relevance and this contributes to knowledge and in this way, knowledge motivates action. Phenomenology offers a view of the learning process which links knowledge to action. Knowledge developed in the phenomenological tradition has roles in planning which differ markedly from those appropriate to positivist knowledge. According to *de Neufville (1987 : 89)*, "the interpretive knowledge tends to open up issues and reframe debate rather than to provide specific answers to well formulated questions. This type of knowledge is more important in problem defining than in problem solving; more in goal formulation than in determining if goals have been met; more in describing process than in predicting outcome; more in saying what happened than in saying what works; more in generating alternatives than in comparing them; and more in negotiating than in providing simple decision criteria".

On the question of how knowledge, power and action are linked, the next section provides an explanation drawn from *Foucault (1980)* and *Fischler 1993)* among others.

5.2.6 Knowledge - Power - Action Connection in Planning Theories

In planning theory, what is discussed is simplified relationships of "knowledge - action or knowledge - power - action" (*Forester, 1989 : 29 - 33*). *Chadwick's (1971)* explanation of what planning is - in a systems view - involves both information and power. Knowledge and information, true or not, create an

(1971) explanation of what planning is - in a systems view - involves both information and power. Knowledge and information, true or not, create an Image. The Image is knowledge of the world and a person's behaviour depends on the Image. The reciprocal influence between knowledge and action is explicit: "plans depend on the content of the Image for motivation and information, whilst the Image is modified by the activities engendered by the plan" (*Chadwick, 1971 : 23*).

Lindblom is aware that planning is determined by power relations and he asserts that "Policy is drawn forward in the light of what recent policy steps have shown to be probably realizable" (*Baybrooke and Lindbloom, 1963 : 71*). Power is not seen as monolithic but as distributed among numerous actors. Disjointed incrementalism is a strategy for using "one's own limited knowledge and power to achieve what little can be achieved in a political hubbub where the planner is continually up against the power of a multiple of partial interests" (*Sager, 1994: 87*).

Friedmann and Hudson (1974 : 2) found that "a useful way to look at planning is to consider an activity centrally concerned with the linkage between knowledge and organised action". To Friedmann (1987 : 413) knowledge-action is central, and "the Planners' conception of truth is validated by becoming the basis for the mastery of the social system, the social world. He thinks that the ideas from the Enlightenment are about to give way, opening for new theories transforming the nature of the basic relation of knowledge to action".

He advocates planning as an emancipatory and radical practice in the tradition of social mobilization.

Planners should use their power "to assist people in organizing resistance forces that have subjugated their lives to an alien logic and worked to ensure their passive compliance through bureaucratic powers of the state. They should assist in the recovery of an active political community facilitating collective action in

the self production of life and livelihood" (*Friedmann, 1989 : 11*).

Faludi (1984) focuses on the rational features of planning viewed primarily as instrumental rationality and as such requiring knowledge. Faludi (1984 : 51) regards planning as "analogous to another learning vehicle : Scientific method meaning a set of procedural requirements which propositions must meet in order to pass as scientifically valid". This theme is followed up by Faludi (1986) in a study of Popperian thought in planning theory. His decision-centred view of planning is crucial as a link between knowledge and action.

Power is primarily seen as an implementing tool by Faludi (1984, 1986) and Friedmann (1989), a vehicle for moving knowledge to action.

This is the typical way power enters the central knowledge-action relation of mainstream planning theory.

The various planning theories according to Sager (1994 : 89 - 90), imply different simplifications of "the general knowledge <--> Power <---> Action (k-p-a) complex. In synoptic planning, the goals are given, there is no conflict and power and action are not treated separately. The general k-p-a relation collapses into knowledge ---> action.

Disjointed incrementalism is designed as a learning-by-doing process. Although conflict is acknowledged as adding to the uncertainty of planning, power is not addressed as a problem. The k-p-a relation is simplified into knowledge <---> action.

Transactive planning theory does not pay much attention to power, although this planning mode would require substantial change to be implemented. The two-way relationship between knowledge and action is accomplished theoretically by separating types of knowledge. Personal knowledge is acquired from practice and knowledge <---> action here signifies interchange of the "processed knowledge" of experts and the personal knowledge of the homeless.

Advocacy planning is based on the assumption that the knowledge of planners can empower local groups that are in danger of being run over by society at large or by powerful local interests. The general k-p-a relation breaks down to knowledge ---> power. Advocacy planning has been more of a protection against repressive action than a plea for substantive change.

The action-orientation is more conspicuous in radical planning and Forester's critical planning theory. By applying Habermas critical theory of communicative action, Forester (1989 : 157) also shows how "power distorts communication and thus impairs knowledge. Questioning provides knowledge, more knowledge increases the Planner's ability to direct attention and exert more power. The general k-p-a relation takes the form : knowledge <--> - power <---> action in the approach to planning as questioning and shaping attention".

The explicit relevance to phenomenology in the work of Forester (1990b, 1992) and other planning theoreticians (Dryzek, 1982; De Neufville, 1987; Healey, 1992a) gives increased consideration to the way planning knowledge is derived from practice and action by reading meaning into fragments of experience from everyday life. These contributions also shed light on the way power relations form and are reproduced by the interpretations and the meaning required to formulate the planning problem and visualizing a realistic compromise.

Planning theory has not yet taken into account the numerous ways power bounds and constructs knowledge. However, "phenomenology paired with Habermas' critical theory is a promising approach taking into account Foucault's insights on the power/knowledge dilemma" (Sager, 1994 : 90).

5.2.7 The Power - Knowledge Dilemma

This section examines the ideas of one of the most influential post-modern scholars in the discussion of power. Foucault's view on the power/knowledge

can be conceived in a way very dissimilar from the prevailing view in planning theory (*Foucault, 1980*). It can be argued that critical theory of planning founded on Habermas's thought is currently coming closer to Foucault's by incorporating the phenomenological approach.

To Foucault, power is strategic games. It is decentralized and exists in a network of relationships. According to Rouse (1987 : 13) the "received view" of the relationship between scientific knowledge and power has four components :

1. Knowledge can be applied in order to achieve power. Preferences of the controller can be more effectively realized if one can accurately describe one's situation and the effects of one's instruments. This idea permeates synoptic planning.
2. Power is used to impede or distort the acquisition of knowledge. Power is seen in the critical theory of planning practice as introducing communicative distortions, biasing knowledge of the citizens.
The planner should reveal true alternatives and correct false expectations created by actors influencing the planning process in this way to further their private interests. Power also impedes knowledge when subordinates are reluctant to come forth with information because they fear the negative response to their implicit criticism. Similarly, lay people may keep ideas to themselves in meeting with planners intimidated by the authority of those talking with professional knowledge.
3. Knowledge can liberate us from repressive effects of power. It stresses that knowledge can uncover the distortions power imposes and unmask the disguises that permit power to operate with reduced interference. The belief that knowledge linked with collective action in the form of planning can serve an emancipatory purpose is reflected in the compound rationale.
4. Power is used to acquire knowledge. This point leads the thought to interrogation and forms of authority giving certain individuals the right to know.

interrogation and forms of authority giving certain individuals the right to know.

"Bio power", according to Foucault (1980) and Sager (1994 : 82-83) is the "interdependence of power and knowledge". Planning is linked to the philosophical conception of humans as being simultaneously the subject and object of knowledge.

5.3 SUMMARY

The participation, empowerment and autonomy of the street homeless women is crucial for their self development, self esteem and self realisation. The street homeless women should have the autonomy or power for that is, the capacity and ability to control, change and determine the course of their lives. Their strategic and practical needs should be seen to complement each other in spite of the fact that autonomy comes closer to women's strategic interests.

The street homeless people generally should have physical, economic, financial, political and socio-cultural autonomy which is presently lacking. They can only achieve this by being empowered through participation, training (where they can acquire knowledge) and information.

Financial emancipation is particularly important. Poor, penniless and hungry people can hardly absorb new ideas or engage in productive debate if they are not financially worthy or capable.

As reiterated earlier, autonomy emphasizes proper articulation of women's experiences and the need to change, or for transformation. It also emphasizes the multiple identities of people and their belonging to a social class, ethnic group and so on.

Feminist theories emphasise the rights, interests, representation and stable identity

including language, moral consciousness and the way women think.

From the feminist standpoint, power dimension is a central concern for feminist practice, and emancipation requires empowerment.

Emancipation of street homeless women requires a liberation of their consciousness, awareness, participation and empowerment.

Knowledge of the street homeless women must be socially constructed and gender-based. They gain knowledge through real-life stories, interests, experiences, emotions and memories. Knowledge must be shared through communication to construct meaning. And the construction of meaning involves communication, politics and inspiration. Knowledge is reasoning and logical; thus feminist inquiry has emancipatory as well as critical power.

The next chapter discusses the general research methodology adopted in this study. It goes further to discuss the reconnaissance and actual surveys carried out on the street homeless women in Johannesburg inner city.

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SECTION C :

THE SURVEY

ODE TO THE HOMELESS

Behold! they stand in line for soup
and bread
With their self-esteem grotesque and destroyed
Humiliation down-looked at their daily
encounters
Yet they look up proudly as if they are to receive
victory medallions

Look at them and search their faces thoroughly
See their strength and compare it with the oak
tree
They survive cold winters and adverse conditions
And yet they smile as if they have won the day.

Heed to the warming from their tales
and be wise
For the righteous lips teach many
But fools die for want of wisdom
Yet they laugh at their failures
As if there was another life to follow

Test them psycho-metrically, you will be
astonished
Their IQ higher than the well-to-do person
Yet they live on handouts as if they were
handicapped

Given opportunities they could be statesmen
or MPs.
Potential without opportunity means nothing
So judge them not without considering
The advantages you had in life
For among them there are noble men and women
Who can make this world a better place.

Fikizolo (1996)

CHAPTER SIX

SURVEY FINDINGS (I) - RECONNAISSANCE

6.0 SECTION OBJECTIVES

The phenomenological method is used in this section to describe street homelessness. Phenomenology seeks to understand and describe the homelessness phenomenon as it is in itself and it is a method of understanding what a homeless person may mean when talking about homelessness. The primary focus of this section is the phenomenon (homelessness) exactly as it reveals itself to the experiencing subject (homeless) in all its actuality and originality. Phenomenology is the "direct investigation and description of phenomena as consciously experienced" (*Seamon, 1979 : 16*). Furthermore, this chapter incorporates the three concepts in phenomenology - open description, phenomenological reduction and the search for essence - into the description of the street homeless women's situation or lifeworld. Additionally, the investigation of the street homeless to justify the method of phenomenology was conducted through Focus Group Discussion, Participant Observation and Participatory Learning and Action (PLA).

Focus groups are formally constituted structured groups of people brought together to address a specific issue within a fixed time frame and in accordance with clearly spelt out rules of procedure. Focus Group Discussion and PLA methods are used for collecting information and assessing the range of opinion in a community on the particular topic. Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) enables practitioners of participatory methodologies to share field experiences, conceptual reflections and methodological innovations. It is informal and seeks to examine frank accounts, address issues of practical and immediate value,

encourage innovation and act as a "voice from the field" (*IIED, 1994 : 1*).

6.1 PHENOMENOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

Phenomenology as a philosophical tradition was founded by Husserl and further developed as an existential philosophy by Heidegger and in a dialectal direction by Merleau-Ponty and Sartre (*Kvale, 1983*). Husserl criticised the positivist and empiricist conception of the world as an objective universe of facts. This "objectivistic illusion" (*Kvale, 1983 : 184*) hides both the constitution of these facts through human consciousness, and their basis in a primary lifeworld.

The phenomenological method involves an attempt to reach the lived world. Three aspects of this method are outlined and discussed with regards to the street homeless women in this chapter:

1. Open description;
2. Phenomenological reduction;
3. Search for an investigation of essences (*Merleau-Ponty, 1963; Spiegelberg, 1960*).

6.1.1 DESCRIPTION

Phenomenology is a descriptive methodology and, according to Mohanty (*1989 : 38*), "it is intentional objects of experience." All qualitative research depends upon description and Van Maanen (*1982a : 16*) calls it "ontological inquiry", that is phenomenology gives priority to revelation and disclosure rather than explanation and prediction.

Moustakas (*1990 : 38*) paraphrases the term as "qualitative depiction" and understands it to be only the mode of expressiveness which phenomenology would also acknowledge. Spiegelberg (*1960*) reiterated that it is not possible to give any precise instructions for an open description. Phenomenology, according to him,

is depicted by metaphors as : "to the matters themselves", "seeing and listening", "keeping the eyes open", "not think but see" (*Kvale, 1983 : 190*). What matters is to describe the given as precisely and completely as possible; to describe and not to explain or analyze - direct description of experience. Thus, because phenomenology gives a more precise definition of description, it can clarify its role better and help differentiate it from other expressive modes, especially interpretation. (*Giorgi, 1992*).

6.1.2 PHENOMENOLOGICAL REDUCTION

Phenomenology reduction means that "one tries to bracket all past knowledge and theories about the phenomenon being researched that are relevant to the research question. Then one takes the phenomenon precisely as it presents itself, after which the data is analysed" (*Giorgi, 1994 : 213 - 214*).

Phenomenological reduction also involves a suspension of judgement as to the existence or non-existence of the content of an experience. "That is, "bracketing", an attempt to place the common sense and scientific knowledge about the phenomena into parentheses in order to arrive at the essence of the phenomena" (*Kvale, 1983 : 194*). Within the reduction one refrains from positing. Rather one looks at the data with the attitude of relative openness. However, the main thing learned by the phenomenological reduction according to Merleau-Ponty (1962), is that it is impossible to have a total reduction. This is because phenomenological reduction does not involve an absence of presuppositions, but a consciousness of one's own presuppositions.

6.1.3 SEARCH FOR ESSENCES

The third step of the phenomenological method is the search for essences or the

most invariant meaning for a context (Giorgi, 1994). Husserl recommended the use of free imaginative variation as a means of achieving this goal. Husserl (1970 cited in Kvale, 1983 : 194) termed this method "free variation in fantasy". This means varying a given phenomenon freely in its possible forms but the essence of the phenomenon remains constant.

Moustakas (1990 : 9,11) refers to invariance as "the process that I believed to be essential in investigations of human experience" or as being able to "explicate that awareness with reference to a question or problem until an essential insight is achieved". It is pertinent to say that, "from phenomenological perspective, facts are actualized possibilities" (Giorgi, 1994 : 216).

Most phenomenological research is discovery oriented, because descriptive science practitioners within a phenomenological framework are meant to provide as results only descriptions of structures that appear to the researcher's consciousness, precisely as they appear. They should not speculate (Giorgi, 1994).

6.2 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

Inner cities in South Africa are both a creation of apartheid and a creature of the post-apartheid era. Changes in demography (Urban Foundation, 1992a), abolition of legislated racial zoning, and the economic forces which have led to the repopulation of the inner city and movement to the suburbs reflect the problems and challenges of the inner city in the new South Africa (Plates 3 - 5).

The inner city of Johannesburg comprises mixed landuses such as commercial and medium to high rise residential developments. Cranckshaw and White (1992) found that about 65,000 people resided in the inner city and were accommodated in about 28,000 residential units. This estimated population comprises of Hillbrow, Berea, Joubert Park and the Central Business District.

The Human Science Research Council survey found the average number of persons per unit to be 2.3 in Hillbrow and Berea; 2.5 in Joubert Park and 2.6 in residential CBD (*cited in Adler, 1994*). The physical characteristics of inner city housing in Johannesburg range from scattered residential houses in Fordsburg, through the modern commercial high-rise buildings in Newtown financial centre and the older apartment buildings of Joubert Park and the CBD, to the high-rise apartments in Hillbrow and Berea.

During the apartheid era, residential segregation was rapidly enforced between the races resulting in white core suburbs and outlying Black townships. Over the past decade, the inner city increasingly became a cosmopolitan area where urban residents of all races live and work (*Alder, 1994*).

Plate 3 : Inner city housing in Johannesburg



Plate 4 : A commercial street in the central
business district of Johannesburg



**Plate 5 : Homeless people hang around and sleep under this
edifice in the Johannesburg city centre**



Complementing the above is the gradual encroachment of the inner city by the street homeless who, because of lack of affordable housing, over-crowding, social and racial tension, and economic factors among others, have resorted to sleeping on the streets and any available open space, thus constituting a threat to the substantial commercial and economic activities in the downtown areas of Johannesburg (Plate 6).

This chapter gives a background to the street homelessness situation in innercity of Johannesburg, the street homeless enclaves as well, as the socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the street homeless, particularly the women.

6.3 SURVEY PROCEDURE

The survey which this study adopts is in three parts :

1. Reconnaissance survey;
 2. Qualitative survey;
 3. Quali-Quantitative survey.
- The Reconnaissance survey was carried out to identify the homeless shelters, identify the homeless abodes and types and enumerate the number of street homeless on a gender basis.
 - With regard to the qualitative survey (Appendix 3 and 4), a focus group discussion coupled with participant observation and Participatory Learning and Action methods were used to obtain the original experiences and day-to-day lifeworld of the street homeless women. This conforms with the Phenomenological methodology adopted in this study.

- The Quali-Quantitative survey was to elicit information on the socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the street homeless. This was done through a questionnaire survey (Appendix 5). Ten per cent sample was taken, that is, out of 6,349 (homeless adults), 635 samples were taken randomly.

It should be noted that due to the itinerant nature of the street homeless people, all the surveys were conducted between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m., when they finally settle down to have a good night's rest.

Plate 6 : Homeless shacks in the background
in the inner city



6.4 RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY

A reconnaissance survey was carried out in March/April 1995 :

1. to identify and enumerate the street homeless shelters (shelters are organised accommodation centres for the homeless);
2. to enumerate the number of street homeless abodes and types (abodes are unorganised, scattered living areas of the homeless);
3. to enumerate the number of street homeless on a gender basis.

To accomplish (1) above, investigations were made of different homeless shelters for adults in Johannesburg inner city, and three shelters for adults were identified, namely the Usindiso Men and Women's shelter, which are run by the Christian Services Foundation and the Uthandweni City Shelter (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 : Street Homeless in Shelter/Hostels (Group C)

Name of Shelter	Men	Women	Children	
			Boys	Girls
1. <u>Christian Services Foundation</u>				
a. Usindiso Women Shelter		393		
b. Usindiso Men Shelter				
c. Children's Home	290		206	148
2. Uthandweni/Welcome Home Shelter	144			
3. Twilight Children's Home			15	
4. Paradise Children's Home			105	
Total	434	393	326	148
GRAND TOTAL = 1301				

Source : Field Survey, March - April 1995

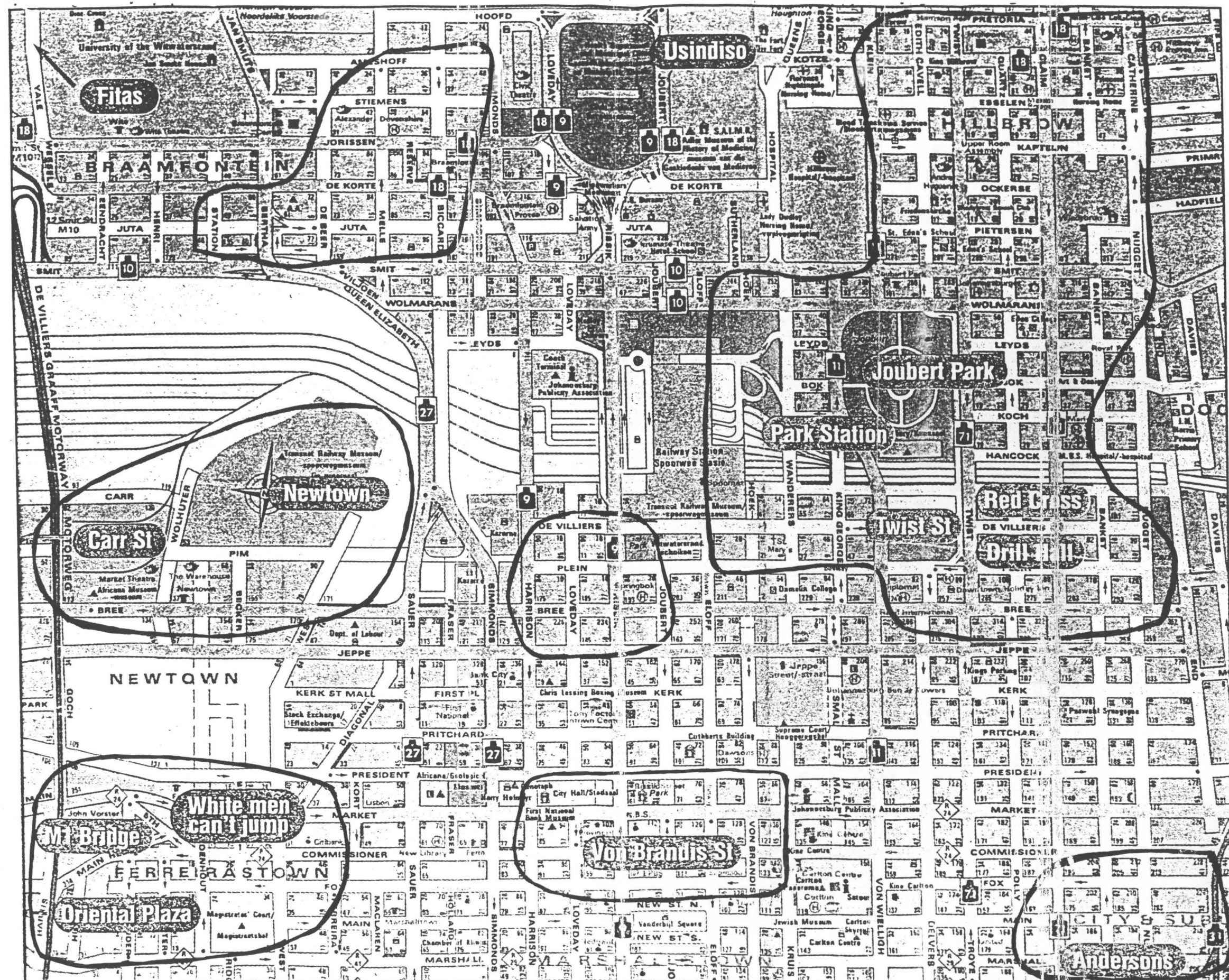
To accomplish (2), the Johannesburg inner city was mapped out (Figure 6.1) and

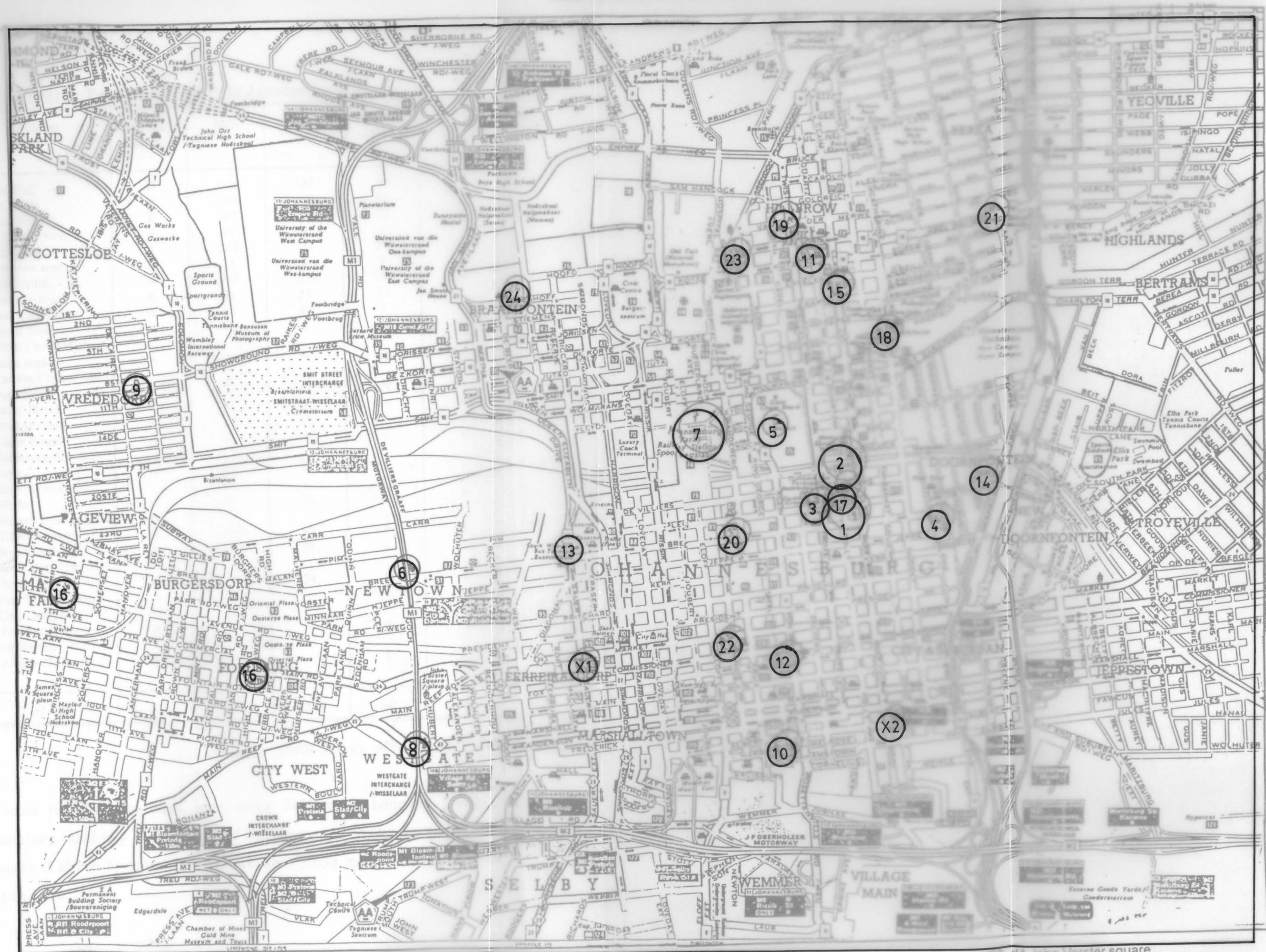
the street homeless abodes were identified along the streets (Figure 6.2). From the identification process, three distinct groups of street homeless people were identified :

- Group A : Pavement or street dwellers. For example, those who live on bare floors, pavements, street kerbs, sidewalks, cardboard boxes, etc.
- Group B : Those who live in temporary shelters such as bus, railway station, open halls, taxi rank, etc.
- Group C : Those who live in city shelters identified in (Table 6.1) earlier.

To achieve (3), a physical count of the street homeless was made on the streets and the figures were confirmed by the soup-kitchens' attendance. Soup kitchens are places where bread and soup are distributed to the homeless free of charge. These soup kitchens are organised by churches, for example, Methodist Church Berea, Central Methodist Church, St George's United Church and St Mary's Cathedral among others. The soup kitchens are run twice a week between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m.

shelters and concentration areas





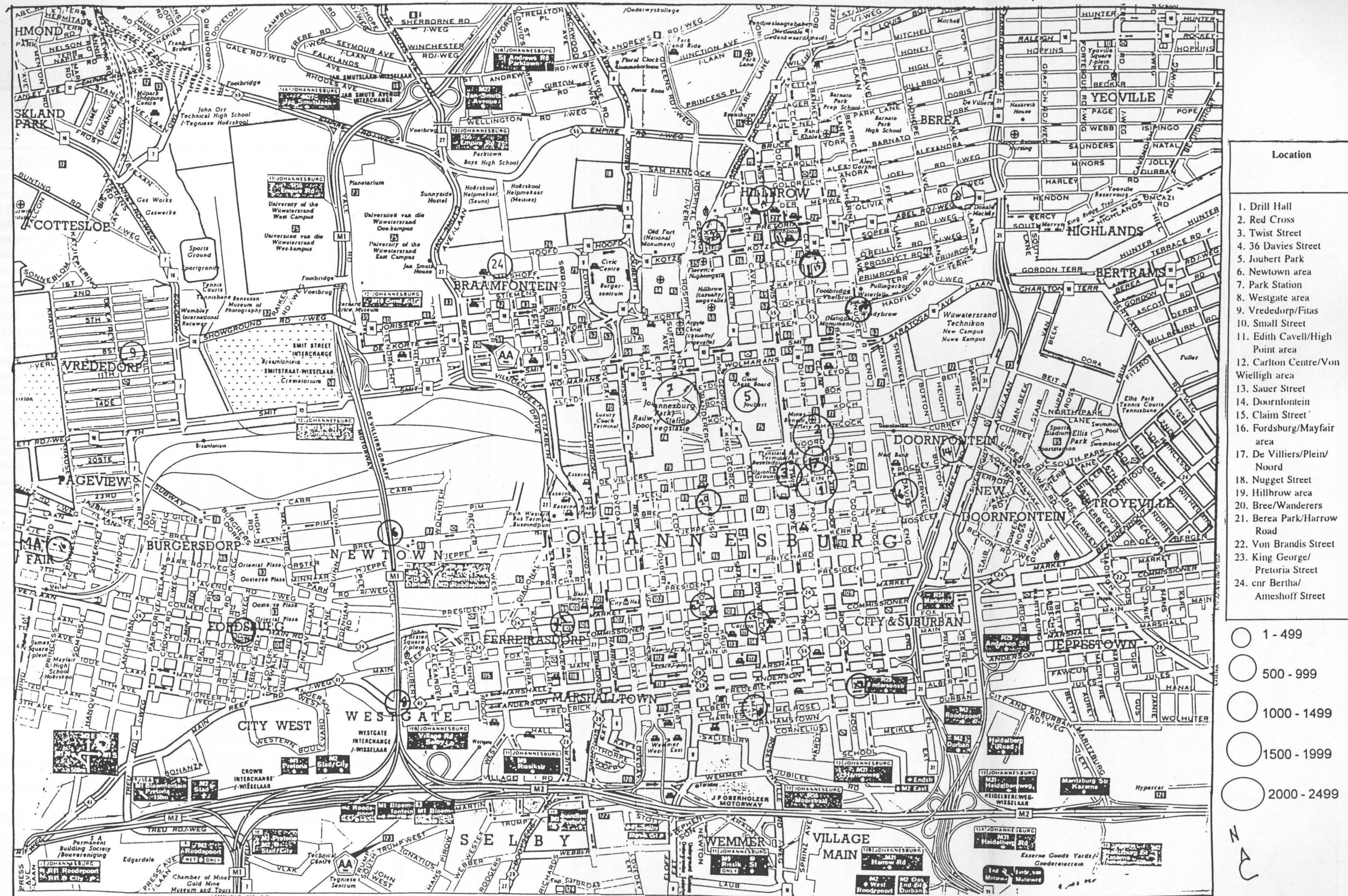
- | Location |
|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Drill Hall |
| 2. Red Cross |
| 3. Twist Street |
| 4. 36 Davies Street |
| 5. Joubert Park |
| 6. Newtown area |
| 7. Park Station |
| 8. Westgate area |
| 9. Vrededorp/Fitas |
| 10. Small Street |
| 11. Edith Cavell/High Point area |
| 12. Carlton Centre/Von Wielligh area |
| 13. Sauer Street |
| 14. Doornfontein |
| 15. Claim Street |
| 16. Fordsburg/Mayfair area |
| 17. De Villiers/Plein/Noord |
| 18. Nugget Street |
| 19. Hillbrow area |
| 20. Bree/Wanderers |
| 21. Berea Park/Harrow Road |
| 22. Von Brandis Street |
| 23. King George/Pretoria Street |
| 24. cnr Bertha/Ameshoff Street |

- 1 - 499
- 500 - 999
- 1000 - 1499
- 1500 - 1999
- 2000 - 2499

Note: Correlate with table 6.2 and figure 1.4

X1 John Vorster square
X2 Anderson area
(not counted due to lack of cooperation)

Figure 6.2 : Johannesburg Innercity Street Homeless Figures



* Note : Correlate with table 6.2 and figure 1.4

* X1 John Vorster square
X2 Anderson area
(not counted due to lack of cooperation)

Table 6.2 : Street/Pavement Dwellers in Johannesburg Inner City

Location	Group Category	Men	Women	Children		Total
				Boys	Girls	
1. Drill Hall	B	410	325	10	15	670
2. Red Cross	B	300	400	36	62	798
3. Twist Street	B	107	22	12	-	141
4. 36 Davies Street	B	68	9	5	-	82
5. Joubert Park	A	233	111	29	14	387
6. Newtown area	A	53	9	3	2	67
7. Park Station	B	943	1070	120	130	2263
8. Westgate area	A	56	23	12	7	98
9. Vrededorp/Fitas	A	66	40	7	8	121
10. Small Street	A	46	2	10	-	58
11. Edith Cavell/High Point area	A	124	56	11	11	202
12. Carlton Centre/Von Wielligh area	A	74	63	29	21	187
13. Sauer Street	A	42	-	-	-	42
14. Doornfontein	A	92	11	4	4	111
15. Claim Street	A	11	-	-	-	11
16. Fordsburg/Mayfair area	A	84	47	5	-	136
17. De Villiers/Plein/Noord	A	93	46	9	7	155
18. Nugget Street	A	14	-	-	-	14
19. Hillbrow area	A	168	93	9	3	273
20. Bree/Wanderers	A	102	37	-	-	139
21. Berea Park/Harrow Road	A	70	24	9	7	110
22. Von Brandis Street	A	30	-	7	-	37
23. King George/Pretoria Street	A	23	-	9	-	32
24. cnr Bertha/Ameshoff Street	A	15	-	6	-	21
TOTAL		3224	2298	342	291	6155

Source : Field Survey, March - April 1995

The count revealed that there were about 7456 street homeless people in Johannesburg inner city in the period of the survey. A breakdown of the count by gender (Table 6.3) revealed that there were 3,658 men, 2,691 women and 1,110 children.

Table 6.3 : Breakdown of Street Homeless by Gender

Gender	Number	%
Men	3,658	49.06
Women	2,691	36.09
Boys	668	
Girls	439	
Children	1,107	14.85
TOTAL	7,456	100

Source : Field Survey, March - April 1995

On the other hand, Table 6.4 indicates the breakdown by colour. 78 per cent, 2 per cent, 14 per cent and 6 per cent of the street homeless people were Blacks, Indians, Coloureds and Whites respectively.

Table 6.4 : Breakdown of street homeless by colour

Colour	Number	%
Blacks	5,792	77.7
Indians	161	2.2
Coloured	1,056	14.2
Whites	447	5.9
TOTAL	7,456	100

Source : Field Survey, March - April 1995

The large number of Blacks (5,792) who are homeless is a reflection of the racial segregation policies of residential accommodation during the apartheid period when Blacks were restricted to townships and there was no room for expansion of these townships, so they ended up squatting, living in the backyards of Whites, or even on the extreme, living on the streets. The small number of Indians (161) could be explained by the very strong cultural support system practised by the Indian communities. The few Whites (447) is an indication of the policies of the previous apartheid government, which was in favour of the White population. Then the Whites were a privileged group. Coloureds were also affected by the

residential segregation policies, hence, some (1,052) of them were also affected by street homelessness.

6.5 Profile of selected homeless locations

A profile of the homeless abodes or locations apart from those who live on the major streets of Sauer, Claim, Nugget, Bree, Smit, Twist, De Villiers, Plein, Noord and Wanderers is discussed in this section.

There is a heavy concentration of street homeless people found in Hillbrow, Joubert Park, Park Station and Drill Hall. Other scattered locations include Fordsburg, Newtown, Anderson, Berea and Vrededorp (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). The heavily concentrated areas of Park Station, Red Cross, Fitas, Joubert Park, Drill Hall, Westgate area and the Christian Services Foundation are discussed below.

6.5.1 Park Station

Park Station is a public concourse as well as a central railway station in Johannesburg central. It is home to no less than 2,263 homeless people, 1,070 of which are women (Table 6.2) and they live with the threat of being evicted anytime. In Park Station, open platforms are inhabited by men, women and children, who sleep on the pavements, turning plastics, cardboard boxes, and blankets into beds. Some of these homeless also build cardboard box shacks around the station (Plate 7).

The homeless population in Park Station increases at night and at month end. Most of the inhabitants are unemployed, while quite a few work at different construction sites, earn low wages and cannot afford the high rents. Others have lost hope of being economically active.

Park Station at the time of the survey was a disaster zone. Many homeless,

especially women, sleep in the open and the environment is appalling. The homeless fetch water at the Hoek Street public tap and use public toilets. Refuse is disposed of in dustbins provided by the railway authorities. However, there are ongoing plans to revitalise Park Station to Park City Development Area which will serve as the hub or nerve centre of the city centre. Thus, most of the homeless will be moved to other city shelters.

Plate 7 : Homeless in Park Station



6.5.2 Drill Hall

This is an open hall where some of the homeless people live (Plate 8). The building, which was damaged during the apartheid period, is an unused property of the Department of Public Works. There are no adequate facilities in the building. There is no electricity, the two showers and toilets are not functioning and the sewerage system is bad. The occupants of this building, which houses about 670 people, complained of rat infestation. The Municipal Council supplies Keep your city clean plastic bags for refuse collection.

6.5.3 Fitas

This place is also known as Pageview or Vrededorp. The homeless people here built shacks of cardboard boxes around a municipal dumpsite near the cemetery. Materials are picked from this dump to build the shacks. The area called Fitas is occupied by about 121 homeless adults and 15 children. The homeless people obtain water from the nearby cemetery and they also defecate there. Most of the homeless Blacks living in Fitas were evicted from there in 1974 and they were moved to Soweto. Due to their unemployment, which resulted in their inability to pay their rents in Soweto, they moved back to Fitas.

6.5.4 Joubert Park

This is an open park that has become the home of about 387 homeless people in Johannesburg inner city (Plates 9 - 11). During the day, most homeless people in the Park Station, Drill Hall and Red Cross Building spend their time relaxing, gossiping, sniffing glue and doing other activities. The park is notorious for crime. In fact, the author was chased out of this park on one occasion.

6.5.5 Red Cross Building

The Red Cross Building is located at corner Twist and de Villiers. It houses about 798 homeless people, 400 of whom are women (Table 6.2). All the facilities, like water, electricity, toilets, were out of order during this survey.

Plate 8 : Drill Hall : Homeless abode on Twist Street



6.5.6 Westgate Area

About 98 homeless people live outside or around this shopping complex or mall. During the rainy season, the homeless run to the shop verandas for shelter. They defecate and attend to other aspects of their toilet in the bush nearby. It is pertinent to mention that on some occasions the security guards collect R1 from each homeless person to secure a place for the night inside the mall.

6.5.7 The Christian Services Foundation

The Christian Services Foundation (CSF) manages the Usindiso Men's Shelter in Hillbrow and Usindiso Women's Shelter in Doornfontein. The CSF (Men's Shelter), which houses about 290 men, was started in 1987, while the women's shelter was started on 1 June 1994. The shelters provide overnight beds, meals, showers, television and laundry services. They also provide blankets and there is a social worker to attend to the homeless people. The shelters are managed efficiently.

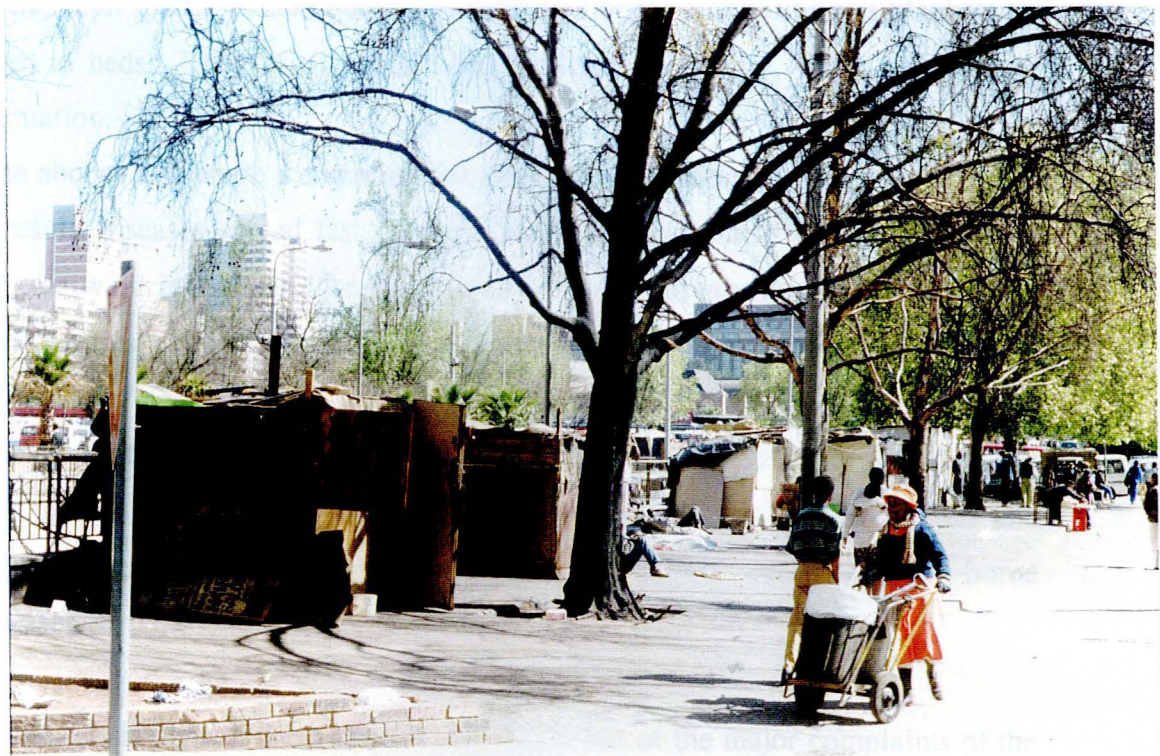
Plate 9 : A view of Joubert Park homeless abode



Plate 10 : Joubert Park pavement dwellers



Plate 11 : Homeless shacks around Joubert Park



6.6 SUMMARY

A profile of the homeless abodes with the exception of the CSF shelters, indicate that they have more or less the same characteristics. The abodes are usually open halls, open spaces, shacks built with cardboard boxes and most times blankets are used as beds. They usually lack toilet facilities, electricity, water and have no sanitation.

The abodes also share a common trait of dense population or over-crowding. As a result, diseases spread fast. People are exposed to harsh weather conditions especially during winter. An implication of this is the exposure to health hazards and diseases, such as tuberculosis and pneumonia.

The environment is appalling. A lot of shacks litter these areas, rubbish and dirt pile up and these in turn, lead to the prevalence of rats, bugs, cockroaches and other rodents, which are dangerous to human beings by carrying vector-borne diseases.

Crime rate is high in these shelters and this is one of the major complaints of the homeless people, especially the women. They are mugged, robbed, raped and often harassed and exploited by inmates of the abodes, who call themselves committee members or landlords. These committee members run their shebeens and the like within these shelters. They often terrorise the shelter residents and collect money from them, often as much as R10.

All these issues : crime, health risks, lack of services and the increasing number of women in some of these abodes, are areas of concern which the government and planners must address.

It should however, be noted that street homeless women tend to conceal or hide their homelessness because of the vulnerability to attacks. Also, generally, accurate figures of the homeless are difficult to come by because of their transient nature. They are an actively mobile population group.

The next chapter discusses the application of phenomenology and results of phenomenological interview/qualitative methods on the street homeless women in the inner city of Johannesburg.

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HOMELESSNESS

My sweet, let me tell you
About the Homelessness.
Wherever he is, he looks around
Moving to and fro
Looking for some meal

Though his eyes are bright
his thought is very dark
Only in his thought,
is to leave us
without anything good

Beside his evil
Also he is of course
A snatcher, when he likes
A grabber when he wants,
Sometimes a dragger.

Yours and mine
is either to run
Or hide.
Yes! Where to run?
Where to hide?

From Homelessness
a dangerous shark.

Mthembu, 1995

CHAPTER SEVEN

SURVEY FINDINGS (II) - QUALITATIVE

7.0 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

This chapter describes qualitative research within the context of phenomenology as well as how the phenomenological questionnaire (used in this study) was designed.

It discusses the results of the qualitative/phenomenological survey conducted on twelve street homeless women.

The chapter describes the perceptions and experiences of the street homeless women using Focus group discussion and participatory learning and action tools within the phenomenological methodology.

Furthermore, it describes the everyday life world of four street homeless women using participant observation method. All these were accomplished through cooperative exploration.

Emerging issues, such as education, employment and housing, arising from the above were also discussed.

7.1 The Qualitative Research Interview : A Phenomenological Understanding

"It is clear that we are living through a pioneering period of qualitative methodology. It seems that more practitioners of research are beginning to experience a need for non-quantitative but rigorous ways of conducting research" (*Giorgi, 1994 : 190*).

Phenomenological interview is very comprehensive and must be given credence

for its level of theoretical articulation. Phenomenology starts from "the perspective of consciousness and allows that whatever presents itself to consciousness, precisely as it presents itself, is a legitimate point of departure for research" (*Giorgi, 1994 : 192*).

Qualitative researchers turn to descriptions and interpretive methods "to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with meaning, not the frequency of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world" (*Van Maanen, 1979, 1983 : 9*).

On the other hand, the objectives of quantitative research are : "to see rapidly what you have in a large slice of data; to verify a hunch or hypothesis; and to keep yourself analytically honest, protecting yourself against bias" (*Miles and Huberman, 1984 : 215*).

According to Kvale (*1983 : 171-172*) the qualitative interview in phenomenological research expresses itself in the following :

- (1) Lifeworld - theme oriented, centred on the interviewee's lifeworld, that is everyday lifeworld of the street homeless women described in this chapter.
- (2) Meaning - describes and understands. Seeks to understand the meaning of phenomena in the lifeworld. This is seen in the meaning of homelessness as given by the homeless themselves.
- (3) Qualitative - Precision in description and stringency in meaning. Interpretation in qualitative interviews corresponds to exactness in quantitative measurements (see the correlation in the discussions on the characteristics of the street homeless women in chapter 8).
- (4) Descriptive - uninterpreted descriptions. The interviewee describes as precisely as possible what he/she experiences and feels and how he/she acts.
- (5) Specificity - describes specific situations and action sequences in the world of the interviewee.

- (6) Presuppositionless - curiosity and critical consciousness of the interviewer's own presuppositions. Openness to new and unexpected phenomena. Interview attempts to gather as rich and presuppositionless descriptions as possible of the relevant themes of the interviewee's lifeworld.
- (7) Focused - interview must be focused.
- (8) Ambiguity - avoid being ambiguous.
- (9) Change.
- (10) Sensitivity - sensitivity towards and knowledge of the interview topic. Sensitivity to the interpersonal interaction in the interview situation.
- (11) Interpersonal situation.
- (12) Positive experience.

Incorporating the above issues, the Phenomenological Questionnaire itself must:

- be broad and open-ended so as to facilitate interviewee's interpretations and understanding of issues;
- be unstructured;
- be qualitative;
- allow participant observation;
- allow life history analysis;
- allow collection of stories about people's lives and their everyday experiences in the lifeworld.

7.1.1 Phenomenological Questionnaire

Thus, in seeking to meet the objectives of qualitative research in phenomenological understanding, the following broad phenomenological questions and issues were addressed in this chapter (see Appendix 3 for more details) :

(a) Background Information

Name, place lived before, marital status, children, reasons for living, former employment.

(b) Homelessness Situation

- duration of stay;
- perception of the place, environment, level of services available (toilet, sanitation, water supply, privacy, etc);
- how do you get the things you need for survival, e.g. food, money, etc.?
- perception of "home" and "homelessness";
- description of how you became homeless;
- coping strategies during winter and rainy season;
- how do you meet to discuss problems, issues affecting your life in terms of employment, housing, etc.;
- perception of an ideal environment.

Underlying/structural factors responsible for homelessness :

- factors responsible for homelessness;
- perception of how homelessness can be solved/curbed and how you can participate in solving it.

(c) Health Problems and Needs

- types of illness and diseases exposed to;
- types of intervention available;
- types of intervention required.

(d) Safety and Security

- how safe and secure is your present living abode?
- is this a good place to live?
- what measures are taken to ensure safety?

(e) Assistance from Government, NGOs, religious organisations**(f) Housing Needs and Requirements**

- type of housing required;
- housing rights of the homeless;

- participation in housing delivery.

(g) What are your hopes, fears, dreams, priorities?

The above broad issues/questions were used in the Focus Group Discussions (FGD). Twelve homeless women were selected; four from each of the three groups of homeless people identified during the reconnaissance survey (chapter 6), for the purpose of the FGD. Their perceptions, personal experiences and interpretations are described next.

7.2 DOING PHENOMENOLOGY : A METHODOLOGY FOR DESCRIBING THE STREET HOMELESS WOMEN'S SITUATION

7.2.1 PERCEPTIONS OF STREET HOMELESS WOMEN

The phenomenological method seeks to ascertain what is perceived as homelessness and what are believed to be the influential factors. The phenomenologist's task is to reveal to us what we already know, that which is very familiar but which we have not bothered to think about, that is, unthinking knowing. The normal daily experience of the homeless are caught in a state of their natural attitude, (that is, the lifeworld) and attention is never paid to this attitude because people are too much pre-occupied with their goals and other pursuits.

The perception of homelessness, home and house to the street homeless women in this study varies and it can be seen in the following responses:

"Home is a place where my life is forever".

"Home is where you belong".

"Home serves as a symbol of individuality, status and identity".

"Home is where you have a warm and mutual attachment".

"Home gives you a sense of territoriality, belonging, familiarity and control".

"Home is everywhere and everywhere is a sacred place".

Homelessness, on the other hand, was perceived in these ways:

"Homelessness is not having a place to stay, sleep or do whatever you want".

"Homelessness - I don't understand, I am tired".

"To be homeless is to be poor, lonely, neglected and isolated".

"A homeless person is someone born and bred on the streets".

"Homelessness is a reproach or recrimination to the new democratic South African society".

"Homelessness simply is a person without a real home".

In fact, a homeless person explained :

"HOMELESS (Homeless Talk, May - June 1995) as :

H - HYPOCRISY

O - OBSTACLES

M - MAZE

E - EXIT

L - LONELINESS

E - ENCOURAGEMENT

S - SOLITUDE

S - SORROW

An interpretation of this is that the street homeless people in terms of hypocrisy are sychophants, parasitical and have forfeited their self respect. In terms of maze and obstacles, they are faced with a lot of impediments and frustration. Their situation with regard to exit is transitory or transient. They are lonely, in solitude and desolate (sorrow) because they are outsiders; isolated and need encouragement in terms of motivation, aid, participation and cooperation.

A house to the homeless was perceived as :

"A house is a prison".

"Permanent structure".

"A place where you are sheltered from rain, rodents and insecurity".

"A four-walled building with rooms, toilet, bath and kitchen".

"A house is a place where you cannot be harassed".

According to Heidegger (1967 cited in Danto (1990 : 8)), " a dwelling or house is the primary attribute of our being - our essence in effect. We do not dwell because we have built, but we build because we dwell, because we are dwellers."

The various perceptions of home, homelessness and house are seen as the real or in-depth interpretation by the street homeless women. Plates 12 - 15 show the different kinds of homelessness environment in which the street homeless women find themselves.

In describing their perceptions of home and homelessness, it can be observed that the essential or the most invariant meaning of home and homelessness were given. A home was perceived as a sacred place, symbol of individuality, identity and status, while homelessness was perceived as a reproach, person without a real home.

On the other hand, a house was perceived to be a prison or a four-walled building.

Plate 12 : Partitioned sheds occupied by the homeless



Plate 13 : PACKED LIKE SARDINES ... squatters take a nap in a crowded building



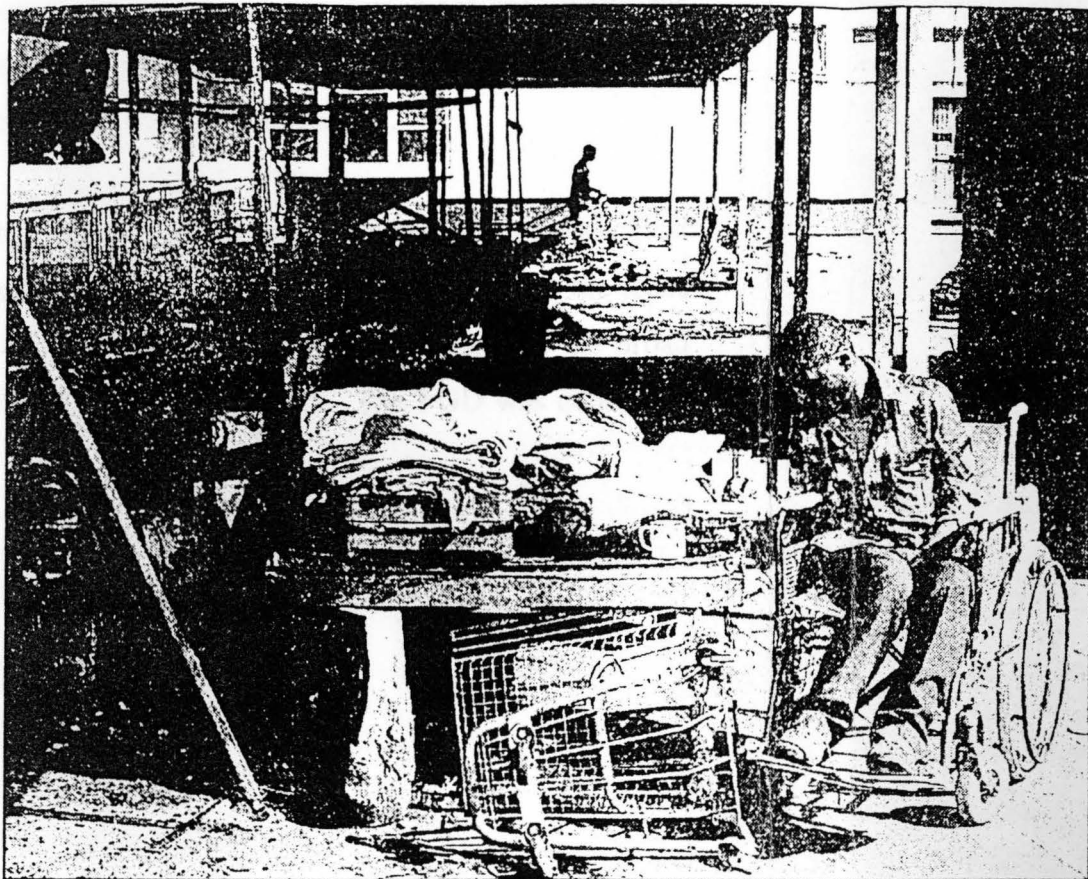
Source : The Star newspaper

Plate 14 : Homeless pavement dwellers.



Source : Homeless Talk, Vol. 8, Sept/Oct 1995

: A disabled homeless whose shack got burnt in August 1995 at Park Station



Source : The Star newspaper

7.2.2 Describing Experiences of Street Homeless Women

Each experience, cogitatio, has two sides : the cogito or experiencing and the cogitatum, what is experienced (*Hammond, 1991*). Similarly, the descriptions of each experience fall into two groups : the noetic descriptions will describe the ways in which one is experiencing (perceiving or remembering), while the noematic descriptions will be descriptions of the cogitatum, that is, of what it is one is experiencing (the perceived or remembered object).

The personal interpretations (which is consistent with phenomenological methodology) of the twelve street homeless women who participated in the focus group discussions are given here. The interpretations are based on the broad phenomenological questions/issues mentioned earlier. The FGD was conducted in September 1995.

INTERVIEWEE 1

Background information

Helen is 33 years old, single and lived in Orlando West before she became homeless. She used to work as a hairdresser.

Homelessness

She has been homeless since 1985. She became homeless when her house was destroyed in violence and due to rape incidents.

Helen first stayed in Park Station; she left for Drill Hall because of the over-crowding in Park Station.

Recounting her experience, she said, "When you become homeless, your life is confused, turned around and negative. You wake up to a new day without a focus nor a plan. You are "shut out" of the community".

On the environmental situation, she perceives Drill Hall as very appalling because there are no toilets and no place to cook and the whole area is dirty. During winter she manages to get second-hand blankets from the church.

With regard to a job, Helen is still unemployed and depends on her boyfriend for money and food for sustenance.

Helen is of the opinion that homelessness is an "everyday thing" that cannot be curbed.

Health problems and needs

Helen says she is healthy, but that the street homeless people would appreciate if medical services can be provided for them in the various locations twice a week.

Safety and security

Drill Hall is not safe. People use guns now and then. "They even harass us if we don't give them money," says Helen.

This place is not fit for living.

Assistance from Government and other agencies

Helen says, " Only the churches, like St George's United and Central Methodist Mission, help us with food and clothing and occasionally with jobs".

Housing needs and requirements

Helen was of the view that she would need a bedroom or bedsitter accommodation if she ever gets off the street.

Hopes, fears, dreams, priorities

She said, "I have no fear, but I hope and dream for a better future".

Her first priority is to get a job, the other things will fall into place.

INTERVIEWEE 2

Background information

Mimi is 38 years old, a single mother with three children. She is unemployed and lived in Port Elizabeth before becoming homeless.

Homelessness experience

Mimi became homeless after her husband's death. Her brother-in-law was giving her problems and she lost her job during the period. She left Port Elizabeth in search of a job and ended up in Park Station.

Mimi, recounting her experience, said, "I arrived in Park Station on a cold, rainy evening. I stayed in the waiting hall with other women till the next day. The next day and several months to come, I looked for employment, but all to no avail. When it became apparent that I won't get a job, I made friends with the Park Station female cleaners, so that they will allow me to stay inside the station when it is cold and raining.

After about two years, I got a job as second-hand clothes coordinator with Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP). Now I have managed to build a mekhukhu (shack) outside the station and since there is no electricity, I use candle. I get water from Plein Street, use the railway toilet and I bath inside a basin just before daybreak". Mimi's youngest child lives with her in Park Station.

Health problems and needs

The street homeless die daily of different kinds of ailments. A few attend a clinic at Hoek Street where they are often referred to hospitals. Due to their poverty, they are always sent back from these hospitals.

Safety and security

According to her, Park Station is safe and secured because there are policemen on patrol.

Occasionally, people are robbed or mugged by the homeless in Joubert Park.

Assistance from Government and other agencies

Mimi recalled that only CJP and some churches come to their assistance. "The government keep on harassing us by wanting to evict us," says Mimi.

Housing needs and requirements

Mimi regards Park Station as her home, but would be glad if the government would give her money to build a proper house.

Hopes, fears, dreams, priorities

She hopes to have a decent house one day, as she regards housing as a fundamental right.

Her priority is to have a job and money to take care of her children.

INTERVIEWEE 3

Background information

Nothandile is 27 years old, a single mother with a son. She lived in the Eastern Cape before becoming homeless. She was unemployed.

Homelessness experience

Nothandile has been living on the streets for 5 years with her child. She hopped from one homeless abode to the other before settling in Park Station. She left Eastern Cape to look for a job and good life in Johannesburg. She said, "I was abused and became pregnant in the course of looking for a job. I had no money to take care of myself and the child. So I met a lady who said I should come with her to Park Station where you don't need money to rent a flat.

I sleep on the pavement using cardboard boxes with my child and I scavenge to keep body and soul together".

The services or facilities in Park Station are over-used both by the homeless and the travellers. Hence, the environment is littered with garbage and bad odour. The toilets are blocked. Water is got from Plein Street most of the time.

Health problems and needs

More often than not, Nothandile has caught pneumonia and even her child. They were attended to by the Sathya Sai, a medical assistance project for the homeless. Access to medical facilities is nearly impossible because they don't have money for transport or to even pay for the services.

Hopes, fears, dreams and priorities

She hopes to have a house of her own.

Her worst fear is, "never leaving the street", that is living permanently on the street.

Her priorities in order of importance are employment, house, sending her child to school.

INTERVIEWEE 4

Background information

Velaphi is 23 years old and a single mother. She lived in the East Rand and was in standard 10 before becoming homeless.

Homelessness experience

Velaphi became homeless two years ago. She was "kicked" out by her stepfather and had nowhere to go. No money to continue her education. Hence, she ended up in Drill Hall.

Drill Hall, according to her, is not a good place to live. The Hall is over-crowded, facilities like water, toilets are virtually non-existent.

Health problems and needs

Velaphi confessed that she has turned to prostitution, which makes her vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases almost all of the time. She is too scared to tell anyone, or even to go to the clinic.

Safety and security

She has been mugged several times and says Drill Hall is not safe. She reiterated that, "life on the streets is hopeless. I am praying to God to provide for me".

Hopes, fears, dreams, priorities

Her hope is to leave the street sometime and live a decent life.

She fears she might contract AIDS if she continues being promiscuous.

Her priority is to finish her education if she has the chance and the money.

INTERVIEWEE 5

Background information

Faniswa is a 25 year old single mother. She worked as a cleaner before becoming homeless and lived in Cape Town.

Homelessness experience

She reiterated, "I lived in Cape Town with my parents before they died. When they died, I had nobody to take care of me, no family support, no money. I had to drop out of standard 8 because of my parents' demise. I decided to move to Johannesburg because of all the niceties I've been hearing. After many weeks of roaming the streets, I ended up in Park Station. I've been living here with my child and occasionally I get jobs like car washing at the taxi rank".

Faniswa does not belong to any homeless association, but she discusses or rather gossips with her homeless counterparts most of the time.

Health problems and needs

The homeless, because of their exposure, need constant medical check-ups but this is lacking in the homeless abodes.

Safety and security

From Faniswa's viewpoint, there is adequate security in Park Station, though occasionally some women get raped and even raped to death.

Assistance from Government and other agencies

The government, according to her, is yet to give any assistance. Only religious bodies and the Central Johannesburg Partnership have been of any assistance.

Hopes, fears, dreams, priorities

Faniswa said, "My dream in life is to be rich enough to have my own company, house and live a good life".

INTERVIEWEE 6

Background information

Margaret is 30 years old and single. She lived in Namibia before she became homeless.

Homelessness experience

Margaret left Namibia at the age of 20 (when she just finished school) in search of greener pastures in South Africa. Describing her experience, she said, "I had no job, no family and life was boring. When I came to South Africa, I lived in a location for 10 years. Then I moved out of this location, because violence was a way of life there. I came to Joubert Park a year ago and I sleep on the pavement. I depend on my boyfriend for sustenance and protection from harassment from other men in the Park".

With regard to the environment, Joubert Park is an open park and it is very dirty. All kinds of activities take place there, e.g. selling and buying, drug use, cooking, etc. There are no toilets, no water, no electricity and the sanitation is an eye-sore. People defecate all over the place and the stench and odour is unbearable. Margaret says, "Apparently for lack of nowhere to go, you just adapt to the situation". Public toilets are used occasionally and there is no privacy.

Health problems and needs

Here in Joubert Park, Margaret says, people are exposed and susceptible to coughs, pneumonia, dysentery and diarrhoea, infectious diseases and even psychiatric problems.

Safety and security

The place is not safe and there is no security.

Assistance from Government and other agencies

She reiterated that they only get help from the religious organisations and sometimes through the Johannesburg Homeless Association.

Housing needs and requirements

Margaret would be glad if she can get a one-bedroom flat to live in.

She is of the opinion that the Departments of Welfare and Housing should give the street homeless subsidised accommodation.

Hopes, fears, dreams, priorities

She says, "I have no hope, no dreams and no priorities but my fear is dying on the street."

INTERVIEWEE 7

Background information

Thembi is 32 years old and divorced.

She lived in northern Pretoria and was a teacher before becoming homeless.

Homelessness experience

Thembi, recounting her experiences said, "I became homeless because of a broken marriage. I could not face the shame, so I came to Johannesburg hoping to start my life all over again. I could not get a job because I used to drink a lot. Eventually, with no money, inability to rent a house/flat, I came to live in Fitas. I became an alcoholic and also sniffed glue and dagga.

In Fitas there are no toilets and water. We defecate and wash in the bush near the cemetery. I managed to build a shack by scavenging for materials around the dumping ground".

Health problems and needs

According to Thembi, the health problems of the homeless are numerous. They are exposed to harsh weather, infectious diseases, malnourished because they do not eat good food or balanced diet. Therefore, the homeless need urgent medical intervention before they start spreading diseases that might eventually be a plague.

Safety and security

There is no security, hence, it is unsafe.

Assistance from Government and other agencies

No assistance from government except threats of eviction.

The religious organisations provide bread and soup through their soup kitchens.

Housing needs and requirements

Thembi says, she needs a house or flat, even if it means sharing facilities like toilet, bathroom, kitchen, she needs a decent roof over her head, after all housing is a fundamental human right.

Hopes, fears, dreams, priorities

Thembi hopes to get decent accommodation in the future.

Her priority is to get a good job and her worst fear is that now she is a wreck, she fears she may not be able to cope with her life again if she is not helped.

INTERVIEWEE 8

Background information

Siphiwe is a 56 year old woman, who lived in Kimberley before she became homeless.

Homelessness experience

Siphiwe came to Johannesburg in search of a job, but ended up on the streets and with no job and no money. Siphiwe has been on the street for 13 years. She roams from one street to another sleeping on bare floors, carrying her plastic bag which she referred to as her only property on earth. She is a sickly old woman and this is obvious in her appearance. She reiterated that, life on the streets is no life.

She has been able to get a blanket through the Operation Snowball.

Siphiwe says the perception of the people about her is that she is a lunatic and she despises this. In spite of this, she cannot do anything to change her life.

Health problems and needs

Siphiwe obviously is suffering from tuberculosis and arthritis and she needs medical help as well as psychological help.

Safety and security

There is no safety or security on the streets. Siphiwe says she has been mugged several times and even raped twice.

Assistance from Government and other agencies

Apart from the assistance she got through Operation Snowball, she has not got any other assistance.

INTERVIEWEE 9

Background Information

Mathato is a 29 year old single woman who left KwaZulu Natal in 1992.

Homelessness experience

Mathato became homeless by choice. She wanted her freedom and wanted to do things her way so she left home in 1992 and came to Johannesburg.

She was mixed up with bad company and found herself living in Joubert Park since 1992. She lives in a mekhukhu built with cardboard boxes and paper. She sells "mbhambha" (African beer) for a living and says she is happy.

Health problems and needs

Mathato says, "I am physically fit".

Safety and security

Joubert Park according to Mathato, is a very dangerous place both during the day and at night.

Assistance from Government and other agencies

Mathato says she has never got assistance from anybody and does not think she needs any now.

Housing needs and requirements

She hopes to be able to rent a one-bedroom flat in future from the proceeds of her beer sale.

Hopes, fears, dreams, priorities

Mathato fears being assaulted or mugged and her priority is to get decent accommodation.

INTERVIEWEE 10

Background information

Priscilla, a 33 year old single woman, once lived in a black township before coming to Johannesburg.

Homelessness experience

Priscilla, too, became homeless by choice or forced circumstances. Recounting her experience, she said, "I had nothing to live for, no parents, no relatives. All my family members and relations died in township violence, so I had to move out of the township.

I moved to Joubert Park, but it was just an open park and I was exposed to different kinds of sad experiences, like mugging, rape and I fell ill. So I left for Park Station and I sleep on the pavement inside the station.

During the day, I roam about in Joubert Park. I am very poor - no job, no money, no house, no family".

Health problems and needs

Priscilla has rashes all over her body and she says she coughs every now and then. She is desperate to receive medical care.

Safety and security

Joubert Park to her is unsafe but Park Station is better.

Assistance from Government and other agencies

She gets assistance from the church.

The church donates clothes, blankets and food (through soup kitchens).

Housing needs and requirements

She would be grateful if the government can provide the homeless generally, cheap, affordable but habitable flats or hostel accommodation.

Hopes, fears, dreams, priorities

Priscilla hopes to get married and live a better/decent life.

She fears dying on the street and fears her hopes may never be realised if she is still homeless.

She dreams of becoming rich some day. Priscilla's priority is to get a job as a seamstress and then she can start her life all over again.

INTERVIEWEE 11

Background information

Charmain Marman is a 28 year old single mother, who lived in the Free State before coming to Johannesburg.

Homelessness experience

Here is her own experience : "I left home in 1990 because my father took a wife and I was being physically and sexually abused and neglected. I became pregnant in the process, so I left. I was hoping to get a job and get married, though, I had to leave school in standard six.

I would say I was fortunate to get a place at the Usindiso Women's shelter and my child attends a nursery provided by the shelter administration.

The shelter has all the facilities, water, electricity, laundry; they provide food, blankets and they take care of us. The sanitation is good and the environment is clean and conducive to living. I go out daily to pick up cans, which I later sell to recycling companies".

Health problems and needs .

Charmain says they receive all the care they need from the shelter and she has no health problems.

Safety and security

The shelter is safe and secure.

Hopes, fears, dreams and priorities

Charmain hopes for a brighter future and her priority is to get a decent job or start selling vegetables (if she has enough capital) and send her children to school.

INTERVIEWEE 12

Background information

Miss Engelbrecht lived in Cape Town and she is 35 years old, with two children.

Homelessness experience

Here is her experience : "I dropped out in standard six because of financial problems. I came to Johannesburg with my friends who promised I'd live a better life and get a job. Unfortunately, my friends dumped me in Park Station and I have been living here for the past two years, sleeping on the pavement with my children. I cannot go back to Cape Town because of shame. Every day I go out in search of a job as a domestic worker or cleaner".

Health problems and needs

Miss Engelbrecht and her children constantly have pneumonia, cough, skin rashes and diarrhoea. The children are malnourished because of her inability to afford good food.

Housing needs and requirements

According to her, if she can get even a room with toilet, electricity and water, she is ready to work hard and pay for it.

Hopes, fears, dreams, priorities

She fears the future of her children may be compromised if she still remains homeless.

Her priority is to get a job and give her children a better future.

7.2.3 Emerging patterns

From the foregoing, the street homeless women appear to understand their existential dilemma from the recount of their various experiences. They seem to confront the meaning of their predicament and the implications for self and society. This is reflected in their story-telling and fantasies (dreams, hopes). The essence of the homeless women's street life is embedded and structured by a set of individual, socio-economic, political, cultural, organisational and moral, as well as environmental constraints. These constraints form the cornerstone of the subculture of the street life.

In essence, the patterns that emerge correlate with the findings and discussions in the quantitative survey (Chapter 8), though, with deeper meaning and more direct interpretation of the women's experiences.

It is obvious from the experiences of the street homeless women described above that :

1. The causes of their predicament arise from unemployment, low/partial or no education; financial constraints; poverty; abuse; death; divorce; violence and choice.
2. As a result of their poverty and predicament, they resort to scavenging, begging, prostitution, alcoholism and drug use/abuse.
3. The various homeless abodes (for example Park Station, Drill Hall, Red Cross and the streets) with the exception of the city shelters, all have similar characteristics.

They all have open halls and the homeless sleep on the pavements or bare floors. They are all littered with shacks (Mekhukhu). They lack adequate water and sanitation facilities. Most of them lack security and as a result they are unsafe.

The homeless are exposed to harsh environmental and health hazards.

4. The street homeless women have only received assistance from Central

Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) and religious organisations like Central Methodist Mission (CMM), St George's United Church, Salvation Army, etc. (Tables 7.1-7.2).

These assistances have been in the form of soup kitchens (feeding schemes), clothing and vocational work (Table 7.3).

Contrary to the above, the city shelters run by institutions provide all the basic needs for the homeless (food, clothing and shelter) and they have the basic facilities like electricity, water and good sanitation.

The various responses to the homelessness problems have rather been spontaneous and short-term reactions. Tables 7.1 to 7.3 indicate the types of responses by government, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations and religious organisations. These responses have ranged from outright hostility through containment to care and shelter provision.

Table 7.1 : Types of Responses to the homelessness phenomenon

Organisation	Type of Response
1. Government	(a) Hostility, exclusionist, harassment, eviction (b) Restorative : Acceptance and support (c) Containment and prevention (d) Transitional housing (TH) [R5.565 m to build 8 (TH) projects in Johannesburg inner city]
2. Non-Governmental Organisations and community-based organisation	(a) Sympathy, sentiment and agitation (b) Support services, training, employment (c) Provision of transitional housing
3. Religious Organisations	(a) Emotional, acceptance, accommodative (b) Restorative : Care, counselling, emergency services, provision of food and clothing, soup kitchens (feeding schemes) (c) Provision of temporary shelter

Source : Field Survey, 1995

Table 7.2 : Feeding schemes for the homeless in Johannesburg

Name of Organisation	Target Group
Johannesburg YMCA	Homeless Adult
Johannesburg YMCA	Street children
Genesis Day Care	Homeless
St Mary's Cathedral / CMM	Homeless
Yeoville Fraternal and Churches	Homeless
Hare Krishna	Homeless
Jessie Mission, Berea	Homeless
Johannesburg City	Street children
Mes Aksie	Street children

Source : Field Survey, 1995 & Homeless Talk, Vol. 8, 1995

Table 7.3 : Community projects targeted to the homeless

Project	Activity
1. Hillbrow Recreation Centre	Recreation faculties for homeless and street children
2. Johannesburg Homeless Association	Relief and development project for the homeless
3. Clothing Depot	Distribution depot for second-hand clothing, coordinated by Central Johannesburg Partnership (Plate 16)
4. Operation Snowball (The Star)*	Fund-raising activities/donations
5. Thebalethu Girls Project	Drop in centre for young homeless women (music, sewing)
6. Salvation Army and Pick n' Pay	Fund-raising to buy 250 000 soup cups
7. Sathya Sai	Medical/relief/development projects for the homeless

* **Note :** Operation Snowball relies on the generosity of The Star readers to keep the homeless and destitute warm each winter. Donations made by readers are used to buy and distribute blankets to people without adequate shelter. The blankets are distributed through registered community organisations.

Source : Field Survey, 1995

Plate 16 : A homeless woman selling second-hand clothes



7.3 ISSUES

The following issues on strategising came up during the discussion with the 12 interviewees. In order of priority they are :

- (a) Employment;
- (b) Housing (types and homeless rights to decent housing);
- (c) Education;
- (d) Health and environment;
- (e) Safety and security;
- (f) Assistance from the Government and other agencies;
- (g) Involvement of the street homeless women.

7.3.1 Employment and Education

Most of the street homeless women are under-employed (scavenging, cleaning, washing taxis) or unemployed. Their unemployment arises from the fact that they have partial education or none, since most of them dropped out without completing their education. Thus, they have no education, are unemployed and have no income. This corroborates the findings from the quantitative survey also.

As a result of the above, they cannot afford to rent or buy a flat/house. Although the street homeless women know their rights to decent accommodation (they want flats, single rooms or hostel-type of accommodation), they cannot afford it unless they are employed.

7.3.2 Housing and housing rights of the homeless

It is a fact that adequate shelter is one of the most fundamental human/basic needs. Yet there are hundreds of millions of people who are homeless or living

in shacks. The governments of the Third World nations as well as First and Second World nations are failing to ensure that their housing needs are met. The consensus that adequate shelter is a universal need (*UNCHS, 1987*) obscures the fact that there is far less agreement as to what constitutes adequate shelter, the means by which it should be provided, and the role of the government in ensuring its provision.

It is through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948 that housing entered the language and realm of human rights. Since then, many other pieces of international law have included formulations of the rights to adequate housing. Among these are : Recommendation 115 of the International Labour Organisation (*ILO, 1961*), concerning workers housing; the Vancouver (1976) Declaration of Human Settlements; the 1979 International Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women; the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the 1968 International Covenant on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). The ICESCR contains the most legally significant foundation of housing at the international level. It acquired the force of law in 1976 when a sufficient number of governments ratified it to make it legally binding. Leckie (*1989: 92,99*) indicated that, "92 of the world's nations have ratified this treaty, thereby accepting legally binding obligations to fulfil, among other things, the right to housing".

At the inter-governmental level, many resolutions concerning the right to housing have been adopted. The United Nations General Assembly, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the International Labour Organisation and others have adopted annual resolutions, all necessary measures to fulfil the right and access to housing (see Appendix 6).

Various housing rights campaigns have become well known around the world, for example, the housing rights campaign of HABITAT International Coalition (HIC), the national campaign for housing rights (NCHR) in India, the housing rights

campaign in the United Kingdom, the coalition for the homeless in the United States of America and the Asian coalition for housing rights (*Leckie, 1989*).

At the local level in South Africa, the homeless interviewed reiterated that adequate housing is a fundamental human right, a protection of their dignity and well-being. The government White Paper on Housing, section 4.4.2, p. 22, stipulates housing as a basic human right. It asserts that "Government is under a duty to take steps and create conditions which will lead to an effective right to housing for all. It is also under a duty to refrain from taking steps which promote or cause homelessness. It is held that a person has a right to live in dignity, in habitable circumstances. Government therefore will vigorously promote an effective right to housing all within the resource and other limitations applicable to it. The challenge facing South Africa in housing is to develop a strategy in the short-term to direct scarce and insufficient state housing and other resources; to ensure that all those in need (particularly the poorest sector of the society) are able to progress towards the realisation of an effective right in housing (*Department of Housing, 1994 : 22*).

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) document also emphasizes the right to housing (*ANC, 1994*). It recapitulates that all South Africans have a right to a secure place in which to live in peace and dignity. Housing is a human right and one of the first priorities is to provide for the homeless.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996, Chapter 2, states the fundamental rights of South African citizens (Appendix 6). The Constitution states the right to human dignity, right to freely choose a place of residence and rights to hold or acquire property and the right to have access to adequate housing.

However, housing rights have been given little attention, "(i) because of its

political implications, (ii) few people realize that they possess housing rights and that such knowledge is a prerequisite for action and empowerment, (iii) organisations directly involved in shelter fail to emphasize housing rights, (iv) government deliberately avoids the issue" (*Leckie, 1989 : 92-94*). Viewing housing as a right, according to Leckie (*1989 : 95*) "helps decrease the impact of ideological changes which can occur when one government replaces another. Housing rights serve as a benchmark by which government's responsiveness to a basic human need can be measured. Rights to housing shifts the basis for the housing struggle more into the category of legitimate demands backed by the force of law".

7.3.3 Health and Environment

With regard to health and environment, homelessness is a factor of life and health, threatening environmental hazards (*Satterthwaite, 1995*). Exposure to environmental hazards due to the lack of home or over-crowding, lack of access to facilities, environmental degradation, are often associated with ill-health, disability, psychological stress, lower life expectancy, housing and social segregation. These obstacles are associated with the inability of the street homeless to access services ranging from healthcare, education through housing.

The street homeless women interviewed suffer from diabetes; tuberculosis; hepatitis B; upper respiratory problems such as pneumonia, chest pain, asthma, coughs and flu, which are caused by exposure to cold weather; dysentery and diarrhoea caused by meals prepared in dirty, unhygienic environment; digestive disorders; dental problems; psychiatric problems and sexually transmitted diseases (STD).

The most common cause of concern is tuberculosis. This is a very infectious disease which spreads increasingly among the street homeless people.

This is followed by STD, dysentery and diarrhoea and dermatological problems such as eczema and dermatitis.

The street homeless women are very promiscuous. Due to their unemployment situation, they solicit in the evenings and practice unsafe sex which exposes them to STD.

Most of the women refused to talk about HIV/AIDS. The national estimates indicate that about 8 per cent of the South African population between age 17 - 30 years are HIV/AIDS positive and there are about 7 million homeless shack dwellers/squatters.

Going by the population of street homeless adults in Johannesburg Innercity, which is 6,349, 38 per cent of who are between the ages 19 - 29 years, it could be estimated that one-fifth (20 per cent) of this population are HIV/AIDS positive. However, it should be noted that these are just interpolated estimates due to lack of specific data on homeless people who have HIV/AIDS.

Due to the overcrowded nature of the abodes and the mobility of the street homeless women (shifting or impermanent sleeping places), they get exposed to contagious skin rashes and diseases which are fungal or bacterial in nature. Their body contacts with different unhygienic and uncleanness of the abodes makes them vulnerable to these infections.

The above diseases are associated with poor living conditions, poverty, lack of access to proper nutrition and healthcare services. Malnutrition, inevitably, affects the health and longevity of the street homeless women.

Another characteristic of the street homeless women which affects their health, are their smoking and drinking habits. These women assert that their exposure to cold weather, their loneliness and frustration and lack of jobs force them to find solace in drinking and smoking. The women smoke cigarettes, snuff, marijuana ('dagga') and glue. These are low-cost drugs common among low/no income people. These drugs are abused among the street homeless women. The

women also drink alcohol like beer, African beer ('mbhambha') and spirits. The women use and abuse these drinks and as early as 7 a.m. some of the women are drunk.

Occasionally, they attend the Hoek Street Clinic, from where they are later referred to the hospital. Also, the Sathya Sai and Paballo Ya Setho medical team provide medicare for the street homeless women. These services are not sufficient considering the number of street homeless people in the Johannesburg Innercity.

7.3.4 Safety and Security

The street homeless women are the most exposed to street violence, muggings and other petty crimes. Since they live on the streets, they are not safe and are perpetually victims of, or vulnerable to, attacks.

7.3.5 Assistance from Government and other agencies

Assistance to the street homeless women has been coming in in trickles. Most of the assistance and support has been from the religious organisations, non-governmental organisations and the homeless themselves. The government in its housing policy, has no clear-cut programme or policy towards the street homeless. Planners also have not been involved in programmes/projects that affect the street homeless.

7.3.6 Involvement

The street homeless women are not involved at all in any decision-making that concerns them. Decisions are taken on their behalf and then imposed on them. The homeless associations' leaders also take decisions and only inform the women

later. This kind of top-down approach further marginalises the street homeless women.

Not until very recently did the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF) begin to pursue the rights and involvement of homeless women. The Federation's programmes, however, exclude the street homeless women.

The street homeless women also stressed their need for empowerment, especially through training, information and education. The SAHPF was able to empower some of its women members through the Building Information and Training (BIT) programmes.

7.4 EVERYDAY LEWORLD OR DAILY ROUTINE OF THE STREET HOMELESS WOMEN

Phenomenology has been interpreted as a procedure for describing the everyday world of man's immediate experience, including his actions, fantasies and perceptions (*Relph, 1970 cited in Pickles, 1985*). The world can be understood only in terms of human attitudes and intentions towards it. Phenomenological concepts are experiential and its intentionality principles are taken to be concerned with the perceived environment. The expression intentionality refers to the basic character of consciousness.

Therefore, every experience is an experience of something and is correctly said to be "intentionally related" to this something (*Husserl, 1927 cited in Pickles, 1985*).

Thus, the lifeworld of the street homeless women is the cultural world surrounding them. It is a world in which the homeless live and with which they interact.

The participant observation method was used to complement the focus group discussion. In line with the phenomenological methodology/qualitative survey,

four street homeless women were observed for about one week each. This was done to observe the daily routine of these women since they do not keep a diary (Appendix 4).

The women observed included two single mothers, a disabled woman and a single woman. The observation was carried out in Park Station and Drill Hall in October 1995. Details of their activities are discussed in the next section and shown in Plates 17 - 23.

7.4.1 Daily Routine of the street homeless women

A. Thandeka (single mother) :

* Wakes up at 7.30 a.m.

* 7.30 a.m. - 10 a.m. :

Cleans her small area/space, takes her bath and goes to buy breakfast.

* 10 a.m. - 2 p.m. :

Washes clothes, waits for them to dry and then irons them. While waiting, she listens to music.

* 2 p.m. - 6 p.m. :

Rests for about 30 minutes. Does some knitting and chats with other women.

* 6 p.m. - 8 p.m. :

Goes to buy supper for herself and her two children.

* Bedtime :

Sleeps anytime because the place is usually noisy.

B. Ntombenani (single) :

* Wakes up at 6 a.m.

* 6 a.m. - 8 a.m. :

Cleans her space, takes her bath and prepares breakfast on her small paraffin stove.

- * 8 a.m. - 10 a.m. :
Goes round visiting some homeless women who are her friends.
Occasionally, she goes looking for a job.
- * 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. :
Washes her clothes and takes a nap.
- * 1 p.m. - 5 p.m. :
Goes out in search of a job. Sometimes scavenges for items such as paper, cans, etc. and re-sells them. Chats with other women around about life and "sweet" memories.
- * 5 p.m. - 7 p.m. :
Visits friends in other homeless communities.
- * 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. :
Prepares supper and eats.
- * Bedtime :
No fixed time of going to bed.

C. Monica (disabled) :

- * Wakes up at 7 a.m.
- * 7 a.m. - 10 a.m. :
Washes clothes, cleans her space and cooks breakfast.
- * 10 a.m. - 2 p.m. :
Monica is old (63 years old) and disabled, so she sleeps, irons and just relaxes and meditates during this period.
- * 2 p.m. - 6 p.m. :
She plays card games and gossips with other women.
- * 6 p.m. - 7 p.m. :
Goes to buy food for supper and listens to the radio.
- * Bedtime :
Monica sleeps early.

D. Sibongile (single mother) :

- * Wakes up at 8 a.m.
- * 8 a.m. - 11 a.m.
Takes care of her child, cleans her small shack built with cardboard boxes and prepares food for breakfast.
- * 11 a.m. - 12 noon :
Goes out scavenging.
- * 12 noon - 4 p.m. :
Washes clothes and irons them. Goes out to sell some of the scavenged items and uses the money to buy second-hand clothes for herself and the child.
- * 4 p.m. - 7 p.m. :
Gossips, plays cards. Listens to the radio and cooks supper.
- * Bedtime :
She sleeps anytime.

Plate 17 : Homeless women cooking inside their "mekhukhu"



Plate 18 : COLD COMFORT
Noxolo with the daughter she bore in squalid conditions



Source : *Citizen newspaper*

**Plate 19 : A homeless woman and child inside a partitioned
(cardboard box) apartment in Park Station**

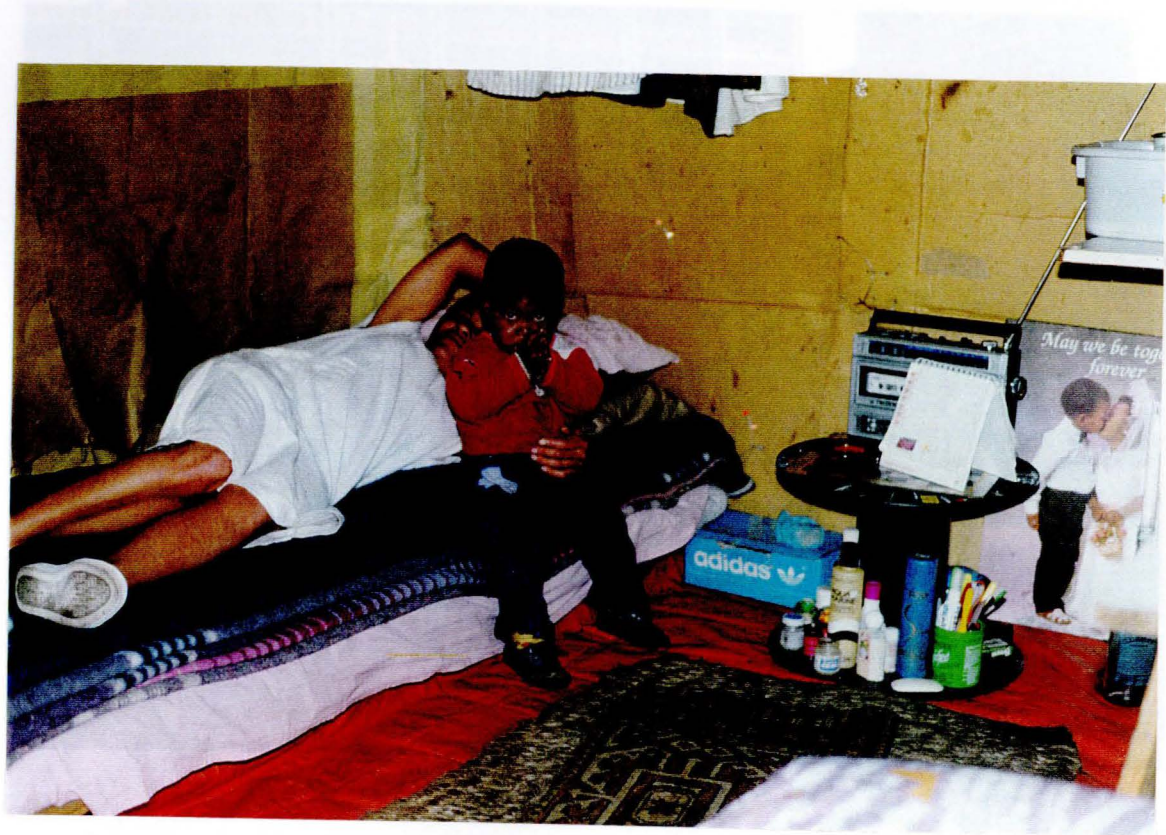


Plate 20 : Homeless people chatting on a typical day



**Plate 21 : Homeless women near the fireside on a cold
winter day**



**Plate 22 : A homeless woman in front of her cardboard
box apartment (lost in thought)**



Plate 23 : A typical homeless (street/pavement) woman
with her lunch box in Park Station



The everyday routine of the street homeless woman revolves around waking, toileting, eating, gossiping, story-telling, washing and cleaning, scavenging or job-hunting and the like. These activities are repeated daily and there are days of non-activity, especially if they do not have money or food to eat.

They all live in the world around them and it is clear that they do interact among themselves. This aspect of the homeless women's life is not only what they are experiencing right now, but it includes their memories and emotions. This daily routine or experience is what the street homeless women can act on and shape. The street homeless women have a consciousness of their everyday experience as it is portrayed among the women observed.

7.5 WOMEN'S WAYS OF KNOWING : LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION AMONG STREET HOMELESS WOMEN

The use of language among street homeless women could be inferred from the different meanings given to homelessness, home and house, but the understanding of the meanings is the most important. Street homeless women communicate through music, singing and traditional dances (cultural activities). The homeless women were given a chance to organise and perform a cultural display during the Women's Day celebration on 9 August 1995 (Plate 24).

They communicated their problems and ideas through the words of their songs.

Gossip is another means used by street homeless women in the inner city to communicate among themselves. Feminists argue for "connected knowing" which means "head and heart", "reason and passion", "rationality and politics" (*Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992 : 46*). A feminist perspective involves the relevance of the following ways of knowing in the practice of planning and this is applicable to the street homeless women in this research :

- Talking, especially story-telling and gossip (Plate 25);
- Listening;
- Intuitive knowing;
- Creating symbols, e.g. painting and music. This is also corroborated by the homeless women's activities on Women's Day. This is an important way of communicating in the process of participation;
- Acting or learning by doing.

Phenomenologically, "language can be said to be the gestural and expressive correlate of intended meaning. Meaning can be defined as the noematic correlate of experience. Meaning is what is experienced and consequently, what we attempt to express in behaviour, in gesture or in language. We see through expressions to what they express" (*Edie 1963 : 543*).

Expressions are fundamentally intending experiential meanings which can never be adequately contained. The expressions of the street homeless women are a perspective or depth of their experience and their meanings.

Plate 24 : A poster showing how homeless women participate
in the inner city

INNER CITY WOMEN'S ALLIANCE

WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATION 9 August 1995



THEME:
TOWARDS WOMEN'S
EMPOWERMENT

- Women's Health
- Child Maintenance
- Self Defence

CULTURE
SING WITH
HOMELESS
WOMEN &
CHILDREN

Plate 25 : Focus group discussion with homeless women



7.6 SUMMARY

This chapter describes and interprets the experiences of the street homeless women specifically, and the street homeless in general, in the Johannesburg inner city.

The three objectives of phenomenological methodology (description, search for essences and phenomenological reduction), were integrated in the description and interpretation of the street homeless women's experiences and everyday lifeworld.

The street homeless women's perception of home is warmth, mutual attachment, territoriality, belonging, safety and comfort. While to be homeless means poor, lonely, without a real home and a reproach.

In terms of experiences and everyday lifeworld of the street homeless women, the findings reveal that they do not have a fixed itinerary or schedule; they take each day as it comes. They are very conscious of their living environment and they interact with it. The street homeless women communicate through talking, listening, gossip and cultural activities.

From the survey, priority issues that the street homeless women want the government and community at large to address include employment, education, housing, housing rights, safety and security and involvement of the street homeless women themselves.

The homeless housing rights are of immense significance. The street homeless women interviewed reiterate that adequate and decent housing is their fundamental human right because it offers them protection, well-being and dignity. This fact is also emphasised in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) document.

With regard to right to have access to housing, it is pertinent to ask the following questions:

Can the street homeless people access government or publicly subsidized housing for rent or ownership? To what extent does the condition of street homelessness constitute an obstacle to access subsidized housing?

Access to housing for street homeless people who have no income and no fixed abode is difficult especially where housing is tied to employment. The street homeless people who are unemployed or whose employment is erratic cannot provide any proof that they will pay back rents, neither can they provide collateral for loan to own a house.

The right to adequate housing can be fully, legally established and adequately implemented only when defined as an individual entitlement that can be claimed. It is necessary to identify the public authorities responsible for removing the obstacles to access to the right to housing.

An equitable access to the right necessitates a clear identification of the undeserved or homeless population as target groups for discrimination.

"Homeless and badly housed people unable to compete on the formal housing market can effectively gain access to the right to housing only under terms of preferential treatment" (Avramov, 1995 : 153).

As reiterated by Avramov (1995 : 154) :

the establishment of the right to housing as a legally enforceable claim secured to a person by law, entails a complex political and judicial process. It requires a firm policy commitment of governments to enhance the right to housing, it implies the establishment of the right in national legislation, the provision of means to enable equitable access to the right, the monitoring of the implementation of juridical and social policy dispositions, and may need the continuous affirmation and reaffirmation of principles by the social partners and citizens in order to promote and to maintain the acquired rights.

The rehabilitation or housing options for the street homeless people would depend on:

- the level of supply of housing, vis-a-vis demand;
- the target population;
- the rent or ownership system; and
- the allocation or distribution policies underlying access to publicly/government funded housing.

However, options that could be considered for the street homeless people include:

- (a) Hostels;
- (b) Abandoned buildings;
- (c) Emergency shelters;
- (d) Bed and breakfast;
- (e) Rehabilitation homes - especially for the sick, handicapped, elderly and pregnant women.

However, certain obstacles militate against the access to rights to housing. These include:

- (1) Lack of up-to-date data on the street homeless population;
- (2) Lack of comprehensive identification on who constitutes the homeless;
- (3) Lack of concise government policy on homelessness and street homelessness specifically;
- (4) Lack of legislation to enforce the right to housing and right to access to housing for the street homeless.

The findings also indicate that homelessness is a vicious cycle of poverty, unemployment, bad housing, economic and apartheid policies among others. The consequences of homelessness manifest in different ways. These include violence, harassment, prostitution, mugging, exposure to harsh weather, rape, dysentery, diarrhoea, tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases.

It is evident from the findings above that the street homeless women's everyday lifeworld, perceptions and experiential knowledge, are very significant in developing any practical strategy to empower them and better their plight.

The everyday lifeworld of the street homeless women is seen to be intentionally related to the sub-culture of street life. That is, the homelessness phenomenon is lived through in immediate experience of their day to day activities.

The street homeless women emphasise the need to participate in all programmes, policies and decision-making that affects them. The urgent need for capacity building, empowerment, autonomy and emancipation was very strong.

Their notion was that if they are empowered through training, education and information, then they can be liberated from the street life.

The next chapter discusses the findings of the quali-quantitative survey. The aim is to corroborate further the qualitative findings in this chapter.

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HOMELESSNESS

It is waking up daily
on an ice cold pavement
spending sleepless nights if it rains till
morning

It is hoping for a piece job
elusive peace job
it is queuing for soup
from charitable churches
and conversion to begging
When you know you can work.

It is becoming a hobo
when you still need a home
and pinching bread
when you never were a thief
and sniffing glue cause
you never were at school.
It is dreaming of a big house
but extending a plastic shack
and giving birth to a baby
that joins the street kids
and buying a pint of beer
when you don't feel like drinking.

It is selling your body
to feed your empty stomach
or scraping for food
right from a dustbin.

That is homelessness
caused by joblessness
not laziness please!
it's all fate
maybe which needs faith
faith for dreams
and dreams for hope
it's a shack today
maybe a home tomorrow.

Mahlangu (1994)

CHAPTER EIGHT

SURVEY FINDINGS (III) - QUALI-QUANTITATIVE

8.0 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

This chapter examines the characteristics of the street homeless people through the use of a quantitative/qualitative survey (referred to as field survey). The results discussed here are responses to a structured questionnaire administered between August and October 1995 on the street homeless people. The questionnaire (Appendix 5) contains questions on the background or socio-economic characteristics of the street homeless. For example, their age, gender, marital status, education, income and occupation. Other questions relate to socio-cultural characteristics like colour, ethnicity and nationality.

Questions were also asked about the former living conditions of the homeless before they became homeless and the causes of their homelessness. Qualitative questions asked in this chapter border on consequences of homelessness and how it can be curbed or prevented.

Out of a total population of 6,349 street homeless people (this total excludes street homeless boys and girls) in Johannesburg inner city, 635 street homeless people were interviewed (Table 8.1). This represents a sample size of 10 per cent. Out of this, 366 (58 per cent) were men and 269 (42 per cent) were women. Specific emphasis is placed on women in this discussion as they constitute the focus of this research.

The street homeless sample selected is based on the three types of homeless abodes identified (Chapter 6) during the reconnaissance survey.

Table 8.1 : The Street Homeless Community Sampled by Gender

Type of Abode	Homeless Men			Homeless Women		
	Total Number	Sample Taken	Sample %	Total Number	Sample Taken	Sample %
Street/pavement	1396	140	38.2	562	56	20.8
Temporary shelter	1828	183	50.0	1736	174	64.7
City Shelter	434	43	11.8	393	39	14.5
Total	3658	366	100.0	2691	269	100.0

Total Population = 6349

Total sample taken = 635

Source : Field Survey, August - October 1995

It is to be noted that from the above sample (635) and number of street homeless persons (6349), women are increasingly becoming homeless. Women constitute 42 per cent, while men constitute 58 per cent of the sample taken. One can conclude that 4 out of every 10 homeless people are women.

8.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STREET HOMELESS PEOPLE

8.1.1 AGE

As indicated in Table 8.2, 5 per cent, 32 per cent and 41 per cent of the street homeless people were aged less than or equal to 19 years, 20 - 29 years and 30 - 39 years respectively. While 14 per cent and 8 per cent of the respondents were aged between 40 - 49 years and 50 years and above respectively.

With regard to street homeless women (Table 8.2) about 7 per cent were aged less than or equal to 19 years, while 19 per cent were over 40 years old.

Table 8.2 : Age of Street Homeless People by Gender

<u>Age in Years</u>	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Men Number</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Women Number</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Less than 19	14	3.8	20	7.4	34	5.4
20-29	120	32.8	86	32.0	206	32.4
30-39	144	39.3	113	42.0	257	40.5
40-49	74	20.2	12	4.5	86	13.5
50 & above	14	3.8	38	14.1	52	8.2
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 1995

It is increasingly clear, even in international scenarios, that most new homeless, particularly the street homeless women, are young, or middle-aged and still active. This is corroborated by the survey results which indicate that 73 per cent of the homeless people are aged between 20 and 39 years, while 74 per cent of the homeless women are also aged between 20 - 39 years (Table 8.2).

Also, most literature on the homeless confirm these results. Avramov (1995) asserted that there is a growing number of young adults between 20 - 39 years who are homeless.

8.1.2 Marital Status

The nuclear family is not usually the norm in South Africa and it is common for women whether single parents, or widowed, or divorced and deserted, to head families. In 1993, 43 per cent of African women and 52 per cent of coloured women were single mothers (*Wits student, 1995*).

The survey revealed that 52 per cent and 25 per cent of the street homeless people are single and married respectively (Table 8.3). While 9 per cent and 8 per cent

are divorced, widowed and separated, respectively.

Among the street homeless women 67 per cent are single while only 8 per cent were married. Out of the 67 per cent that are single, 60 per cent are single mothers, while 40 per cent are single women.

However, about 30 per cent of the street homeless women are staying with their boyfriends and these women depend on their boyfriends for petty financial support (even though the men are homeless too) and security.

Table 8.3 : Marital status of the street homeless by gender

Marital Status	Men		Women		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Married	136	37.2	22	8.2	158	24.9
Divorced	30	8.2	26	9.7	56	8.8
Widowed	16	4.4	26	9.7	42	6.6
*Single	150	41.0	*181	67.3	331	52.1
Separated	34	9.3	14	5.2	48	7.6
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 1995

Note : * Single : 109 - Single mothers = 60%
 72 - Single women = 40%

The prevalence of divorce, separation and marital breakdown among those women further precipitates homelessness.

8.1.3 Number of Children

As indicated earlier, about 60 per cent of the street homeless women are single mothers. Table 8.4 shows that 58 per cent of the women have between one and three children, while 17 per cent have none and about 25 per cent have more than four children.

About 40 per cent of these women have their children living with them, while the remaining 60 per cent left the children with their family (mothers or grandmothers) where they originally had their roots.

Generally, 58 per cent, 25 per cent and 17 per cent of the street homeless people have one to three children, no children, and more than four children respectively.

Table 8.4 : Number of children of the street homeless by gender

Number of Children	Men		Women		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
None	110	30.1	46	17.1	156	24.6
1 - 3	212	57.9	157	58.3	369	58.1
4 - 6	42	11.5	58	21.6	100	15.7
Above 6	2	0.5	8	3.0	10	1.6
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 1995

These children depend on their mothers for survival and these mothers depend on their boyfriends or engage in female entrepreneurial services for sustenance (dependency syndrome).

The exposure of these children at an early age to harsh environment and economic strain effects them physically, mentally and psychologically. Some of these children are malnourished (they hardly eat or eat poorly), suffer from pneumonia and other diseases, and the worst is that they end up on the streets sniffing glue and committing crime.

There are no facilities like creches or schools in the homeless abodes to keep these children, hence they just wander about on the streets. Food, housing and education are very strong basic needs for children. The lack of these basic needs among children has serious implications for the future.

Already, this is manifested in the number of street children (1107) in the inner city of Johannesburg alone.

8.1.4 Education

According to the field survey results, 75 per cent of the street homeless people have between standard 1 and 10 educational background, while 8 per cent have matric and 15 per cent have no education (Table 8.5). The only university graduate (1 per cent) is unemployed, cannot sustain himself and cannot afford house rents, hence he became homeless.

79 per cent of the street homeless women also have standard 1 to 10 education, while 17 per cent have no education. Most of these street homeless women dropped out for the following reasons : pregnancy, poor financial situation, bad company, violence, poor performance, parental situation (divorce, separation, unemployment), and apartheid among others.

Table 8.5 : Educational background of the street homeless by gender

Educational Back-ground	Men		Women		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Std 1- 10	264	72.1	212	78.8	476	75.0
Matric	45	12.3	7	2.6	52	8.2
Technikon	0	0.0	2	0.7	2	0.3
University	7	1.9	0	0.0	7	1.1
College	4	1.1	2	0.7	6	0.9
None	46	12.6	46	17.1	92	14.5
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 1995

Street homeless people's educational background is classified into three in this study:

- (1) those who have between standard 8 and 10 are regarded as having qualified education;
- (2) those who have between standard 4 and 7 are regarded as having partially qualified education; and
- (3) those who have between standard 1 and 3 are regarded as those having underqualified education.

The above is corroborated by UNCHS (1996) report which regarded homeless people as having below average levels of education and this makes it difficult for them to find work. Also, Daly (1992) stipulates that most homeless people have only reading and writing skills and have no more than middle range education.

8.1.5 Occupation

Most of the street homeless people interviewed (69 per cent) are unemployed even before they became homeless, while 31 per cent are either civil servants, artisans, apprentices, professional or business people (Table 8.6).

Concerning the street homeless women, 88 per cent had no jobs, while 12 per cent are civil servants or artisans before coming to live on the streets.

Table 8.6 : Former occupation of the street homeless by gender

Occupation Type	Men		Women		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
None	200	54.6	236	87.7	436	68.7
Civil servant	42	11.5	23	8.5	65	10.2
Artisan	58	15.9	5	1.9	63	9.9
Apprentice	42	11.5	5	1.9	47	7.4
Professional	10	2.7	0	0.0	10	1.6
Business	14	3.8	0	0.0	14	2.2
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.00

Source : Field Survey, 1995

With regard to the present occupation of the street homeless people, about 79 per cent (504) are unemployed and 21 per cent (131) are artisans (bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers) at various construction sites in town.

About 99.6 per cent (268) of the street homeless women are also unemployed at the time of the survey.

The only woman working said she was a part-time cleaner in a shop. Most of the street homeless women are jobless because of discrimination, lack of adequate skills, retrenchment, lack of appropriate education and laziness. Thus, a few of them resort to begging, cooking, washing clothes and even soliciting in the

evenings for male clients.

8.1.6 Income

The income profile of the street homeless within Johannesburg inner city is very precarious. An analysis of their former income (Table 8.7), shows that 70 per cent have no income, 17 per cent earn below R1,000, while 13 per cent earn above R1,000 per month. Among the street homeless women, 90 per cent have no income, 6 per cent earn below R1,000, while 4 per cent earn above R1,000 per month.

Table 8.7 : Former income of the street homeless by gender

Former income in Rand (R) per month	Men		Women		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	201	54.9	242	90.0	443	69.8
1 - 999	93	25.4	17	6.3	110	17.3
1000 - 1999	50	13.7	8	3.0	58	9.1
2000 - 2999	17	4.6	2	0.7	19	3.0
3000 & above	5	1.4	0	0.0	5	0.8
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 1995

With regard to the present income of the street homeless people (as at the time of survey), 79 per cent have no income and 21 per cent earn below R1,000 per month respectively (Table 8.8).

Table 8.8 : Present income of the street homeless by gender

Present income in Rand (R) per month	Men		Women		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	236	64.5	268	99.6	504	79.4
1 - 999	130	35.5	1	0.4	131	20.6
1000 - 1999	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
2000 - 2999	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
3000 & above	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 1995

An implication of the very fickle or erratic nature of the employment and income characteristics of the homeless is that most of the homeless, who are agile and should have contributed to the labour force, are out of jobs and this worsens their situation. These homeless are partially educated but without jobs, without homes because they cannot even afford to rent or buy a house. Hence, they live on the streets where there is no fear of any landlord harassment over non-payment of rent and no fear of eviction.

It is possible to establish from the discussion with the street homeless and from Tables 8.5 to 8.8 that there is a very strong correlation between education, occupation and income of the homeless. The street homeless have an underprivileged origin; they are excluded from education or have partial/incomplete education, or none. They are further excluded from work, housing and other opportunities. The street homeless people have casual or unstable jobs of short duration, while most of the street homeless women are jobless.

The street homeless with no education cannot get a stable job, as a result have an

unreliable income which excludes them from affording a decent house. Street homelessness thus is a vicious cycle. Therefore, there is the need for a multi-faceted policy response and research into the proximate determinants of street homelessness.

8.2 SPAN OF HOMELESSNESS

About 50 per cent of the street homeless people have been on the streets for less than five years, while 29 per cent and 21 per cent have been homeless for between 6 and 10 years and over 10 years respectively.

For the street homeless women, 19 per cent have been homeless for 10 years (Table 8.10).

Table 8.9 : Span of homelessness by gender

Span in Years	Men		Women		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 - 5	160	43.7	159	59.1	319	50.2
6 - 10	126	34.4	60	22.3	186	29.3
Over 10	80	21.9	50	18.6	130	20.5
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.0

Source : Field Study, 1995

It is discernible from Table 8.9 that the number of street homeless people decreases with increase in the number of years spent on the street.

The above figures indicate a fairly recent (that is less than or equal to 5 years) problem of homelessness in urban centres.

Homelessness needs to be perceived not only in terms of the duration or period spent on the street, but also the time at which it occurs in an individual's life.

8.3 COLOUR

The bulk of the street homelessness persons interviewed are Black (83 per cent), while very few are Coloureds, White and Indian respectively (Table 8.10).

On the other hand, 86 per cent of the street homeless women are Black, and 10 per cent are Coloureds (Table 8.10).

Table 8.10 : Colour characteristics of the homeless by gender

Colour	Men		Women		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
White	20	5.5	7	2.6	27	4.3
Black	296	80.9	232	86.2	528	83.1
Indian	6	1.6	4	1.5	10	1.6
Coloured	44	12.0	26	9.7	70	11.0
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 1995

This pattern further corroborates the fact that blacks have been a disadvantaged group in terms of access to the basic facilities in South Africa as a result of the apartheid rule and more specifically, the Group Areas Act. This Act restricted blacks to townships and locations and this resulted in the proliferation of squatter housing (shacks settlement) as well as street/pavement dwellers discussed in Chapters 1 to 3 of the study. The apartheid policies marginalized blacks and coloureds, while the whites were a privileged group. The strong family support system of the Indians is responsible for the low number of Indians that are homeless.

8.4 ETHNIC BACKGROUND

South Africa, being a heterogenous society and a country with 11 languages, is

a society of mixed ethnic origins. The different socio-cultural backgrounds of the homeless as seen in Table 8.11 is a very significant factor in the homelessness phenomena. About the same proportion of the street homeless people are Zulus, Xhosas and Sothos. Only 6 per cent are English (Table 8.11).

Table 8.11 : Ethnic profile of the street homeless by gender

Ethnic Back-ground	Men		Women		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
English	26	7.1	9	3.8	35	5.5
Xhosa	70	19.1	64	23.8	134	21.1
Zulu	82	22.4	74	27.5	156	24.6
Afrikaans	54	14.8	30	11.2	84	13.2
Tswana	44	12.0	38	14.1	82	12.9
Sotho	60	16.4	30	11.2	90	14.2
Others	30	8.2	24	8.9	54	8.5
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	635	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 1995

The high number of Zulu street homeless can be accounted for by the following factors. Zulus are nomadic people and a lot of them work in mines and live in hostels. They practice polygamy (they marry wives all over the place), yet they leave the responsibility or burden of parental care to the wives. Some of these wives have no job or means of sustenance, hence, they end up on the streets begging for money or scavenging.

On the other hand, the men leave their families in search of better opportunities in the city. They soon end up homeless when the opportunities are not forthcoming.

The "others" in Table 8.11 are those speaking other languages different from the 11 official South African languages. These are mostly immigrants (9 per cent of which are women who pose as traders).

8.5 NATIONALITY

Majority (94 per cent) of the street homeless people are South Africans, while 6 per cent are from other countries, for example Angola, Burundi, Ethiopia, Hungary, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Somali, Sudan, Swaziland, Zaire, Zimbabwe. The 6 per cent constitute the street homeless immigrants and they are visible due to their lack of fluency in the local language, their accent and their features.

8.6 FORMER LIVING ABODE

Most of the street homeless women (55 per cent) lived with their parents before becoming homeless while 20 per cent lived in the family house and 19 per cent lived with their husbands (Table 8.12).

Table 8.12 : Places where the street homeless lived before

Place	Men		Women		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Family house/ relative	238	65.0	54	20.1	291	46.0
With friends	34	9.3	10	3.7	44	6.9
With husband/ wife	24	6.6	50	18.6	74	11.7
Parents	58	15.9	149	55.4	207	32.6
Squatting	10	2.7	4	1.5	14	2.2
On the street	2	0.5	2	0.7	4	0.6
Total	366	100.0	269	100.0	636	100.0

Source : Field Survey, 1995

8.7 SUMMARY

The findings in this chapter reveal that blacks (Africans) constitute 78 per cent of the street homeless population in the Johannesburg inner city. The coloured people constitute 14 per cent, while the Indians and white homeless population constitute 2 per cent and 6 per cent respectively. Women and children are significantly affected by the street homelessness problem and they constitute 36 per cent and 15 per cent of the homeless population respectively in the inner city. About 74 per cent of the women interviewed were aged between 20 and 39 years, while 67 per cent were single. Of this single women population, 60 per cent were single mothers.

The street homeless women cannot be regarded as totally illiterate, because 79 per cent of them had between standard 1 to 10 qualification (below average).

Only 17 per cent of them had no education. With regards to occupation, nearly all of the women (99,6 per cent) are unemployed. The only working woman was a part-time cleaner in a shop.

One fact that emerges in the findings is that most of these women are lazy. Being unemployed, they have no source of income. A few of them beg for offerings, while some depend on their boyfriends. It is also striking to know that 6 per cent of the street homeless people, including women, are foreigners, while 94 per cent are South Africans.

8.8 CHARACTERISTICS OF STREET HOMELESS MEN

In this study, 58 per cent of the street homeless people interviewed are men, that is, nearly 6 out of every 10 homeless people are men.

To complement the discussion on street homeless women, it would be worthwhile to have an idea of the salient features or characteristics of their male counterparts.

After all, homelessness has been male dominated until very recently.

With a few exceptions, the research shows both homeless men and women to have similar characteristics. The following characteristics emerged from the study:

1. 72 per cent of the street homeless men are aged between 20 - 39 years (Table 8.1), while 24 per cent are above 40 years. There seem to be more homeless men above the age of 40 years when compared to women.
2. 37 per cent of the men are married, 41 per cent single and 8 per cent, 4 per cent and 9 per cent are either divorced, widowed or separated respectively (Table 8.3).

The single homeless men have never been married, unlike their female counterparts who were mostly single mothers.

Only 30 per cent of the men have no children, while 58 per cent and 12 per cent have 1 to 3 children and 4 children and above respectively (Table 8.4).

3. With regard to education 72 per cent have between standard 1 - 10 qualification, 12 per cent have matric, 2 per cent are university graduates, 1 per cent attended college and 13 per cent have no education (Table 8.5). The university graduates' experience was that when they finished school, they cannot get employment and they have no family to turn to, hence, they find themselves in Park Station.
4. The occupational structure of the street homeless men is more like their female counterparts. 55 per cent reiterated they have no job before they became homeless. 12 per cent, 16 per cent, 12 per cent used to be civil servants, artisans, apprentices respectively. While 3 per cent and 4 per cent are professionals and businessmen respectively before they became homeless (Table 8.6).

Out of this, 55 per cent have no income, 25 per cent earn between R1 - R999 per month, 14 per cent earn between R1000 - R1999 per month, while 6 per cent earn above R2000 per month (Table 8.7).

With regard to their present occupation and income at the time of survey, 65 per cent and 36 per cent of the homeless men have no jobs or are artisans respectively. The artisans are either working as labourers on construction sites, or doing menial jobs such as gardeners, or are engaged in piece jobs. Thus, only 35.5 per cent of the men are earning less than R1 000 per month and the remaining 64.5 per cent had no income (Table 8.8).

5. 44 per cent and 34 per cent of the men have been on the streets for less than 5 years and 6 - 10 years respectively (Table 8.9), and 22 per cent have been on the streets for over 10 years (Table 8.9).
6. 80.9 per cent, 1.6 per cent, 12.0 per cent and 5.5 per cent of the homeless men are black, Indian, coloured and white respectively (Table 8.10).
7. Most of the homeless men (90 per cent) are South Africans and the remaining 9.9 per cent are homeless immigrants. Among these men, 22 per cent are Zulu, 19 per cent Xhosa, 16 per cent Sotho, 15 per cent Afrikaans, 12.0 per cent Tswana, 7 per cent English and 8 per cent are from other countries speaking languages different from South African languages (Table 8.11).

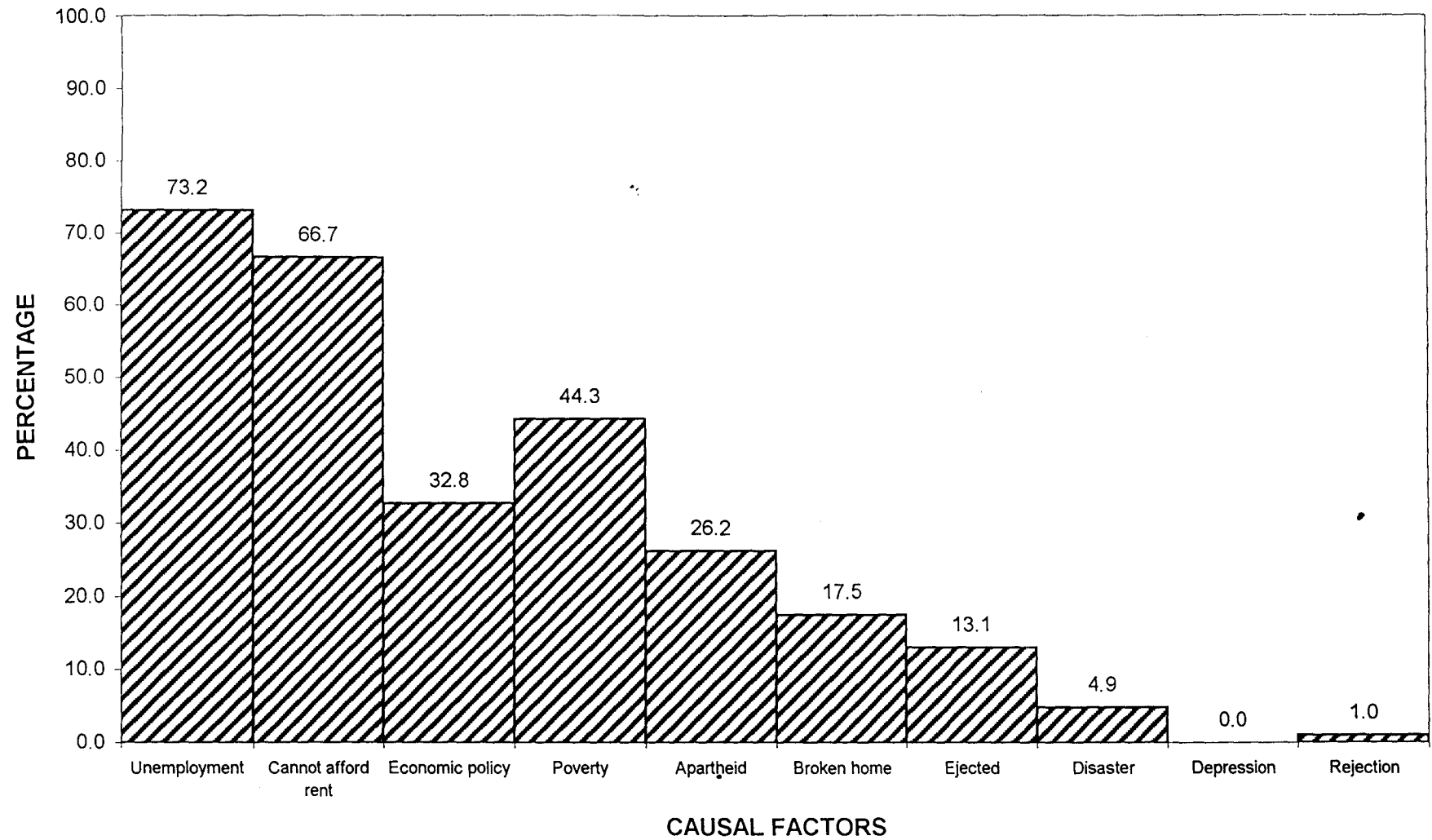
65 per cent of the homeless men lived with their relatives or in the family house before becoming homeless, 16 per cent lived with parents, 9 per cent with friends, 7 per cent with their wives, 3 per cent were squatting and 0.5 per cent were living on the streets (Table 8.12).

8. The causes of homelessness (see Figure 8.1) among the men ranged from unemployment through hostel violence and rejection. Some of these homeless men relating their experiences, said they sleep under tables used for selling vegetables or in carparks. They also sell their bodies (prostitution or homosexuality) for money just to survive. They are mostly alcoholics and drug addicts. They do not cook, but depend on soup kitchens for food, so they keep on moving from one soup kitchen to another. Their daily activities include routine job marketing, that is, looking for jobs. The street homeless men, however, formed two soccer

teams for relaxation purposes.

8.9. SUMMARY

It is evident from the discussion that most homeless men and women share similar experiences and characteristics. The women though are more vulnerable. The homeless men have a contrary view about poverty. While 97 per cent of the street homeless women believe they are poor, 56 per cent of the street homeless men do not agree that they are poor. Poverty here is both relative and absolute.

FIGURE 8.1: CAUSES OF STREET HOMELESSNESS BY MEN

8.10 STRUCTURAL/UNDERLYING CAUSES OF STREET HOMELESSNESS

8.10.1 Introduction

The causes of homelessness range through economic, social, political and cultural factors (*Labeodan, 1989*). These factors (shown in figures 8.1 - 8.3) are closely bound up with the indispensable equilibrium in the distribution of resources and wealth among the South African population.

The roots of street homelessness in this study are wide and varied. They include economic and residential dislocation, housing shortage, bad planning, migration, government apartheid policy, social relations and stratification, demographic structure, increased mobility of population (especially blacks) from less affluent areas thereby creating pressure points for accommodation and greater mobility of the young and active middle-aged group. All these factors play a significant role in the street homelessness phenomenon and it is like a vicious cycle that keeps revolving around poverty and unemployment (Figure 8.4).

8.10.2 Government Economic and Apartheid Policies

Apartheid and annihilating economic policies aggravated the homelessness phenomenon in South Africa. The rigid enforcement of the racial separation of living areas, together with mass demolitions have been extremely destructive.

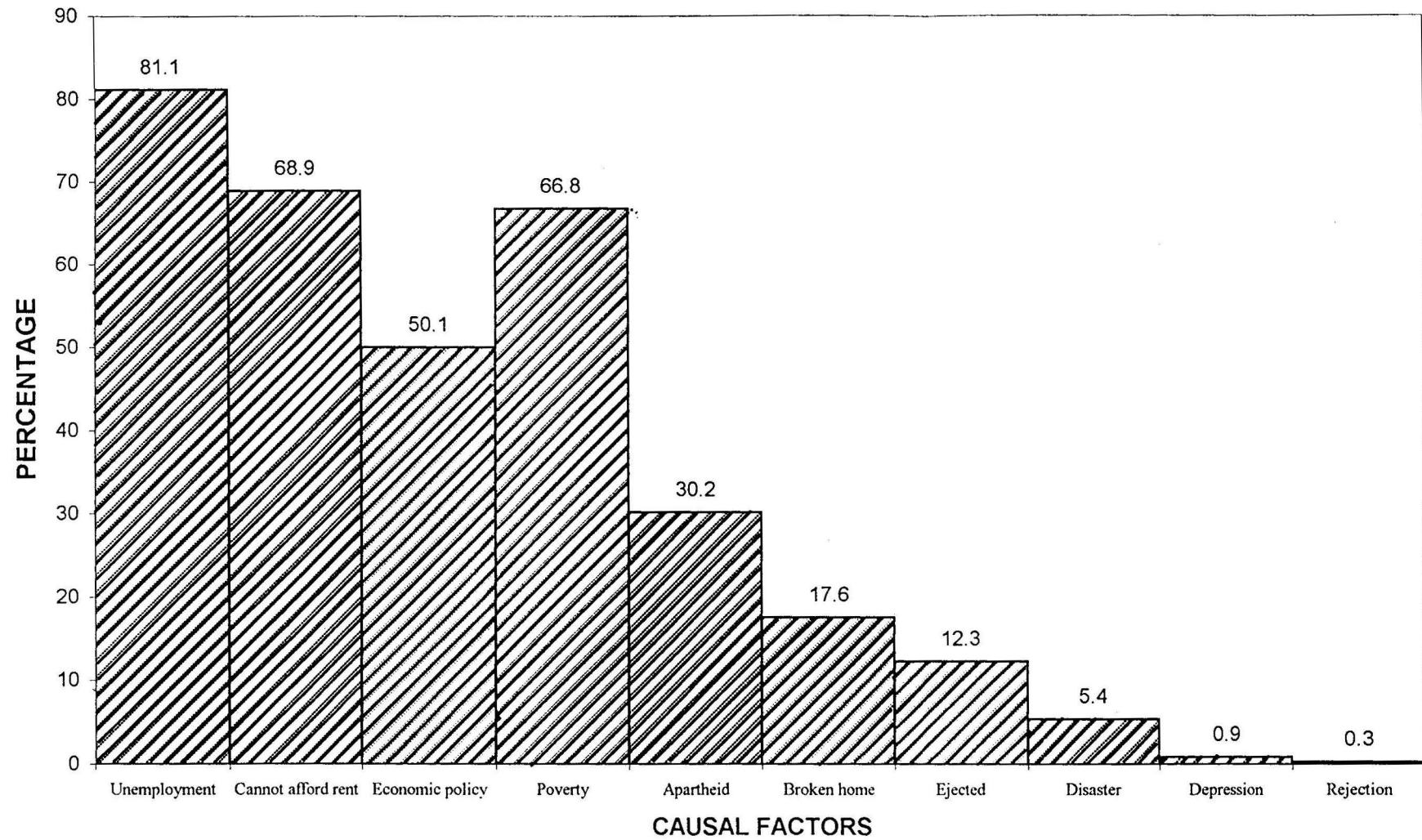
FIGURE 8.2: CAUSES OF STREET HOMELESSNESS BY HOMELESS PERSONS

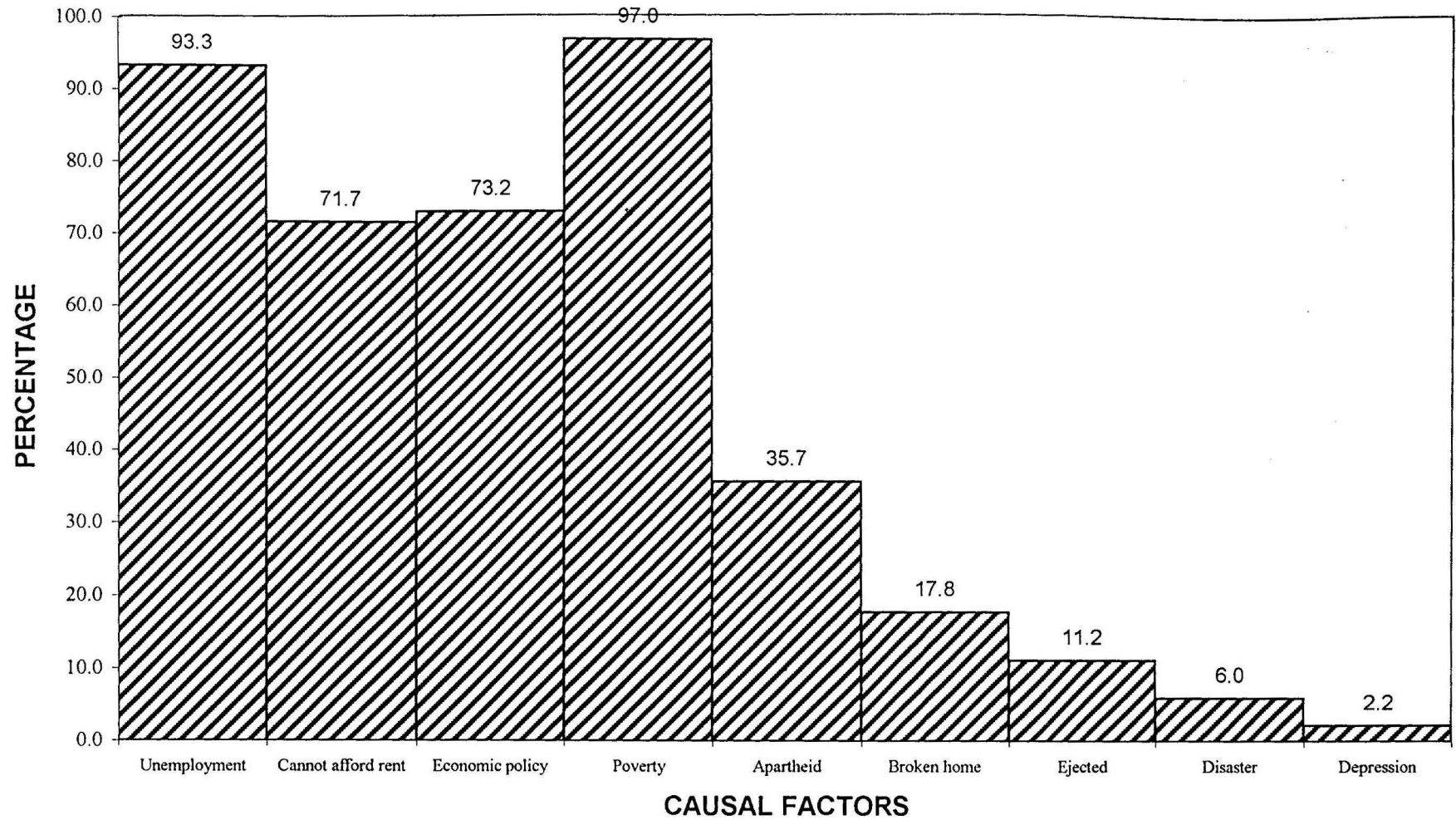
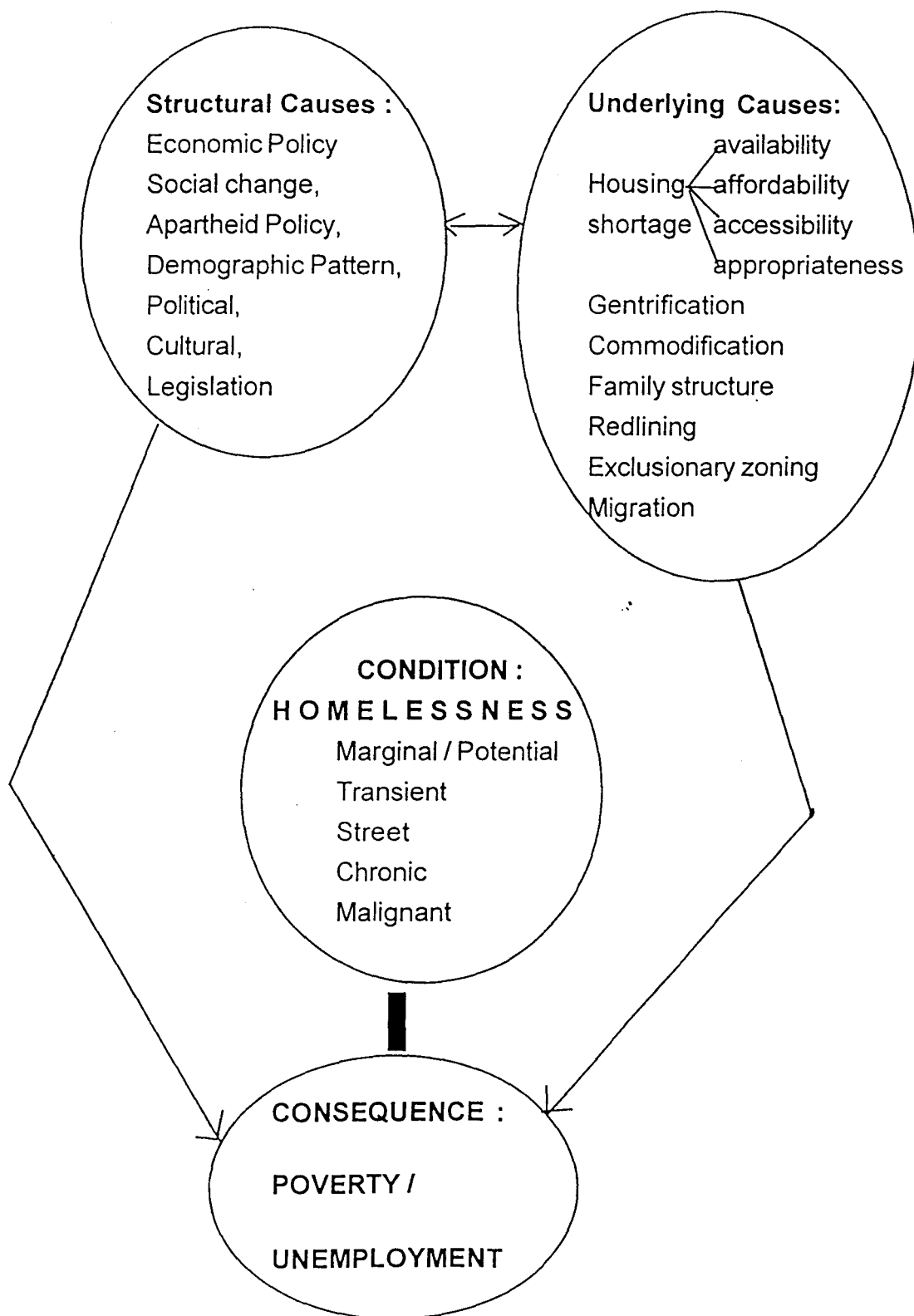
FIGURE 8.3: CAUSES OF STREET HOMELESSNESS BY WOMEN

Figure 8.4 : Cycle of street homelessness in South Africa



About 50 per cent and 73 per cent of the homeless persons and homeless women respectively reiterate that the economic policy of the government further exacerbates their homelessness, while 30 per cent and 36 per cent of the street homeless people and street homeless women respectively said apartheid was the main cause of their homelessness (Figures 8.2 - 8.3).

The economic policy of the past government in South Africa led to the rationalisation of different levels of employment which subsequently led to high unemployment rates or retrenchment and low wages. Coupled with this is job polarization. The state policy to eradicate labour tenancy, mechanisation of agriculture on white-owned farms (*Crankshaw and Hart, 1990*) led to the decline of agricultural production in the homelands.

The impact of these factors on women have been very severe, especially for single mothers who are the most economically vulnerable. Because of their unskilled nature and poor education, they receive very poor wages and are sometimes marginalized in the labour market.

8.10.3 Non-affordability of rent

Residential dislocation manifested in the patterns of residential migration and again the apartheid policy of residential segregation. Consequences of the apartheid policy have led to a limitation in the supply of cheap, urban housing for the poor. There is an absolute shortage of housing for the Africans outside the homelands. Hendler (1988) put the shortage at between 500,000 - 832,000 units. Therefore many Africans cannot afford the rent for even a backyard shack or a room in formal township houses. This point is further reiterated in the National Housing Policy, which put the housing backlog at 1.5 million units in 1995 (*Department of Housing, 1994*). Blacks (Africans) are the most affected by this shortage. A consequence of this shortage is the proliferation of shacks and squatter housing, as well as street homelessness. In fact, squatting is a response

to homelessness in the Johannesburg region. The above is further corroborated by the findings of this study. About 69 per cent and 72 per cent of the homeless persons and homeless women respectively could not afford to rent or buy a house, hence their homelessness (Figures 8.2 - 8.3).

The rising cost of housing and the dwindling supply of low-cost houses, as well as the stringent financial cum subsidy programmes, have led to what could be regarded as lack of housing availability, affordability, accessibility and appropriateness (The 4 As), and these in turn cause homelessness. The homeless, because of their inability to get the four As, are constantly mobile and in search of a proper residential location.

The economic policies which made land and housing in the cities unavailable to the poor, have played a very important role in the growth of shack settlements and homelessness. Economic forces have served to limit the housing units to the poor through red-lining, gentrification, landlordism, commodification of housing and inaccessible bank loans to the poor, especially women.

Government apartheid policies and legislation limited the number of Africans in cities and they were temporarily sojourners in white man's land. Also, the 1923 Native (Urban Area) Act empowered local authorities to set aside housing for African occupation in defined locations and required their employers to house them.

The Act also provided for compulsory residential segregation as a means of stopping undesirable mixing of races. Other acts which followed were the Land Bill of 1936, Group Areas Act of 1950 among others.

8.10.4 Poverty and Unemployment

Two-thirds of the 17.1 million people estimated to live under the poverty datum

line (PDL) live in the rural areas, while the remaining one-third are urbanites (*Department of Housing, 1994*). Poverty is both a cause and effect of marginalization and street homelessness. Poverty is an underlying cause of street homelessness with its roots in the structural factors of economic, social and political policies. According to this study, poverty is one of the main causes of street homelessness. This was cited by 67 per cent of street homeless people, 44 per cent of street homeless men and 97 per cent of the street homeless women (figures 8.1 - 8.3).

Poverty to the street homeless women is having no property, no house, no money, no job, no parents, no food, no clothing, no hope, isolation, loneliness, suffering and exclusion. Women are particularly vulnerable to homelessness because they are economically dependent on others (especially their spouses).

Poverty is not just lack of financial means, but above all, "lack of opportunity to gain control over events in one's own life" (*Avramov, 1995 : 127*).

The lack of opportunity among the street homeless and their marginalization from the social environment in terms of perceived advantages of education, employment and income often result in their poverty. The street homeless are poor and their poverty excludes them from certain fundamental human rights like rights to decent housing.

According to Avramov (1995 : 79-80), "even though a causal link between chronic poverty and homelessness is difficult to measure, it may be said that the chain of determinants of extreme exclusion is generally formed by the passage from durable income insufficiency to social marginalization, lack of community care and homelessness. It is precisely the cumulative effect of poverty preceding the condition of homelessness and exposure to the deprivation experienced by the homeless, which makes the social re-integration of the homeless people particularly difficult".

As reiterated earlier, the employment situation of the street homeless is very

erratic and more often than not, the street homeless are unemployed. 82 per cent and 93 per cent of the street homeless people and homeless women respectively identified unemployment as the cause of their predicament.

A lack of income, or low income due to poor educational background, have a cumulative effect on the path to homelessness. The inability of the homeless to meet housing costs or rents due to precarious employment or low paid jobs results in housing segmentation.

Unemployment and casual employment aggravates homelessness. Lack of income or no income are insurmountable obstacles to accessing accommodation. This is why most homeless end up in shelters or on the streets.

8.10.5 Socio-Cultural Factors

Other underlying factors of homelessness identified in this study are rooted in biographic determinants such as the lifestyles and choice of a person, family problems such as marital problems and family instability, death of spouse or parents, physical/drug/sexual abuse, physical/mental disability, migration, accident, hostel violence, rejection, ejection or eviction, depression and disaster (flood, fire) as indicated in Figures 8.1 - 8.3.

Figures 8.2 and 8.3 indicate that 18 per cent and 18 per cent of street homeless people and street homeless women respectively cited broken homes as a cause of their homelessness. Family conflicts trigger off homelessness and, more particularly, violence or abuse or battering to which women are exposed, push them into homelessness. 12 per cent and 11 per cent of the street homeless people and street homeless women were ejected from their homes due to drug use, gangsterism (among men) and alcoholism. On the other hand, 5 per cent and 6 per cent of the street homeless people and street homeless women became homeless, because of disasters such as flood, fire, accident or even death in the

family. Very few of the street homeless people's (0.9 per cent) and street homeless women's (2 per cent) homelessness were caused by depression.

The changing demographic pattern of households is another vital cause of homelessness. The changing composition of new households, childless couples, elderly people living alone, young singles living independently of their families, single parents (single mothers), widowed women and female-headed households have had an impact on the family structure. In South Africa in 1993, 43 per cent of African women and 52 per cent of coloured women were single mothers.

South Africa is a multiracial society. Thus, racial discrimination and colour discrimination is a significant contributing factor to homelessness.

Racial prejudices reduce the probability of obtaining employment and increase the likelihood of the person becoming homeless. Racial discrimination influences homelessness to the extent that it contributes to poorer housing, poor education and diminished opportunities for socio-economic advancement (*Morse, 1992*). The culture of homelessness, according to Fischer (*1992*), is a closed circle that begins in constricted personal lives and completes itself in short-sighted policies. Homelessness causes public apathy as observed in this study.

However, the following causes or background factors have contributed to the prevalence of homelessness in South Africa generally, and Johannesburg specifically :

1. Unemployment - casual, low-paid jobs or joblessness, work shyness;
2. Poverty, low level of income or no income;
3. Poor access to affordable housing;
4. Past residential segregation policies of government;
5. Social issues - domestic violence, illness, breakdown of relationships, alcohol dependence, drug abuse, violent behaviour;
6. Changing demographic structure;

7. Disaster, depression, ejection and rejection.

8.11 CONSEQUENCES OF STREET HOMELESSNESS

Homelessness is often experienced at the most sensitive and awkward transition into adulthood. It occurs at a time when young adults need to concretise personal relations, access economic activity and enter into early stages of the family building processes (*Avramov, 1995*).

The impact of street homelessness according to the street homeless interviewed, is manifested in various forms. Homelessness among women in particular, has led to a deterioration of their basic skills, loss of self-confidence and security, loss of dignity and respect, drug and alcohol abuse, prostitution, despair, harassment, muggings, victimization and exposure to rape and diseases. Street homeless women are often rape targets (as observed in some of the homeless enclaves). Some are raped to death, while others die from exposure to harsh weather. The street homeless women suffer from disillusionment and are demoralized by their inability to have a home, job and sense of belonging. Generally, many homeless people experience pain, alienation and exclusion and so they turn to prostitution, theft, robbery and substance abuse to survive.

The impact of homelessness on the society at large and on the economy is also of immense concern. The society neglects them and regards them as a hopeless and unwanted population. The presence of the street homeless scares businessmen who are usually afraid of being robbed or mugged.

The homeless need to be accepted and re-integrated into society. In the minds of society, homelessness is associated with the condition of vagrants or tramps. This is usually a wrong perception. Most of the street homeless people are agile and only need a little bit of attention and assistance to make them accepted by society. A number of street homeless people are unemployed and some go to the extent

of committing crime. This is a bad economic signal and image.

8.12 CURBING HOMELESSNESS

For the majority of the street homeless people and women the priority in solving or reducing their homelessness problem was employment. They indicate that if they can get jobs, they can earn some income and then be able to rent a house. Employment is the first priority followed by housing. The street homeless believe that they can be useful in all sectors of the economy working as artisans, administrators, clerks and small-scale business owners, if only the government would assist them with start-up capital.

The women in particular can be useful in vocational training, domestic science (cooking, knitting, tailoring), nanny jobs, hawking vegetables and hairdressing.

Other homeless people assert that the government can build houses (flats) for them on the condition that after living in the flats for six months, they get a viable job.

The street homeless people also highlight that they can be involved in the Reconstruction and Development Programmes. Specifically, they can be given the first priority to work or be employed as artisans where construction activities were going on. Finally, the homeless affirm that they must be involved at every stage of any decision or action that affects them.

8.13 SUMMARY

This chapter discusses the socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the street homeless people with particular emphasis on women. It examines the

causes and consequences of street homelessness and how homelessness can be curbed. The data in this chapter was obtained through interviews with and responses from the street homeless people.

The next section examines the various planning strategies that can be adopted in understanding and solving the homelessness problem in South Africa in particular and elsewhere.

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SECTION D :

PLANNING STRATEGIES

AND

CONCLUSIONS

I HAVE A DREAM

I have a dream of a better tomorrow
a tomorrow without homelessness, without sorrow
where the homeless get an equal opportunity of employment
to bring to their lives enjoyment.

I have a dream of a loving, caring society
which knows no bounds to fight poverty
a society with both hands wide open
to welcome the homeless into its dens.

I have a dream of a literate world
where even the voice of the homeless can be heard
a world where homeless children can know
that to sniff glue is wrong.

I have a dream of a better tomorrow
where you and I can take pride
In our oh! so big strides.

Khumalo, 1995

CHAPTER NINE

PLANNING STRATEGIES

9.0 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

An attempt to answer the question : From the planning and gender perspective, how can phenomenology be used in understanding and solving the homelessness problem? is the objective of this chapter and the thrust of this thesis.

As is seen from the literature review, past planning approaches and the survey, the interventions in solving the homelessness problem were not coordinated, therefore resulting in solutions being addressed in a haphazard way.

To tackle these fragmentary approaches, this chapter attempts to revise and suggest appropriate planning strategies, planning and gender roles within the context of the survey findings on street homelessness. This chapter further proposes an alternative structure where planning can play its role in helping the street homeless.

9.1 GENERAL SYNTHESIS OF THE STREET HOMELESSNESS PROBLEM

To understand street homelessness, one must understand not only why people are poor, but why their poverty takes the distinctive form of having no place to live. Homelessness is one of the manifestations of the housing crisis at large and street

homeless women are more vulnerable to homelessness.

Homelessness should first be placed in its immediate context that is, the importance of home and domestic relations. On a wider context, homelessness should be placed within the economic and political system.

From the experiences of the street homeless women, the attributes of a home include: life, identity, emotional and physical well-being, control and privacy material conditions and sense of belonging.

Homelessness on the other hand implies : no roof, no roots, poverty, isolation, lack of emotional and physical well-being. An indication of these is that the street homeless women have lost their sense of identity and territorial status. They are insecure, powerless and have been marginalized.

The main problems of street homelessness identified in this study are: unemployment, poverty, long distance from economic opportunities, lack of available land, lack of accessible user finance, unhealthy living conditions, lack of access to water, electricity and other facilities, prevalence of violence, insecurity, constant harassment, rape/mugging of street homeless women, health problems, lack of a voice, instability, inadequate educational background and lack of a strong network (the street homeless women do not connect with one another because of the very different and difficult circumstances in which they live).

Networks are virtually non-existent. Where networks do exist, they do not provide proper linkage with local, regional or national representative bodies which might promote their interests. There is also no clear participatory structure where the street homeless women can be involved.

High rents have also contributed to homelessness. The bulk of renters in most cities are concentrated among the lower income groups and if evicted, are most likely to end up on the streets or in shelters.

Furthermore, the lack of a concise planning/policy intervention, absence of a

defined role of the planning bodies and other institutions in ameliorating the street homelessness problem, the fragmentary approach adopted and absence of a clear theoretical framework on which to base the understanding of the problem and seek solutions to it, have worsened the plight of the street homeless women in South Africa.

Having given the international perspectives, institutional roles, theoretical planning approaches, having conducted the survey and having identified the problems of the street homeless, it is pertinent to develop appropriate planning approaches/strategies that would facilitate the understanding of and practical solutions to the street homelessness problem in South Africa specifically, elsewhere.

Any planning policy aimed at addressing the homelessness problem must deal with the complexities which produce the situation. A close look at the street homelessness cycle (Figure 8.4) reveals that the underlying/structural cause of the problem requires certain policy and planning responses, interventions and roles.

The above calls for a re-appraisal of the changing planning roles especially in terms of (a) effectiveness, (b) participation and (c) human values.

9.1.1 PLANNING EFFECTIVENESS

Due to the new world order of globalisation, GATT, privatisation, information super highway and other high-tech facilities and macro-economic policies, certain events and phenomena are becoming either obsolete, unpredictable, uncertain or uncontrollable.

Therefore, for planning effectiveness, the underlying interests of people or communities (particularly in this study, the street homeless women), are paramount, as well as the incorporation of the components of the new world order into the planning framework.

Planning should start focusing on real-life (actuality planning) and action-oriented planning. Incorporating real-life experiences and accommodating informal inputs into the planning framework would enhance the effectiveness of planning and planners especially as we approach the 21st century. In addressing the street homelessness problem, particularly within the micro and macro contexts, planners must play a leading and supporting role in order to be effective.

9.1.2 PARTICIPATION

Planning should provide for extensive consultations and involvement at all stages of the planning process. This will lead to clear objectives for planning interventions. That is, participation of the street homeless women in the planning process will make clear and feasible whatever intervention strategy that is put in place to understand and solve their problem. This is due to the fact that participation encourages a feeling of belonging and the knowledge of the street homeless women can be utilized. In view of this, women's participation must be institutionalized in development planning.

9.1.3 HUMAN VALUES

As the 21st century approaches, planning and planners must begin to think and incorporate human values and experiences into the planning agenda or framework. This incorporation will give planning a new meaning in the society. This is humane planning and can be likened to 'ubuntu' which emphasizes tolerance and respect for individuals (especially the street homeless).

9.2 ALTERNATIVE PLANNING APPROACH

This study, within the context of the street homelessness problem is suggesting a planning approach which is all-encapsulating, which will provide an understanding and solution to the problem.

This approach is referred to as the CO-OPERATIVE EXPLORATION APPROACH.

The Co-operative Exploration Approach (CEA) is an holistic approach. It is a comprehensive and integrated approach which combines all planning roles in an interactive manner to ameliorate a particular problem. The Co-operative Exploration Approach is people-centred and participation oriented. The approach facilitates decision-making and solutions to the planning problem by involving all stakeholders in the community in an interactive and participative way.

The Co-operative Exploration Approach conforms with collectivism, communal involvement and phenomenological principles of intentionality, perception, interpretation and everyday lifeworld. This in turn is based on the phenomenological methodology of searching for essence, reduction and open description.

The Co-operative Exploration Approach enables the planner (within the context of the street homelessness problem) to understand the values, interests, experiences and lifeworlds of the underprivileged and impoverished within the planning and environmental framework.

The Co-operative Exploration Approach comprises four components derived from this study, namely :

1. Planning/planners role;
2. Phenomenological Participation Process;
3. Gender planning and homelessness;
4. Institutional intervention.

These components will be discussed in the following sections.

9.3 PLANNING/PLANNERS ROLE

As the planning profession evolved, and with the proliferation of planning activities, planning/planners' roles have become diverse. Planners have to take on different roles to understand and undertake different or similar tasks.

The various roles of planning (within the street homelessness context) are explained in the next section. It should be noted that these roles are intertwined.

9.3.1 Synthesizing/Pro-Active/Interpretive/Advisory Role

Planners should play pro-active roles in integrating the concerns and interests of the street homeless women. This synthesizing process can lead to advising, guiding, coordinating and partnership in other homeless initiatives. By getting involved and making friends with the street homeless women a bonding takes place. This bonding or partnership fosters confidence. Confidence leads to openness in discussion of needs, problems and concerns of the homeless. A meaningful and practical solution can then begin to be developed from the inputs gathered from the partnership or interaction.

On the other hand, planners can play a pro-active role in reducing the spread of spontaneous settlements and invasion of vacant land by the street homeless.

Once a partnership is formed, planners would then sensitize the street homeless women about their views on issues like land tenure, land rights, housing, etc. Based on this, planners can then guide and advise the street homeless about improved land tenure systems, tenurial rights and implications of housing and land invasions.

Planners must also assist in developing and making financial estimates, plans and identifying sites for conversion or construction of housing for the street homeless women.

The interpretive role of the planner is also significant. With proper interaction

with the street homeless women, the planner is able to understand, describe and interpret their experiences and actions through what is said and what is not said. The planner will then be able to advise, guide and suggest solutions accordingly. The planner as an interpreter also plays a mediating role in the process of social interaction with the street homeless women and the quality of inputs would critically affect planning outcomes or decisions.

The Advisory role of the Planner is based on the interaction between planner and the street homeless where the planner's claim of expertise has to be mutually agreed upon and accepted.

9.3.2 Facilitating/Enabling Role

The planner must be able to facilitate programmes and actions using communication skills. A proper interaction with the street homeless would expedite any programme meant for them because the planner can interpret the lifeworld and experiences of the homeless. This further enables the planner in the planning process to play a leading and supportive role. Planners can enable empowerment through the planning process. The planning process enables participation to occur. This leads to empowerment and empowerment enhances the knowledge of the street homeless women.

9.3.3 Communicative/Informative Role

The ability of the planner to communicate effectively is crucial in understanding and solving the street homelessness problem. The need for communication based upon the differences in knowledge, understanding and potentials of the street homeless women is important. The planner as a communicator should utilize qualitative and interpretive inquiry. The planner seeks to understand the unique and contextual background of the street homeless women, and based on this, looks for insights into their experiences.

Communication enhances understanding. The use and type of language, pictorial expressions also facilitates communication and understanding.

Planners must avoid the use of ambiguous or vague language. The planner must come to terms with the form of language that the street homeless women understands. Communication can be expressed through the use of simple layman's jargon, dialogue, music, poems, games, gossip, stories, drama, singing or cultural activities. Communicative action leads to emancipatory knowledge which facilitates mutual learning and empowers the street homeless women.

Planners should put in place communication forums to facilitate interactive communication between the community, the government, other stakeholders and the street homeless women.

With regard to the informative role of the planner, informative structures should be established. These structures could be in the form of an information centre where handbills, posters, billboards and advertisements would be displayed. Also through media campaigns or jingles. In fact, the street homeless women should be encouraged to do this for themselves.

This would make both the women and the public aware of their plight. It would also encourage a proper utilization of their knowledge in making most of these informative ideas.

Planners should establish a housing/homeless data bank which should be an on-going process. All homeless people, including the street homeless must be registered and identified by the type of housing situation - shacks or street dwellings. This would facilitate any housing plan or programme targeted towards them. It is hoped that the 1996 census will help facilitate this.

Finally, information must be socially constructed among the street homeless women. Their ways of reasoning and knowing are very important in communicative action and planning. This is because planning is a communicative activity and planners must assist in putting this communicative activity into

perspective.

9.3.4 Advocating/Negotiating/Mediating Role

Conflict exists as a potentiality in all spheres of human endeavours. Conflict or dispute arise when people are competing for scarce or limited resources or when resources are unevenly distributed among various groups of people (as is the case of the street homeless). For example, jobs, housing and so on. When people pursue their own interests on an individual basis, conflict is inevitable.

In the new democratic South Africa, conflict implies freedom and it would produce new standards, relationships, patterns and institutions. The Planner plays an advocating, negotiating and mediating role in conflict resolution. The Planner as an advocate represents the interests of the street homeless women, especially during eviction.

Negotiating and mediating is mandatory when the Planner is faced with conflicting interest groups. Negotiation is a conflict resolution process most used and this process leaves most control with the people involved. The negotiation process is informal and consensual.

The Planner's role in negotiation must be firm. In negotiations, the planner, (a) must separate the problem from the people, (b) must focus on interests, (c) must be objective.

The Planner must suggest options that will be beneficial to the street homeless women.

Negotiation in participatory planning is a strategy used for resolving conflicts without coercion or domination.

In mediation, the planner is involved in identifying the underlying interests of street homeless women. The planner jointly explores and reconciles differences when there is a dispute. The planner could also assist in generating options for dispute settlement.

The mediating role of the planner is in stimulating and providing technical information, discussing consequences of various alternatives and realisable solutions.

Mediation in planning is a communicative dialogue and the planner helps to facilitate this. There is no successful negotiation and mediation without improving communication skills.

9.3.5 Mobilizing Role

The role of the planner here is that of positive mobilizer. That is, mobilizing the street homeless women as a group to do things for themselves. To be independent. Mobilizing the street homeless women in terms of personal care (hairdressing, hygiene, sewing), food and basic needs provision, security, providing materials to build decent accommodation and providing childcare facilities among others. This further promotes unity and fosters harmony and peace among the street homeless women.

9.3.6 Networking Role

The planner can play a networking role to facilitate understanding of and solution to the street homelessness problem.

Networking can take place through individual planners talking to each other, or through planning associations.

The street homelessness phenomenon can be put in planning newsletters and circulated. It can also be put on the Internet or other forms of information networks.

By doing this, planners can form a network to share experiences of what is happening on homelessness in a particular area. Ideas and experiences are exchanged and this improves understanding and knowledge and triggers solutions. A solution applied in one area, with modification (to suit the context of another area) can be applied elsewhere.

Local networks could be linked to national and international networks and perhaps a global network can be formed to understand and seek practical solutions to the homelessness problem. It is the role of planners to initiate such networks among fellow planners and even among the street homeless. By doing this, an awareness will be created and once there is awareness of a problem, solutions to that problem are in sight.

Networking role of the planner promotes experiential learning. The street homeless women and planners can learn through their own experiences and by listening to others.

Learning through concrete experiences generates new concepts and new experiences because it involves thinking, recollecting, feeling and acting. Planning through networking empowers and emancipates.

9.3.7 Humanistic Role

Planners can promote the quality of life of the street homeless (women) through democratic participation, representative participation, sustainability of planning and development programmes, and the street homeless' knowledge and competence. This can be likened to ubuntu.

Humane planning or ubuntu emphasizes collectivism, tolerance and respect for other individuals (in this case the homeless).

Ubuntu is a humanistic experience, treating all people, including the street homeless, with respect and granting them their human dignity.

Ubuntu is human-centred and it is a process that promotes the common good of the street homeless women. The basic needs (food, water and shelter), coupled with the personal needs (expression, creativity, self-determination, voice, dignity and conviviality) of the street homeless women must be taken cognisance of in understanding and solving their problem.

Ubuntu is an African concept. It is a feature of common cultural concern and of community. The concept of community is "reflected in the Xhosa proverb that embodies a notion common to all African traditional cultures : Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu, a person is a person through other persons" (Muller 1995 : 8).

To corroborate further this African concept of community, certain Yoruba proverbs in Nigeria connote communal practice and the Ubuntu concept itself. For example,

"Agbajo owo la fin so ya" (it is the spirit of collectiveness or community participation that is the key to survival) or

"Baja ba l'eni lehin a pa obo" - literally means if a dog has support, the dog would kill a monkey [the success of a person depends on communal support or consensus], or

"Igi kan ko le da'gbo se" [A tree cannot make a forest].

The proverbs connote the fact that group or communal solidarity prevail over individual efforts.

Muller (1995 : 9) indicates that, "what communities believe and express as reality is a derivative of experience". Mbiti (1990 : 22) also affirms in his study of the concept of Time in African thought that, "micro-time is meaningful to the individual or the community only through their participating in it or experiencing it."

In the African society Time (Igba or Akoko) is linked to certain seasonal events, such as festivals, harvests, rains, masquerade shows, wars and the reigns of certain kings. These events are memorable and meaningful in terms of the phenomena attached to them.

According to Muller (1995 : 9) "the philosophical structure of African communal society is supported by a phenomenological pillar; that such precepts as perception, interpretation and intentionality (that are central to Husserlian Phenomenology) are present in the intellectual/theoretical make-up of African, and

hence South African culture".

From the above, it is pertinent to incorporate Ubuntu as a new paradigm of communalism in participatory planning and in understanding and solving the homelessness problem which derives partly from the old apartheid structure and inability of the old paradigm to solve it.

The Planner must integrate the basic and personal needs of the street homeless women by ensuring their involvement in grassroots associations such as Johannesburg Homeless Association and South African Homeless People's Federation.

This should be achieved within the spirit of Ubuntu which is an African trait that supports communal participation, consensus, a new communalism, inclusivity, collectivism, cooperation, dependability, dignity, integrity and sharing.

Ubuntu is the core of African values and to a large extent, core of phenomenological principles based on cooperative exploration.

9.3.8 Coordinating / Ameliorating Role

The planner plays a major role in coordinating all efforts of the street homeless women and stakeholders or institutions involved in ameliorating their problems. The ameliorative role of the planner is seen on the one hand in transforming the street homeless women's poor/lack of housing into decent housing. This includes satisfying their practical needs. On the other hand, the ameliorative role of the planner is seen in reforming the street homeless women, based on their experiences, into persons of dignity (satisfying their strategic needs).

The various interest groups (business, community, politicians, government, household, families) who are concerned or affected by the associated impact of homelessness need to be brought together, and this is the planner's role.

The planner should coordinate efforts aimed at improving vertical coordination

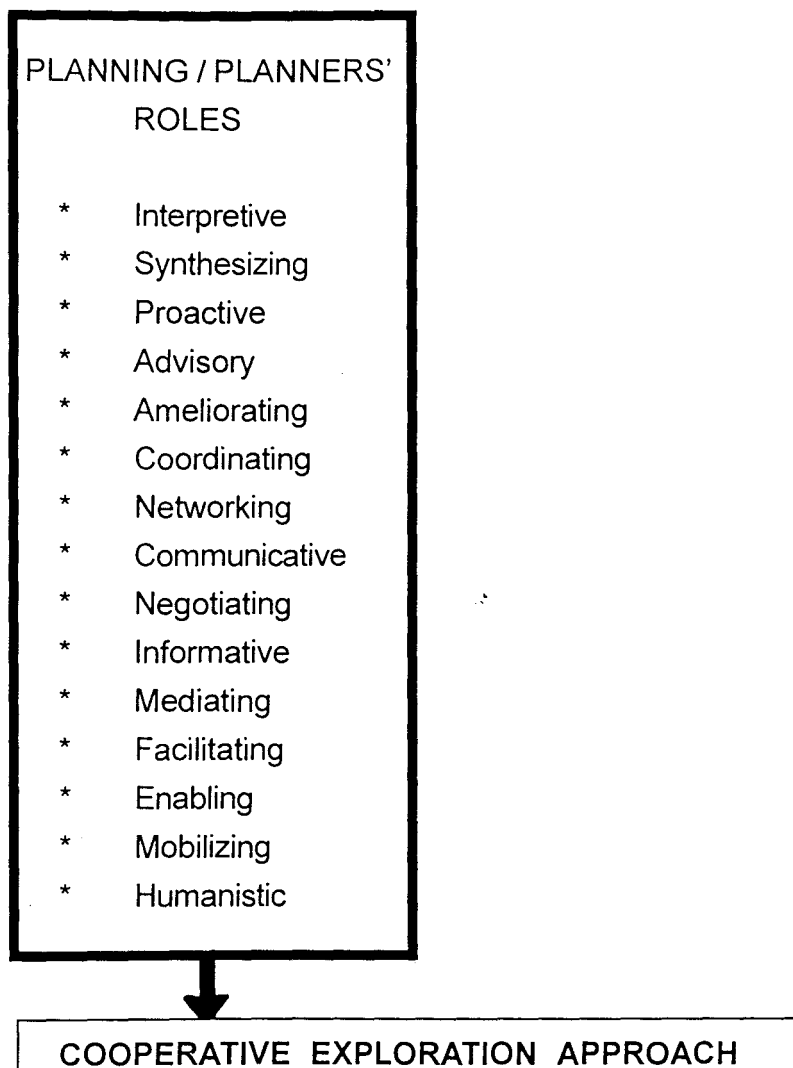
between bottom up information and street homeless interests and top-down information and policy guidance.

Also, horizontal coordination should be strengthened between spatial planning, financial, sectoral, socio-economic, social welfare and institutional functions. All these roles complement each other and should be pursued in an integrated manner (Figure 9.1).

9.3.9 Summary

By and large all the above roles are achieved through cooperative encounter and cooperative exploration. Mutual understanding between the Planner and the street homeless women fosters cooperative exploration.

Figure 9.1: Planning Roles in addressing the street homelessness problem in the Co-operative Exploration Approach



9.4 PHENOMENOLOGICAL PARTICIPATION PROCESS

Participation (which is another component of the Cooperative Exploration Approach) is an important part of the planning and decision making process. Participation, especially democratic participation, makes the planning system more responsive to changing circumstances. It facilitates the use of all human resources, regardless of their levels of skills.

An application of Wilcox's (1994) ideas mentioned in Chapter 5 to the phenomenological participation process is shown in Figure 9.2. Six steps of participatory process are shown. For every step taken, the involvement of the street homeless and the development planner, through cooperative exploration is important. An integration of the participatory process to the Cooperative Exploration Approach is indicated in Figure 9.3.

Planners should be in consultation with the street homeless women/groups right from the beginning of problem identification. This is referred to as cooperative encounter. The Planner meets with the street homeless women and together they identify and locate the street homeless abodes, they identify and distinguish their needs, problems and aspirations (figure 9.2). These are the first two steps of cooperative encounter. A cooperation is fostered through identification of key interests, brainstorming, workshops or calling a meeting and having a report back meeting (feedback mechanism). This process is realised through street homeless leaders, volunteers and liaison person and it gives the street homeless women a more realistic understanding of the planning process.

The third step involves the application of phenomenological methodology in understanding the street homeless women's problems. Here cooperative exploration of the street homeless women's ideas and knowledge are combined with the planner's skills.

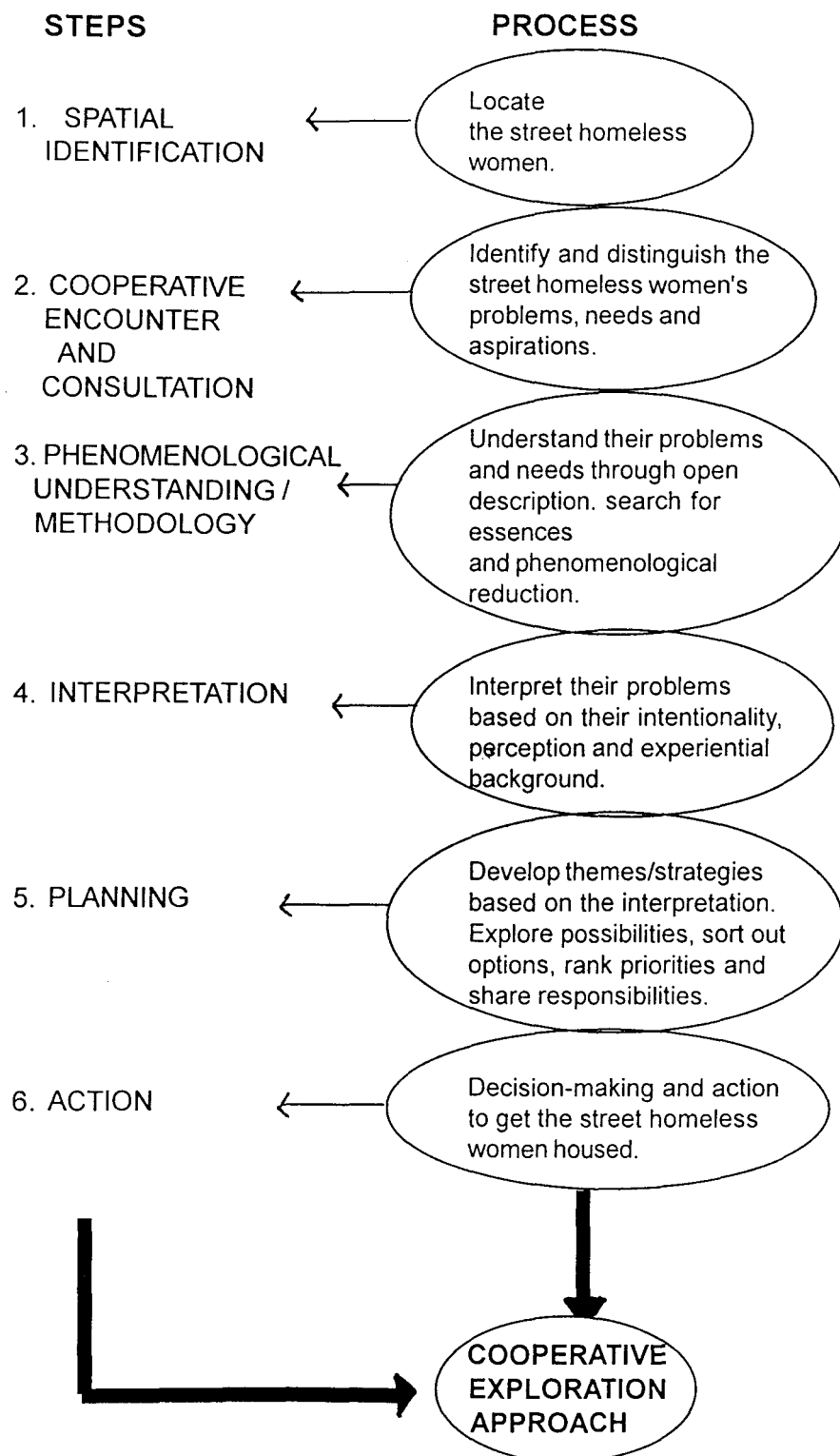
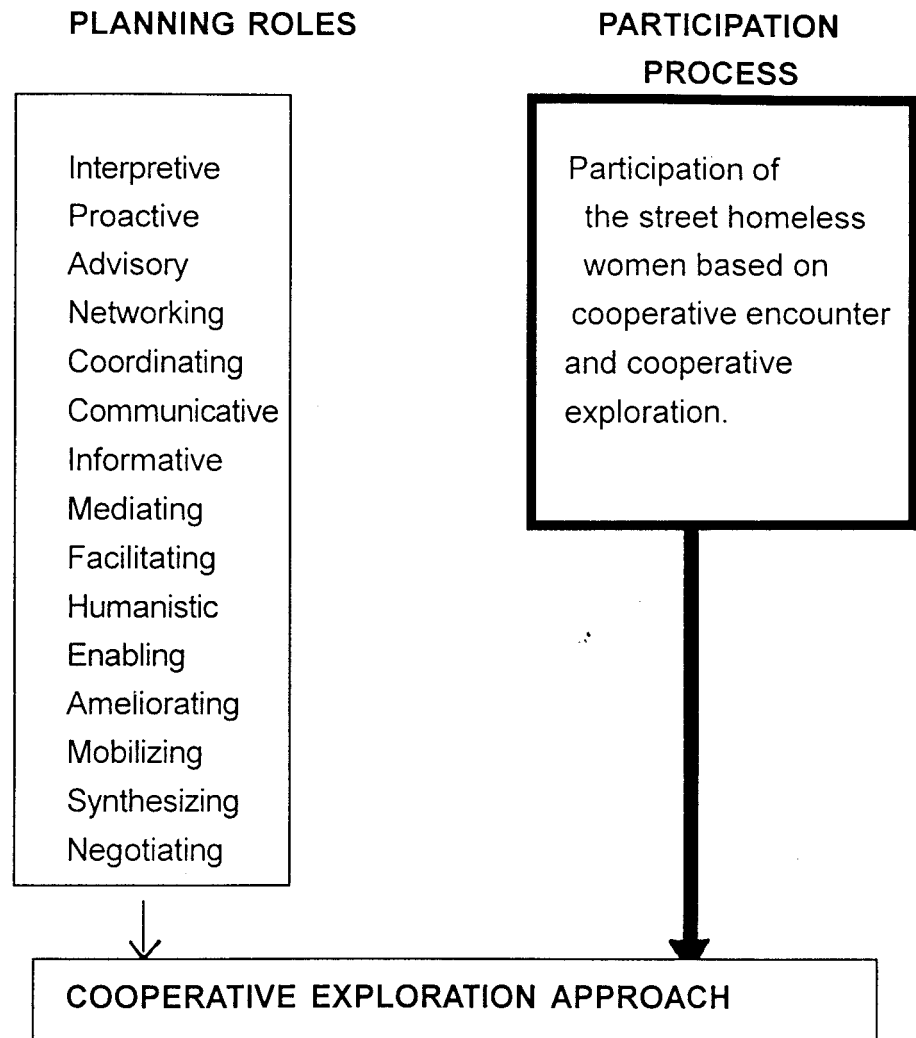
Figure 9.2 : Phenomenological Participation Process

Figure 9.3 : Integrating Participation Process into the Cooperative Exploration Approach



Step four is the Interpretation stage. The problems, needs and aspirations of the street homeless women are interpreted, based on their perceptions, experience and intentionality, by the Planner.

In step five, themes and strategies are developed, based on the interpretation. The Planner and the street homeless women, through cooperative exploration, explore possibilities, sort out options, rank priorities, share responsibilities and set out a plan of action.

The last step is the decision making and action (implementation) stage. At this stage, decisions are made and practical actions are taken to get the street homeless women housed. This stage involves cooperative exploration partnership and commitment of both the street homeless women and the planner. The communicative and dialogue skills of the planner are brought into play here. The planner must also be careful not to impose his own ideas on the street homeless women.

It is at this stage that the street homeless women are fully in charge and involved. The Development Planning for Real Process is a technique (a toolkit) that allows the community (street homeless women in this case) to establish a common ground between "us" and "them" as a basis for a combined operation to create a working neighbourhood (Mitlin and Thompson 1995 : 236).

Experience-based learning, coupled with cooperative encounter and cooperative exploration enables the street homeless women to develop an understanding of their phenomena. This understanding in turn helps them to determine the future direction of getting a decent living environment. Experience-based learning has two separate but interrelated purposes:

- (a) It provides contexts in which the poor street homeless women evolve their own autonomous understanding of their social and economic environment, not just on the micro-level, but via exchange in the sub-regional and

global arenas as well.

- (b) It equips the street homeless women with the ability to carry out and drive their own experiential learning programmes, and to escape homelessness and get housed.

9.5 GENDER PLANNING AND HOMELESSNESS

Another component of the Cooperative Exploration Approach to be considered is the incorporation of gender in understanding and solving the street homelessness problem. Past planning approaches have been gender blind. The planning approaches have failed to incorporate gender into the planning methodology, curriculum and other planning disciplines. Gender has not been recognized as an important resource in the planning literature, decision-making and planning actions. To alleviate these inadequacies and to contain women within the homelessness context, the study emphasises that women have to be subsumed in planning and decision-making, in order to understand and seek solutions to the homelessness problem.

To develop practical solutions to the street homelessness problem, the street homeless women have to be aware of their practical and strategic needs.

The needs of the street homeless women vary (as seen in Chapters 6, 7, 8). Their needs range from basic needs (food, shelter, water, employment) to personal needs (voice, dignity, self-realisation and reliance). Street homeless women's needs also vary according to the various causal factors rendering them homeless (Chapters 7 and 8). Street homeless women's daily lives and collective experience reflect the problems of child nurturing and rearing, physical and domestic labour, personal care such as haircare, bodycare/hygiene, healthcare, clothing, shopping, crime, transportation, leisure and school.

However, an awareness of these needs enable planners to plan or develop strategies to meet them. It enables planners to begin to deconstruct the gender issues associated with homelessness and reconstruct, relate and incorporate them into the planning process and methodology. These gender issues must take cognisance of the women's triple roles -reproductive, productive and community managing work. When this is achieved, action can then start, especially at the grassroots level, with the street homeless women. This action has to be participatory, that is common learning process based on the local knowledge of the street homeless women. To facilitate a participatory planning process, gender sensitive participatory diagnosis needs to be developed to improve development efforts targeted at the street homeless women.

Diagrams, pictorial representation, etc., could be used for discussion so that the street homeless women are empowered. They have to realise that they do not have to have any formal education to analyze their problem.

Street homeless women should have access to and control resources. They should have access to decision-making in order to enhance participation. Active gender balanced participation should also be promoted. Street homeless women should be made to participate in a relaxed environment. Planners should identify the most outspoken women who can prompt or provoke other women to participate. Planners should also take note of the verbal and non-verbal cues (phenomenology) of these women during participation. This is cooperative exploration. Cognisance should be taken of their practical and strategic needs during this process of participation. To enable the street homeless women to get off the streets, planning, development and action oriented efforts have to be encapsulated and all embracing.

Figure 9.4 outlines how practical and strategic needs of the street homeless women could be incorporated into the planning framework and cooperative exploration approach (Figure 9.5).

Figure 9.4 further indicates that the identification and awareness of the needs of the street homeless women would lead to a realization through cooperative exploration and understanding, of their existential being.

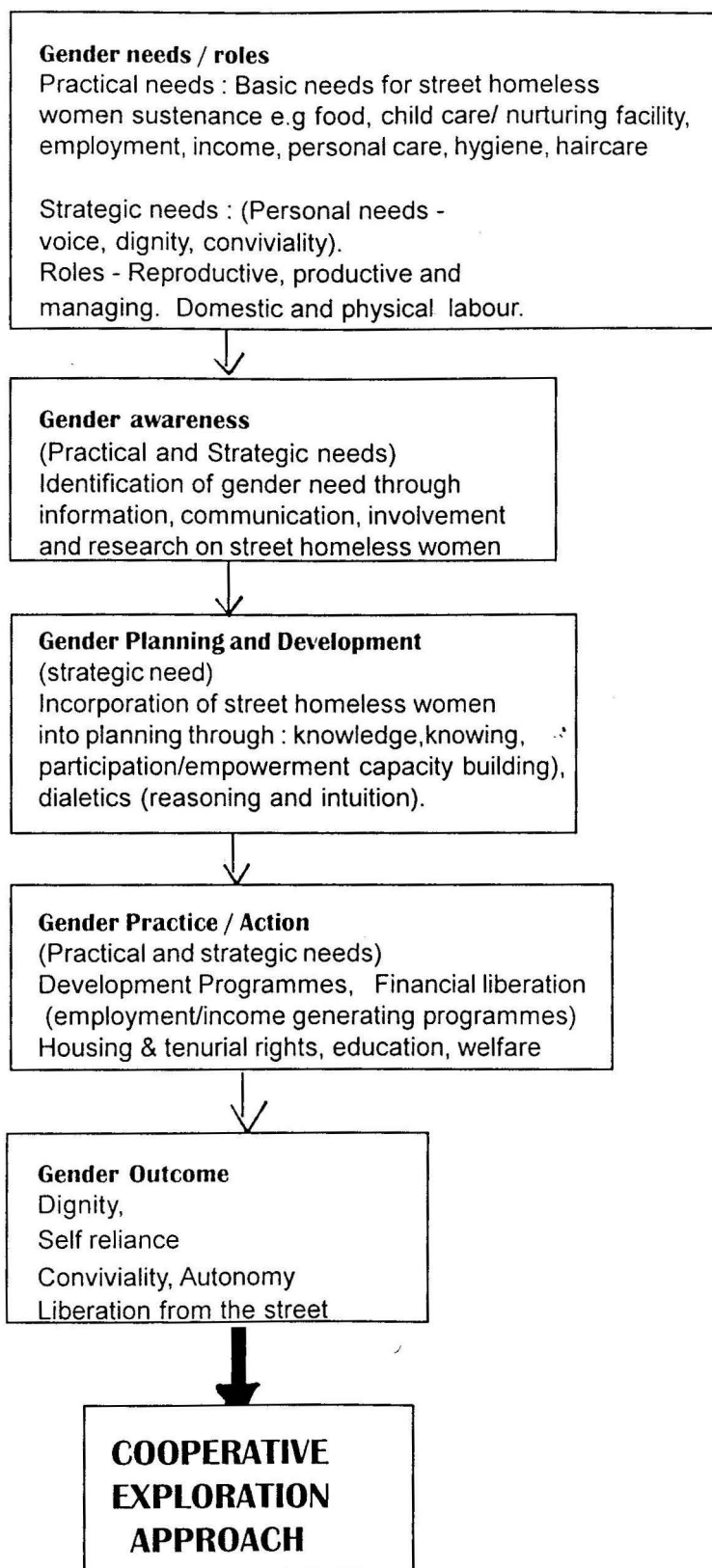
An awareness of their practical and strategic needs makes it possible for planning and development intervention.

Meeting the strategic needs of the street homeless women through participation, empowerment (capacity building) and knowledge reinforces their need to be emancipated and to be autonomous. Once the strategic needs are met, intrinsically, their practical needs would be met. Their personal (experiential), sociological and positive (reasoning) knowledge has to be taken cognisance of, developed and incorporated into planning/actions that concern them.

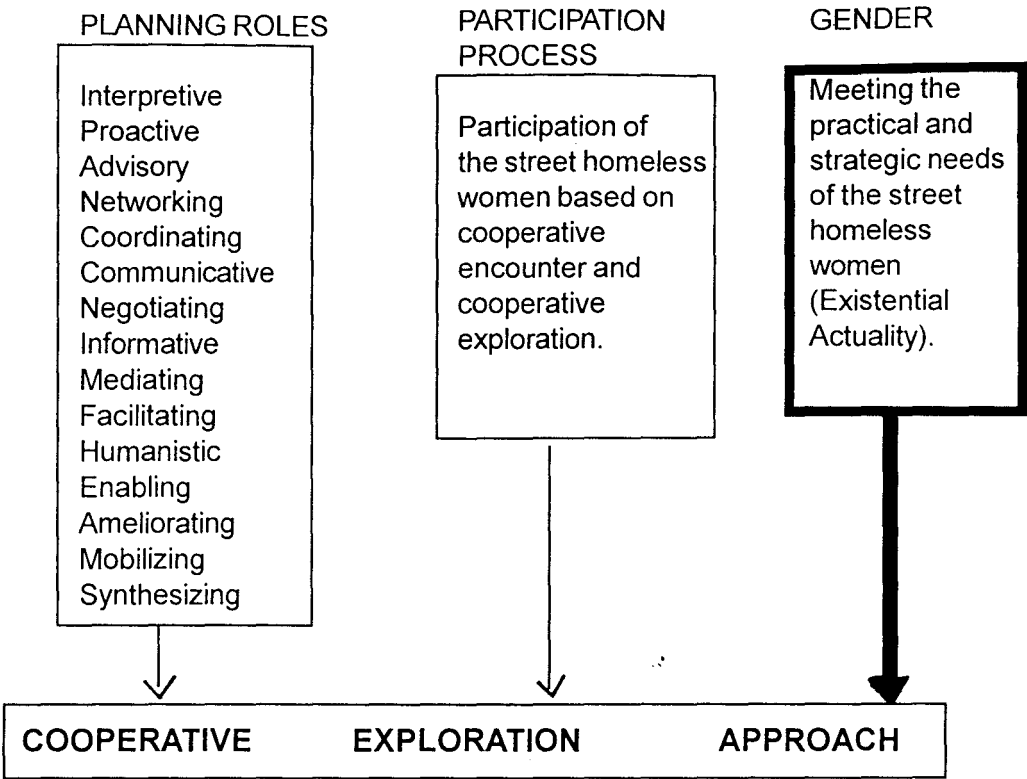
To facilitate planning and development efforts, autonomy of the street homeless women is important. Their physical, economic, political as well as socio-cultural autonomy is germane to their getting off the streets. Also, their ways of knowing should be incorporated because it invigorates self-reflection, praxis and dialectics. The above would enable action towards getting the street homeless women housed. The outcome of this action is dignity, conviviality, self-reliance, autonomy and liberation for the street homeless women.

For sustainability of the above planning and development efforts, institutional forum/structure has to be put in place. This forum must comprise the street homeless women, planners, the community, government (especially local government), private/business sector, non-governmental organisations, religious organisations and community-based organisations (see Sustainable Partnership developed in Section 9.6, Figure 9.6).

**Figure 9.4 Incorporating the practical and strategic needs
of the street homeless women into planning**



**Figure 9.5 : Integrating Gender into the Cooperative
Exploration Approach**



9.6 INSTITUTIONAL INTERVENTION

A fourth component of the Cooperative Exploration Approach are the interventions that could be adopted by planners, government, non-governmental institutions and communities in providing practical solutions to the homelessness problem.

Solutions to the homelessness problem must look beyond emergency shelter for the homeless. A comprehensive approach which is more than shelter is more appropriate. That is, providing combined services that meet the diverse and desperate needs of the street homeless. A programme that will ease the transition from homelessness back into a life where people can think further than the next meal, or where a soup kitchen is located, or the next night's shelter. A comprehensive institutional strategy, based on sustainable partnership, that will help the homeless gain control of their lives, help them find and hold jobs, help them regain hope and leave life on the streets behind, constitutes another component of the Integrated Planning Approach

Based on the above, the street homeless cluster into four groups with particular needs:

- (a) Need for permanent custodial care, for example the aged/elderly, disabled and homeless children.
- (b) Need for developmental assistance, for example skills development, training, education and employment.
- (c) Need for crisis care only, for example, healthcare, alcoholism and drug rehabilitation programmes or counselling.
- (d) Need for shelter only.

These needs require interventions by both public (government) institutions (particularly national and local governments); the private (non-governmental sector; private business sector) and the community-based organisations institutions.

9.6.1 PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

9.6.1.1 The National Government

A responsibility of the national government is in enabling and formulation of broad policies and provision of fund/finance to appropriate levels of government. Since policy is concerned with defining the broad goals and strategies for action whether public or private, the national government needs to formulate policies by which the public sector can create an enabling condition for the street homeless women to obtain greater access to services. The street homeless women's needs cut across welfare, housing, land, economic/finance, employment and education. It becomes imperative for the various ministries/departments of the government to formulate sustainable policies in these areas.

The interaction or partnership among and between these departments is also important. The various policy options suggested are discussed next.

A. Policy options for land

- (1) Relocation should be carried out with the street homeless women's participation.
- (2) Land banking should be encouraged, that is government should purchase land in advance of its needs to ensure its availability at affordable prices for the homeless. Land acquisition could also be done through voluntary negotiations with and sale by private owners.

- (3) Adoption and enforcement of appropriate land use regulations and controls to ensure adequate land for infrastructure and services in homeless communities.
- (4) Government should provide developed land for the street homeless and the street homeless should pay for this land at below market interest rates until the land finally becomes theirs after full payment.

B. Policy options for housing and service provision

- (1) The decision-making, control of resources and management of the process of development must be in the hands of the street homeless (women must play a central role here).
- (2) Direct provision of services by the provincial, metropolitan and local levels of government.
- (3) Co-production or joint production of housing, infrastructures and services by public and private organisations.
- (4) Self-help provision of housing by the street homeless community with assistance from the local government authorities and planners.
- (5) Policy options that can increase the capacity of all participants in shelter construction and service delivery and promote public-private cooperation will become increasingly important during the 21st century.

C. Policy options for financing housing and infrastructure.

- (1) Earmarking special duties, fees and fines, amusement or entertainment taxes, to develop housing, infrastructure and services.

- (2) Subsidies should be channelled to homeless organisations through the savings collectives by women of the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF).
- (3) The government and banking institutions should recognise the SAHPF Women's Savings Collectives.

D. Policy options for Education

- (1) Provision of funds and establishment of centres for skills upgrading facilities like vocational training in the areas of hairdressing, childcare, domestic science, personal/hygienic care.
- (2) Provision of informal education, using pictorial diagrams representing objects, etc. in teaching illiterate street homeless women.
- (3) Provision of formal education (free) for the street homeless women who are still willing to continue their education.

E. Policy options for employment generation programmes

- (1) Develop programmes that will increase the capacity of the homeless to provide appropriate service, build low-cost housing and provide construction materials for shelter and infrastructure.
- (2) Develop programmes and projects that include participation and component of local small-scale industries or even piece jobs like taxi/car-washing, scavenging (picking of paper, cans for recycling). The street homeless women should participate in these projects so as to make them self-reliant and set up their own small-scale businesses.

- (3) Design service improvement programmes to generate employment for the street homeless women. This programme should be tailored towards the basic services strategy of UNICEF. This will build the skills and raise the incomes of the street homeless women.
- (4) Develop informal sector programmes/activities in the areas hawking vegetables or other items, selling newspapers, sewing, knitting, hairdressing, creche services among the street homeless women.

F. Policy options for welfare

- (1) Provision of mobile clinics to each street homeless community to meet their health needs.
- (2) Establishing a social security fund for the street homeless women, especially the aged and disabled/handicapped.
- (3) Making available the services of a social worker to assist in counselling the street homeless women.

9.6.1.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The local government has greater responsibility in addressing and solving the street homeless problem.

The actual (practical) implementation of policies, plans and programmes directed towards the street homeless women takes place at the local government level.

This is the government at the grassroots level. The local government's responsibility is to bridge the gap between what the street homeless and what the market can provide. The local government should identify the needs and potential of the street homeless women and be able to organise capacity building, participation and development facilitation programmes for the street homeless

women.

The local government should work very closely with the street homeless women by facilitating and establishing programmes, for example leadership training, skills training, literacy and actual empowerment, networking (sharing experiences, successes and failures) and provision of basic services. They can also stimulate the activities of NGOs.

The local government should conduct a feasibility study on the street homeless. This would enable them to identify the socio-economic characteristics of the street homeless and the peculiar characteristics of the women.

The local government also plays an enabling role by providing a framework for proper housing, identification and land procurement, job creation and technical assistance.

They should be a facilitator of self-help and cooperative activities for the street homeless women. They should also facilitate needs assessment, determination of standards of services, fund allocation/financing, planning, implementation, supervision of projects targeted towards the street homeless women.

The local government should also facilitate co-provision and co-financing of housing and services with the other non-governmental sectors.

The local government could also play a co-ordinating role. They should co-ordinate all street homeless women's activities and liaise between the provincial and metropolitan governments.

They should co-ordinate all issues pertaining to the homelessness problem. Their role also comprises putting into action the policies/programmes laid out by the national, provincial, and metropolitan governments.

The Local government should provide urgent assistance to street homeless people. A law should be made to commit departments within the local government to make a plan for urgent accommodation. This is an interim measure which puts in place a programme to bridge the gap between no shelter and permanent shelter. This should be seen as a process in ensuring that there is sufficient temporary shelter and a positive plan to ensuring proper housing.

With regard to allocation of housing, the Local government should give street homeless people and other badly housed people preference. The use of abandoned buildings is crucial. These buildings can be transformed into dwellings for the street homeless people.

9.6.2 PRIVATE SECTOR (PROFIT/BUSINESS ORIENTED)

The private business sector had no or minimal role to play in the past concerning the street homelessness phenomenon. This is in part due to the negative social behaviour attributed to the street homeless and this negative perspective scares customers of business away.

However, within the context of this study, the business sector's social responsibility could be tapped and used in solving the street homelessness problem or the business sector could maintain the status quo of no contribution. The social responsibility of business is not limited to social marketing, but must also include the direct welfare of the larger society (which includes the street homeless). To this end, the business sector could use the street homeless women in promoting, advertising and marketing their products.

With regard to product promotion and advertising, the street homeless women could be used to promote business products on the radio, television and even through distribution of handbills or pamphlets.

The women could also be used in advertising products either on the television in between sports (for example soccer, rugby) or in between soap operas or drama programmes. The street homeless women could also be involved in advertising on billboards or posters and these would be placed strategically in public places. In a way they are earning income and in another way, some of the proceeds of the advertising could be used in improving the Homeless Talk newspaper.

Another contribution which the business sector could be involved in, is sponsoring fashion shows and beauty pageants primarily involving the street homeless women. The money realised from such shows could be used in setting up a vocational training centre for the street homeless women.

9.6.3 RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

The efforts of the religious organisations in providing shelter, counselling, providing employment opportunities, feeding, clothing and healthcare to the street homeless is commendable. These religious organisations should come together to form a coalition, like the recently established Interfaith coalition which aimed at reversing Johannesburg's decaying core by stimulating activities targeted towards reclaiming the inner-city from crime, litter and poverty. A similar coalition which would pull together the supportive role and activities mentioned earlier should be formed. This would eradicate duplication of efforts and activities, and minimise costs expended in providing these services.

Presently, the feeding schemes (soup kitchens) are short-term solutions and this can degenerate into social feeding whereby even the pseudo homeless people would benefit from the feeding schemes. This effort as it is now would continue to sustain homelessness on the long run. The street homeless who come for soup and bread have no identification so other people can mingle with them.

Therefore, this study is suggesting a redirection of the money used in feeding scheme towards provision of small-scale hawking business for the street homeless women who are unemployed. Furthermore, they can also create awareness through radio jingles, religious programmes on the television or radio to the society and surprisingly within the corridors of power, to people who do not even know about homelessness.

This awareness would set people and government thinking about what solutions could be proffered. Coupled with this, a massive campaign against street homelessness could then be launched.

9.6.4 COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATIONS (CBOs)

The main role of CBOs is in transforming, training and empowering the street

homeless women. CBOs have the experiential basis and knowledge for deciding the hierarchy of needs of the homeless, and are best equipped to prioritise these needs. The street homeless leaders who have no training but have knowledge and experience can utilize this experience to pool resources together and structure the contents of the training programme.

By means of training, the street homeless women are given space to carry out their own investigation and analysis of the socio-economic environment in which they live. The knowledge derived from this can give the homeless the will and strength to act collectively with the aim of controlling their lives and the environment. This will empower them. All transformation occurs within the boundaries of the street homeless (people's) self determined priorities and it is driven by their own resources, initiatives and skills.

The CBOs could also solicit for contributions and donations. They could use community festivals, jamborees and lotteries to raise funds for the street homeless women.

The street homeless, if properly integrated and coordinated, have a very important role to play within the Reconstruction and Development Programme. They are ready and willing to render artisan services (even the women) and training opportunities (training the trainer programmes). Furthermore, the process of self-help and do-it-yourself would combat the sense of powerlessness among the homeless people. They would now have a sense of dignity, self-esteem and confidence. The already existing CBOs, like SAHPF, Johannesburg Homeless Association could be utilised for this purpose.

9.6.5 SUMMARY

Sustainable partnership derives from the comprehensive institutional strategy discussed in Section 9.6 and it is a component of the Cooperative Exploration

Approach.

"Partnership in planning and development means the cooperation between partners who represent different interests but are willing to collaborate on a common project on an equitable basis" (Habitat II, 1996 : 20). The common project here is understanding and solving the street homelessness problem and the partners or partnership involves selected members of all the public, private, planning, community based and religious organisations identified and discussed in this study.

These members (including representatives of the street homeless women) come together to "bosberaad" or talk shop or brainstorm or debate on issues affecting the street homeless women. This cooperative exploration and communicative exercise results in a proposition agreed on and passed on to the decision-maker for implementation.

This form of partnership is between the various governmental departments mentioned earlier; between various levels of government; between these public institutions, CBOs and the street homeless; between public and private organisations; and between all these organisations and planning institutions.

The sustainability of these partnerships is crucial when cogisance is taken of the haphazard and uncoordinated ways policies and programmes targeted towards the street homeless were handled in the past. In essence, the various institutions in a comprehensive way have to integrate their actions towards the street homeless women in an interactive, holistic and cooperative manner. However, this comprehensive institutional strategy based on sustainable partnership (Figure 9.6) must be backed up by appropriate legislation, finance and research. This would enhance effective planning intervention and action that would get the street homeless women housed.

9.7 INTEGRATION OF THE COOPERATIVE EXPLORATION APPROACH

Figure 9.7 gives a systemic view of the Cooperative Exploration Approach. It indicates the inputs into the system (literature review, institutional roles, the reconnaissance, qualitative and quali-quantitative surveys). These inputs went through the process of conversion, that is analysis due to the fragmentary approach adopted in the past in solving the street homelessness problem. The output or result was a synthesis of planning roles, process, gender and institutional intervention through cooperative exploration. The systemic view is placed within the context of the overall environment of the street homeless women.

A further interpretation of the Cooperative Exploration Approach in figures 9.8a and b indicate planning connects each of the components of the approach.

The Cooperative Exploration Approach :

- (a) Promotes sustainability and democratization of planning. Solutions to the street homelessness problem must focus on short-term results with long-term concerns for sustainable development and sustainable environment. These solutions must take place at the grassroots level and must be linked to the objectives of the "Local Agenda 21" (Naiker, 1995 : 19).

Figure 9.6 : Sustainable Partnership in solving the street Homelessness Problem

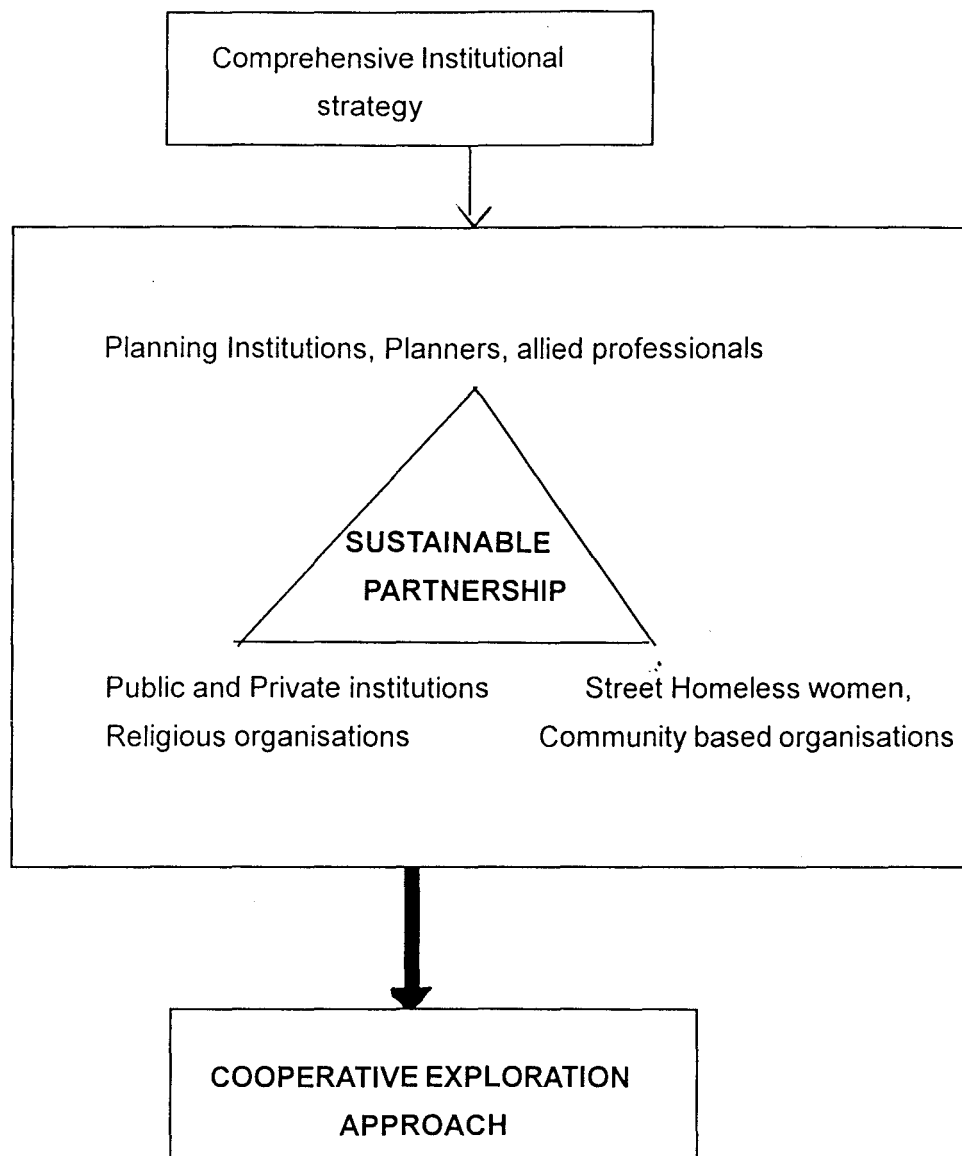
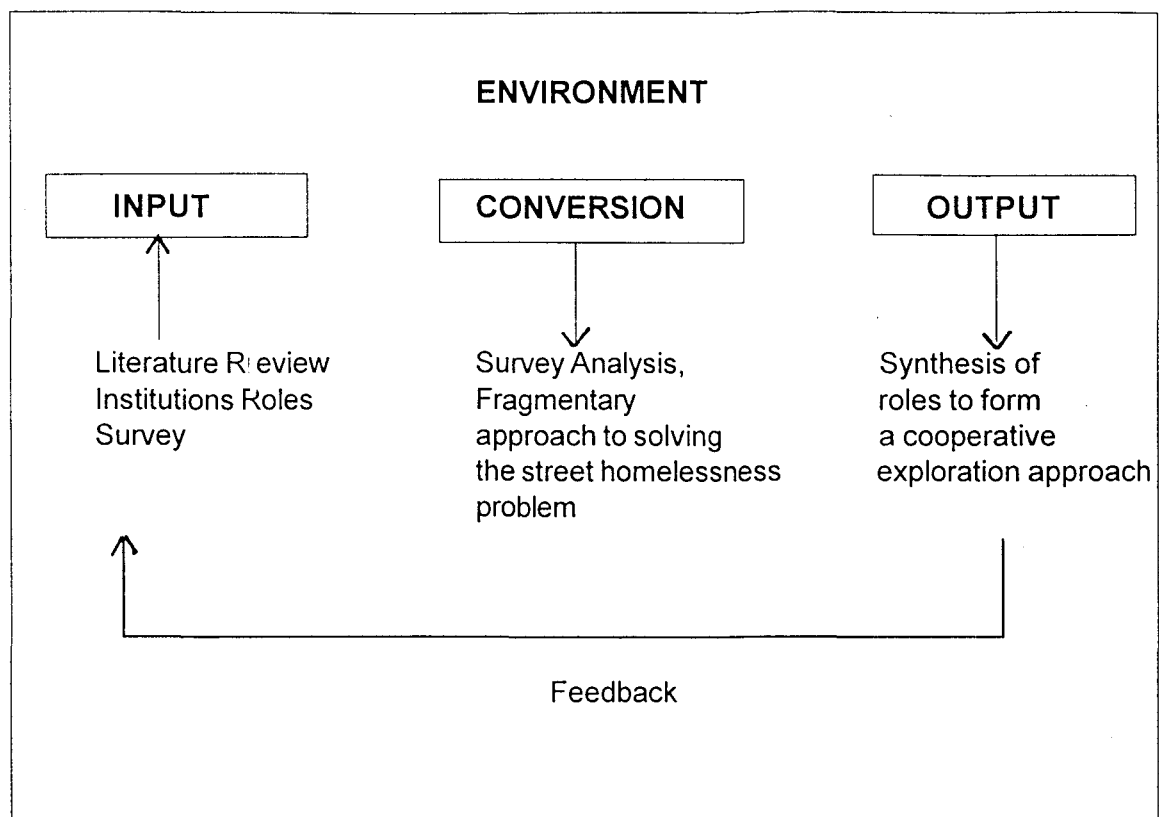


Figure 9.7 : Cooperative Exploration Approach : A systems view



- (b) Facilitates "subsidiarity" (Naiker, 1995 : 20; Steinich, 1996 : 51), that is taking decisions on planning issues at the lowest (grassroots) level, or local government level. This is a form of decentralisation that ensures the continuity of decision-making affecting street homeless women. Subsidiarity provides a link between decisions and communication.
- (c) Encourages participation of all stakeholders in planning. This in turn enhances planning effectiveness and outcome with regards to the street homelessness problem.
- (d) Promotes the African community concept of Ubuntu, that is consensus, collective or communal participation, communalism - which supports the principles of phenomenology.
- (e) It is a flexible, reflective and dynamic approach.

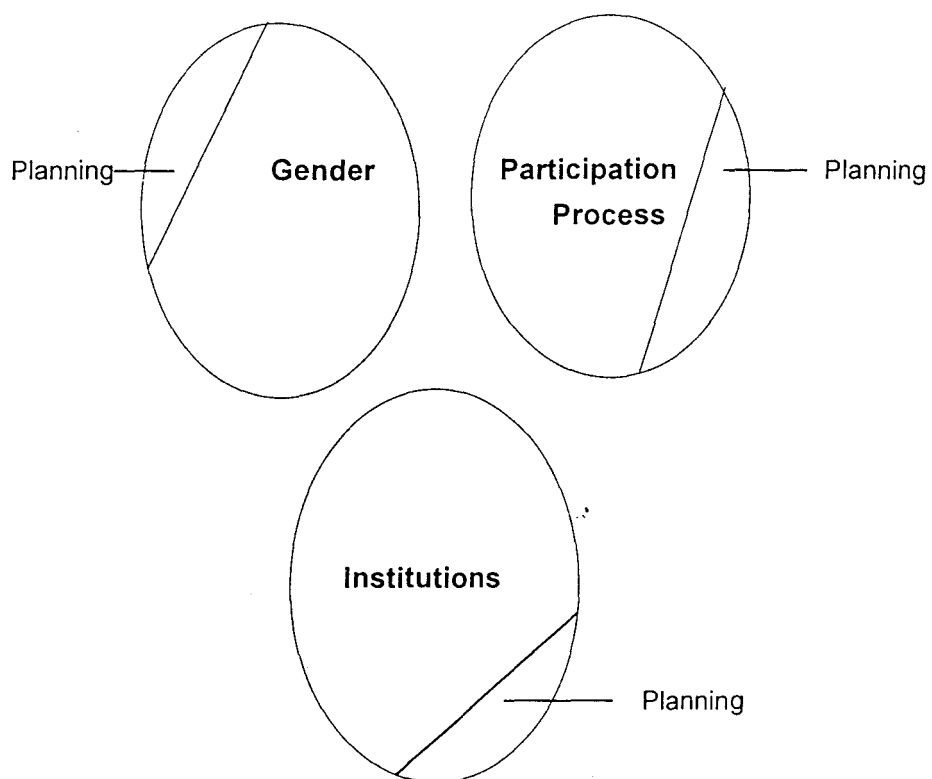
However, the approach is time-demanding.

The Cooperative Exploration Approach is an all-embracing, collaborative and ameliorative approach which combines all the four components namely, planning roles, phenomenological participation process, gender planning and homelessness and institutional intervention in an integrated way (figure 9.9).

It is all-embracing in the sense that, while not completely disregarding traditional planning approaches, it develops a new interactive and participative mode in the planning process.

It is collaborative in terms of combining the various roles of planners together in a multi-functional and multi-dimensional way. It is ameliorative in that it is a subtle approach which systematically and gradually provides solutions to the street homelessness problem.

Figure 9.8a : Cooperative Exploration Approach



* Each strategy has a planning component

Figure 9.8b : Cooperative Exploration Approach

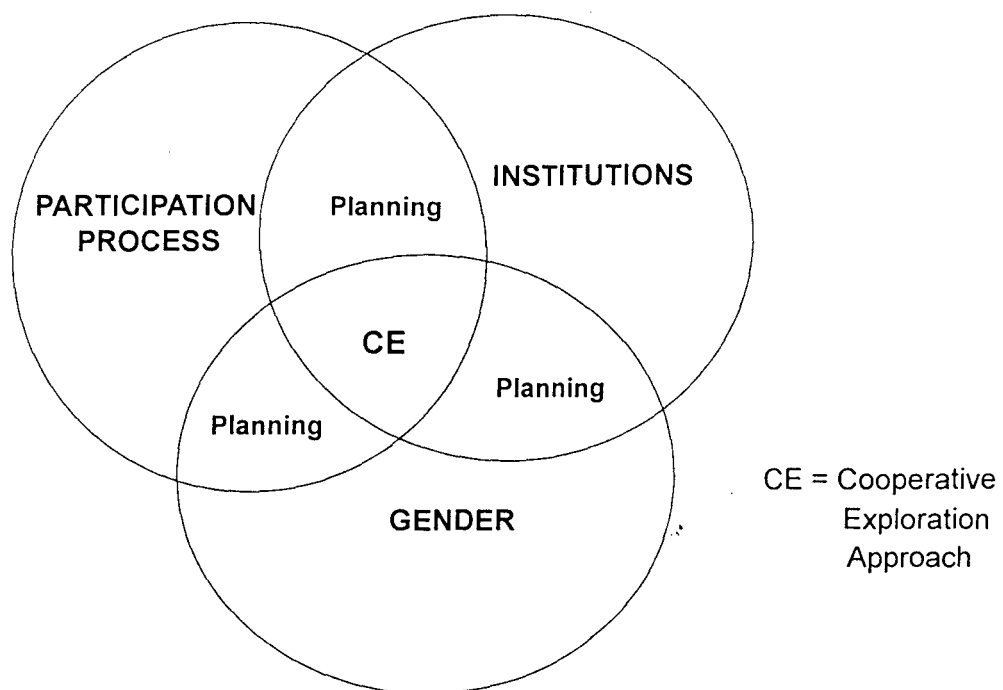
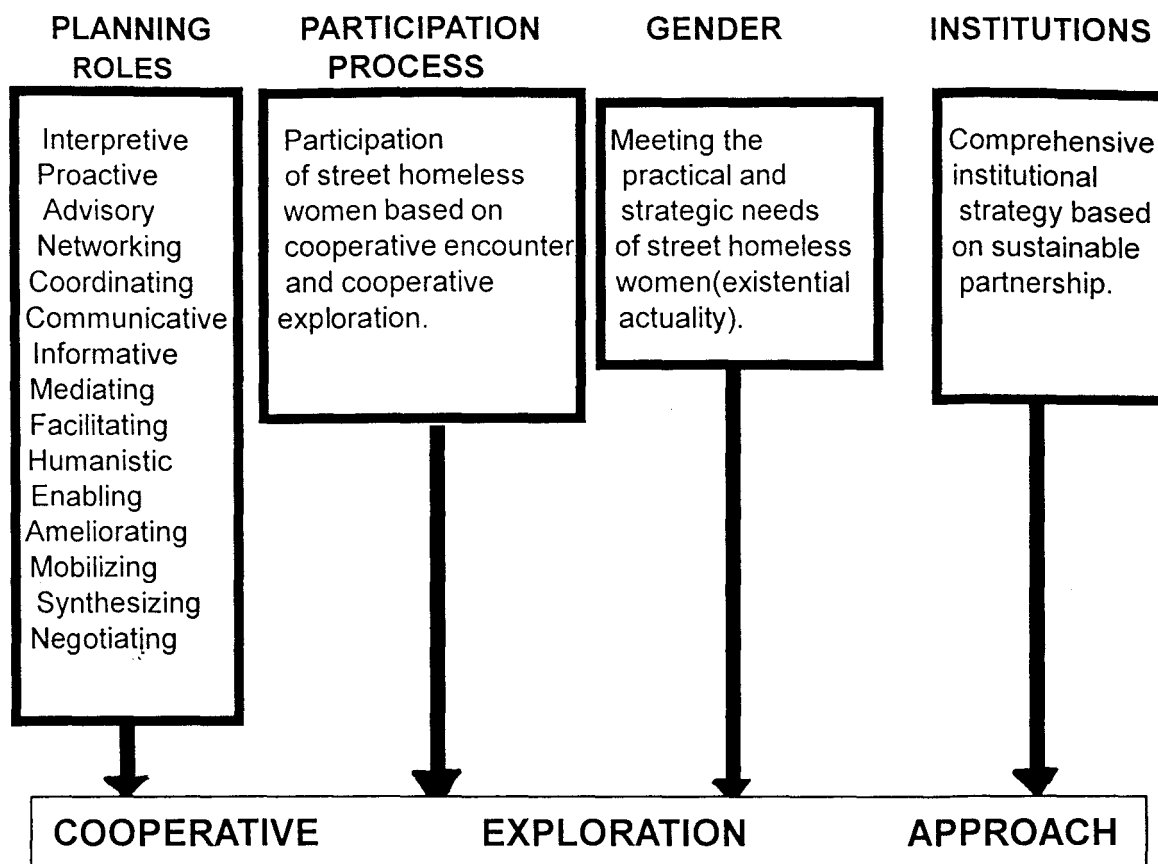


Figure 9.9 : The Cooperative Exploration Approach : An Integration



9.8 SUMMARY

Practical interests are derived directly from street homeless women's experiences in their gender relations and interests for survival. Strategic interests are derived from a more theoretical analysis of the street homeless women's subordination to men.

Participation encourages planners to understand the priorities and have insights into the street homeless women. Participation enhances self-confidence and self-esteem. When real participation is achieved, the street homeless women are freed from ingrained patterns of exploitation and repression.

Participative research is the basis for improved programme/project sustainability for the street homeless women in the medium and long-term. Only the involvement of the street homeless women can ensure success of initiatives at the community level.

By contributing to knowledge in planning, this chapter proposed certain approaches that could lead to an understanding of, and provide practical solutions to the street homelessness problem in South Africa in particular, and in Africa in general.

The chapter proposed strategies in the areas of planning roles; phenomenological participation process; gender planning and homelessness; and institutional intervention.

The various components fit into the Cooperative Exploration Approach (a multi-faceted approach - Figure 9.9) in understanding and solving the street homelessness problem.

An incorporation of this approach into the planning literature, methodology and theory, as well as practical implementation would lead to a further understanding of the plight of the street homeless women and advance solutions to their problem.

The study contends that the Cooperative Exploration Approach deriving from phenomenological principles (perception, intentionality, interpretation and lifeworld experiences) using the phenomenological methodology (reduction, search for essences and open description) could be used to understand and solve the street homelessness problem in South Africa and more broadly, elsewhere.

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HOPE

To live without a place to stay,
is a struggle from night to day.
Accepting what you get,
Cause you have no way to earn
your bread,
on a pavement rest thou head.

Everything will change,
Memories this will stay,
as time keeps ticking away,
For now the streets stay our bed,
the only place where me and some
can rest our head.

Finck, 1996

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

10.0 GENERAL SUMMARY

In Chapter One, we set out the main objective of the research which was to examine the homelessness problem from a planning and gender perspective, with the purpose of applying or using a theoretical approach, which will lead to an understanding of, and practical solutions to, the homelessness problem in African cities.

The chapter indicates that the high rate of urbanization, population growth (natural increase and migration), and apartheid housing segregation policies, have led to both quantitative and qualitative housing deficiency. This has subsequently perpetuated the growth of informal settlements, bad housing and consequently, high incidence of squatters and street homeless people.

The differences between squatting and street homelessness were identified and it was revealed that women are the most vulnerable to street homelessness. The consequences of urbanization, population growth, poverty, and unemployment are felt more by women and particularly, street homeless women constitute the population at risk.

The data collection procedure which was basically reconnaissance, qualitative (phenomenology) and quali-quantitative in nature was also discussed in this chapter.

It was clearly reiterated that there is no clear planning response, no clear planning model and no developmental/grassroots efforts in solving the homelessness problem.

The difficulty in obtaining accurate statistics on the street homeless people because of their transient nature was also pointed out.

Chapter Two reviews the international perspectives on homelessness, the various definitional approaches to home and homelessness. It shows that homelessness is a global phenomenon and that the homeless population has similar characteristics and homelessness has similar forms or occurrence.

The chapter indicates that women constitute the fastest growing group of the homeless population and that women tend to conceal their homelessness.

The chapter reviews the gender perspective on homelessness, homelessness among women as well as the role of women in housing and human settlements development.

The chapter emphasizes the need for a more gender-focused approach in understanding the homelessness problem. It also took cognisance of practical and strategic gender needs.

Chapter Three describes the existing institutional roles, policies and programmes targeted towards addressing and seeking solutions to the homelessness problem in South Africa.

The chapter examines the roles of the government, non-governmental organisations (NGO) and community based organisations (CBO) in providing assistance to the homeless. Though the government has laudable objectives towards the homeless, no reference was made to the street homeless, the focus being on squatters.

The efforts by NGOs (People's Dialogue, Central Johannesburg partnership) and CBO's (South African Homeless People's Federation) is commendable. Also the roles played by religious organisations like St George's United Church and Central Methodist Mission is worth mentioning. These NGOs, CBOs and religious organisations have been involved in the plight of the street homeless

people and have developed programmes to assist them.

Chapter Four considers the planning traditions and planning theory classification. It highlights the inadequacies in these planning traditions and emphasizes why phenomenology is the appropriate methodology for understanding and solving the homelessness problem. It gives an historical overview of phenomenology. The chapter discusses the phenomenological principles of intentionality, perceptual experience and everyday life world. It attempts to link some aspects of feminist theory related to phenomenology and planning. The chapter reviews the significance of participation, empowerment and knowledge in phenomenology.

Chapter Five is a further discussion on theoretical planning approach started in Chapter Four. This chapter substantiates the argument on phenomenology as the appropriate approach in understanding and solving the homelessness problem. The chapter discusses the concepts of participation, empowerment, autonomy, emancipation and knowledge-action linkage as important planning tools in phenomenology.

Chapter Six presents the results, analysis and interpretation of the data collected. The chapter describes the phenomenological methodology adopting the three approaches of open description, phenomenological reduction, and search for essences.

The chapter discusses the results of the reconnaissance survey which identified the street homeless shelters, street homeless abodes and types and which enumerated the street homeless on a gender basis. It shows the spatial dimension of street homelessness as well as the numerical extent of the problem. It gives a profile of selected street homeless locations.

Chapter Seven presents the results of the qualitative survey based on the utilization of the phenomenological questionnaire. This chapter interprets the

results and findings of the interviews/focus group discussion conducted on twelve street homeless women. It also interpreted the participant observation method conducted on the everyday life of four street homeless women.

The chapter describes and interprets the perceptions of street homeless women about their homelessness. It interprets the experiences of the street homeless women and their everyday life world.

The chapter discusses the themes that came up during the interviews such as employment, housing, housing rights, education, involvement of the street homeless women in programmes and policies that affect them.

Chapter Eight discusses the results of the quali-quantitative survey which was carried out on the street homeless (men and women) using structured and unstructured questions. The chapter describes the characteristics of the street homeless in relation to age, marital status, number of children, education, occupation, income, colour, ethnic background, nationality, former living abode and span of homelessness.

The chapter discusses the structural/underlying causes of homelessness, consequences and way of curbing the problem based on the street homeless responses. It indicates that street homelessness is a vicious cycle that revolves around poverty and unemployment.

Chapter Nine consider the planning strategy(ies) that could be adopted in understanding and providing practical solutions to the street homelessness problem based on the international perspectives, theoretical planning approaches and survey results based on phenomenological principles and methodology.

It considered four main components, namely :

- (a) strategies towards the changing planning/planners' role;

- (b) phenomenological participation process;
- (c) strategies towards gender planning and homelessness; and
- (d) strategies towards institutional intervention.

The chapter developed an alternative planning approach in understanding and solving the street homelessness problem. This approach is referred to as the Cooperative Exploration Approach. This approach derives from the four components mentioned in (a) - (d) above.

10.1 CONCLUSION

The study concludes that the Cooperative Exploration Approach which derives from phenomenological principles (perception, intentional, interpretation and lifeworld) and phenomenological methodology (reduction, search for essence and open description) could be used to understand and solve the street homelessness problem in South Africa, and elsewhere.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1

DRAFT LAND POLICY OF THE S.A. HOMELESS PEOPLE'S FEDERATION (SAHPF)

EVICTIONS

A People's Government must defend the rights of those whose rights have been trampled on for generations. There Shall Be No Evictions.

Where evictions cannot be avoided, there must be dialogue and consultation until an alternative is identified and accepted by the people.

INVASIONS

The Federation does not encourage land invasions. However, we know that the overwhelming majority of people who invade land do so of necessity. They do not invade land because they are landgrabbers or profiteers. Therefore where there are invasions, there shall be no evictions. The response to land invasions must be dialogue and negotiation first and relocation only with people's approval and participation.

STATE PROVISION OF LAND

1. The policy of Fast-Track development, accompanied by a Moratorium on Invasions, is not a solution. Poor people will be excluded and will continue to live lives of insecurity, outside the law.
2. The government must provide land to the homeless poor free of charge.
3. The people, and not developers, must determine the location and the development of the land. Government must support the people's initiative, not try to dictate it.

COMMUNITY SPACE AND INFRASTRUCTURE

1. In the interests of safety and security, government must also make land available to the poor for amenities such as clinics, schools, playing grounds, community centres and places of worship. Where appropriate, open space for small-scale agriculture should be provided.
2. Bulk services such as drainage, drinking water and electricity should be provided free of charge.
3. Communities should be allowed to manage their own infrastructure development, should they desire to do so.

THE MINISTER AND THE FEDERATION

1. The Federation does not expect government to decide how the poor and landless should solve their problems. They should decide themselves and government should support. This requires on-going dialogue between the Minister and leaders of the Federation.
2. The Federation strongly condemns shacklords because its members are often exploited and oppressed by them. Federation members are homeless, poor, law-abiding citizens of the New South Africa, mainly women committed to contributing concretely to their development. The Federation therefore, calls on the Minister to intervene directly in situations where legitimate Federation groups face evictions.

ADDENDUM

PROCEDURE FOR ENSURING POLICE PROTECTION DURING EVICTIONS

The Job of the Police

The job of the police is to protect people and their property. In the past, the police have only protected the demolition squads, now they must protect the people as well.

What is the role of the people to ensure police protection?

1. People must ensure that there is a legal demolition order; this order should specify date, place and number of houses and state reason for demolition.
2. The people must ensure that they have advance notice.
3. People must ensure that the police provide them with protection while they dismantle their structures.
4. When there is a threat of eviction, the people must formally require the police to ensure that their legal rights are protected.

What is the role of the police to ensure that people's rights are protected during evictions?

1. The police must ensure that a legal eviction notice has been served.
2. The police must ensure that the place has been properly specified in the order.
3. The police must ensure that the people understand that the legal requirements for eviction have been satisfied.
4. If the people wish it, the police must ensure the people have sufficient time to dismantle their structures and remove themselves and their property.
5. The police should ensure that people's belongings are protected.

6. If a house is locked by the police, the contents of that house are to be listed and kept securely under police custody. There should be at least three civilian witnesses.
7. The police should not engage in evictions or demolitions themselves, so that there can be no conflict of interest.

APPENDIX 2

DRAFT HOUSING POLICY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN HOMELESS PEOPLE'S FEDERATION (SAHPF)

The S.A. Homeless People's Federation is a network of homeless communities. The basic building blocks of the Federation are women's savings collectives in South Africa's informal settlements. It is a people-based housing movement that is committed to the central participation of the homeless poor in housing development.

The Federation met in Johannesburg to draft a People's Housing Policy. The need for such a policy arose out of the feelings in all the communities in the federation that the policies of the political parties in South Africa are not community-centred and fail to acknowledge the felt needs of the community.

It is our expectation that this document will provide an input into the process of housing policy-making of the new government, so that it respects the aspirations and feelings of poor homeless communities. This document truly evolved out of an ongoing exercise of bottom-up community development. It was conceived and designed by 150 delegates from the savings collectives in the federation, and emerged over a period of three days, as a result of intensive dialogue and debate. The gestation, as much as its contents, distinguishes it from all other housing policy documents in the country.

PEOPLE-DRIVEN AND CONTROLLED DEVELOPMENT

It is a democratic right for poor people to plan their own development.

Global examples abound of well-thought out housing policies that have failed to

realise their targets and have been curtailed and discarded. It is now being recognised that the one essential ingredient in development planning is the central participation of communities.

Government needs to recognise community-based development organisations, such as the savings collectives in the Federation, as being essential mechanisms for the distribution of development resources. These organisations need to be involved in the planning and implementation of development programmes.

People's participation in development is not merely an act of endorsing policy decisions that have been taken by outside agencies. A mere token representation is not enough.

Development finance from government or any other institution should be controlled and managed by these collectives or similar community-based development organisations.

REVOLVING FUND

The S.A. Homeless People's Federation has already set up a revolving fund for housing development. This fund is run by members of the Federation. The accumulated savings of the Federation are linked to this fund.

Money for housing from government, financial institutions and donor organisations must be routed through this community-controlled fund.

SUBSIDIES

All forms of subsidies should be channelled to community organisations such as the savings collectives, either directly or via the revolving fund.

CREDIT, TERMS OF REPAYMENT AND INTEREST

Government should require that banks and other financial institutions make credit

available to the homeless at terms of repayment and interest rates deemed affordable by the poor.

FINANCE FOR TRAINING CAPACITY BUILDING

Government should provide funds directly to community organisations for the purposes of skill upgrading in terms of money-management, building, planning.

MATERIALS AND BUILDING TECHNOLOGY

The S.A. Homeless People's Federation has developed community-based shelter training programmes which ensure that available community-level development skills are horizontally transferred from community to community within the Federation. Government should provide support for these exchange initiatives within the Federation and with similar federations in other countries.

Manufacturing of building materials at community level would increase economic activity and provide jobs. It keeps resources in the community. Government should be of financial and technical assistance so that community-based building materials production units can be set up.

Technology for building materials should be affordable and appropriate economically, and in terms of climate.

Government should enable community-based planning and surveying. The community should identify available skills within the community in order to minimise the cost of outside expertise.

Government should legislate against the building monopolies, so that the Federation can set up building material yards throughout the country. These yards will make appropriate materials available at reasonable rates. There should be no levies on building materials that are manufactured in this yard.

Decision-making, control of resources and management of the process of development must be in the hands of the people. Since women are most acutely affected by homelessness, they need to play a central role in this process.

LAND EVICTIONS

There shall be no evictions. Where evictions are inevitable, community-level dialogue must take place before any decision is taken. In that case, a meaningful alternative must be worked out.

STATE PROVISION OF LAND

The government should provide developed land to the homeless poor free of cost. It should be suitable for safe and economic use.

OWNERSHIP RIGHTS

Ownership rights should be vested in the community. The title should be without any strings attached.

LOCATION

Work and shelter are closely related - especially for the poor. Suitable land, close to the place of work, must be identified by the people themselves and made available by government. Development that reinforces the apartheid city is unacceptable.

COMMUNITY SPACE

In addition to land needed for houses, government must make land available for public amenities such as clinics, playing grounds, community centres and places of worship.

INFRASTRUCTURE

Drainage, electricity, drinking water, and other necessary infrastructure should be provided free of charge by government.

FINANCE

FORMAL RECOGNITION OF SAVINGS COLLECTIVES

Government should recognise women's savings collectives in the S.A. Homeless People's Federation.

APPENDIX 3

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE

DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING, JOHANNESBURG

Answers to this interview schedule for focus Group Discussion on the homeless women in the Johannesburg region will be treated in strict confidence. The project is part of an ongoing research project on the homeless women and will serve as an input to the Gauteng province R.D.P. housing programme for the homeless.

Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

A.

1. Where were you living before?
2. Reasons for leaving your former house/shelter.
3. What kind of job were you doing before?

B.

1. How did you find out about this place?
2. How do you get the things you need? e.g. food, money, clothes, etc.
3. How long have you been living here?
4. What do you think of the level of services in this place? e.g. water, sanitation, toilet, etc.
5. What kind of job are you doing now?

6. What kind of job would you like to do?
7. What does the word "home" and "homeless" mean to you?
- 2 Do you call this place your home?
Where is your home? What is your home like? Tell me about your home.
8. Do you think of yourself as being homeless?
9. What do you think of this environment or area?
10. How do you survive during winter and rainy seasons?

C.

1. Why do people become homeless?
2. What happens to people when they become homeless?
3. How can homelessness be prevented?
4. To which homeless association do you belong?

D.

1. Describe your present housing situation.
2. What are your housing needs and requirements?
3. How do you think you can participate in the housing provision?
4. What kind of housing rights do you have as a homeless person?

- E. What kind of health problems do you have as a homeless person?

F.

1. Describe the safety and security measures in this place.
2. How good is this place to stay or live?
3. Do you still want to continue to live on the streets?

- G. Does anybody help you? e.g. government, church, community, people, etc.

H.

1. What are your hopes, fears and dreams?
2. What are the things about this place that makes you afraid?
3. What things in your life make you afraid?
4. What things about your life make you happy and proud?
5. Where do you think you will be in the next two to five years?

(i) Tell a story of how you became homeless.

The diary of the homeless woman.

A day in the life of the homeless woman.

APPENDIX 4

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A STREET HOMELESS WOMAN

A. Wake up

B. 6 a.m.

7 a.m.

8 a.m.

9 a.m.

10 a.m.

11 a.m.

12 noon

1 p.m.

2 p.m.

3 p.m.

4 p.m.

5 p.m.

6 p.m.

7 p.m.

8 p.m.

9 p.m.

APPENDIX 5

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE

DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING, JOHANNESBURG

Answers to this questionnaire will be treated in strict confidence. The project is part of an ongoing research project on the homeless in the Johannesburg region and will serve as an input to the Gauteng province R.D.P. housing programme.

Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

1. Location or street name :
2. Sex : Male
Female
3. Age : 0 - 19
20 - 29
30 - 39
40 - 49
50 and above
4. Educational background :
Standard 1 - 10
University
None
Matric
College

- Technikon
- Secretarial School
5. Marital Status :
- Married
- Single
- Divorced
- Separated
- Widowed
6. Number of children :
- None
- 1 - 3
- 4 - 6
- Above 6
7. Nationality :
- South African
- Non-South African
8. Colour :
- White
- Indian
- Black
- Coloured
9. Ethnic background
- English
- Afrikaans
- Xhosa
- Tswana
- Zulu
- Sotho
- Other
- Other, please specify
10. Former occupation / job :

None
Civil servant
Artisan
Apprentice
Professional

11. Former income / month in Rand :

None
1 - 999
1000 - 1999
2000 - 2999
3000 and above

12. Present occupation / job :

None
Civil Servant
Artisan
Apprentice
Professional
Business

13. Present income / month in Rand :

None
1 - 999
1000 - 1999
2000 - 2999
3000 and above

14. Where were you living before?

Family house / with relatives
With friends
With husband
Parents
Squatting
On the street

- Others, please specify
15. Where do you live now?
- Hostel / city shelters
- Street or pavement
- Temporary shelter
- Others
16. How long have you been living there?
- 0 - 5
- 6 - 10
- Over 10 years
- Others, please specify
17. What caused your homelessness?
- Broken home
- Ejected / absconded / ran away from home
- Depression
- Unemployment
- Other
- Disaster (flood, fire, etc)
- Rejection
- Eviction
18. What are the consequences of homelessness?
19. In what ways can homelessness be curbed?
20. Do you think you are poor? Yes No
- If yes, how can you explain your poverty?

APPENDIX 6

RESOLUTIONS ON THE RIGHTS TO HOUSING

1. United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 41/146 of 4th December 1986 and UNGA Resolution 42/146 of 7th December 1987 entitled, "The Realization of the Right to Adequate Housing".
2. United Nations Commission on Human Rights Resolutions : 1986/36, 1987/22, 1988/24, all entitled, "The Realization of the Right to Adequate Housing".
3. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Resolutions 1986/41 and 1987/62, both entitled, "The Realization of the Right to Adequate Housing".
4. International Labour Organisation (ILO) Resolution III Concerning the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless and the Role of the ILO adopted by the International Labour.
5. The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements adopted by the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in 1976.

The full text can be found in United Nations Document A/Conf. 70/15. Section III(8):

"Adequate Shelter and Services are a basic human right which places an obligation on governments to ensure their attainment by all people, beginning with direct assistance to the least advantaged through guided programmes of self-help and community action. Governments should endeavour to remove all impediments hindering attainment of these goals. Of special importance is the elimination of social and racial segregation, inter alia, through the creation of better balanced communities which blend different social groups, occupations, housing and amenities".

6. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996, Chapter 2 : Bill of Rights : Section 26 of Housing states that :

- (a) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.
- (b) The State must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources to achieve progressive realisation of this right.
- (c) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished without an order of court made after considering the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.

RIGHT TO HOUSING AND RIGHT TO HAVE ACCESS TO HOUSING

Although attempts are being made at all levels to give legal substance to the right to housing and thus define its parameters, an internationally acceptable definition of housing rights has yet to emerge.

Perhaps the main difficulty in defining housing rights is that people judge housing to be good or adequate more by what it does for them than by its dimensions and physical characteristics (Turner, 1976). This is especially the case for poorer groups.

According to Leckie (1989 : 98):

an adequate house must be within reach of its inhabitants' jobs; poorer groups need to live within easy reach of their jobs to save time and money from work. Most people with low incomes who do not work in registered jobs, work very long hours as street vendors, handicraft makers, shoe-shiners, casual labourers and cannot afford long periods spent travelling to and from work.

An adequate house must also be within reach of schools, shops, health centres and (for most people) family and friends; again poorer groups want housing within walking distance or only a short bus ride away from such facilities since they lack the time and the funds to pay for longer journeys. Thus, the location of a house is a critical criterion as to whether it is adequate.

Other criteria relating to adequate quality such as safe site and structure, basic infrastructure and services (water supply, sanitation, garbage disposal, site drains), secure tenure and affordable cost are also pertinent in defining housing rights.

Also the issue of participation - people's right to influence developments in their homes and neighbourhoods.

The UNCHS also emphasises the principle of universality in terms of housing and human settlements.

"The right to dignified living is the nucleus from which principles for the identification of the content of basic social rights stem out.

The path from the identification of the right, to the explicit

recognition to all citizens and establishment of institutional guarantees of access to the right, are part of a durable process of negotiation and political pressure of different interest groups in increasingly more complex societies" (Avramov, 1995 : 7).

The concept of rights encompasses three key dimensions which define their scope and instruments of implementation:

"right as an ethical or moral quality that constitutes the ideal of moral propriety;
right as something to which one has a just claim;
legally enforceable claim, a capacity or privilege the enjoyment of which is secured to a person by law" (Avramov, 1995 : 8).

Avramov (1995) further stipulates that, as an ideal, the right to a home may be considered as a derived right from the right to a personal, independent, dignified living and is a constitutive component of international law.

The right to a dwelling may be recognized as an inseparable part of basic rights and as a precondition for access to rights conducive to dignified living.

The right to adequate housing is embodied in numerous international human rights text. The first important document to codify the right was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly, 1948).

The Declaration builds upon the premise that basic human needs should be recognised as rights, and promotes the concept of human dignity as a legal principle:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being for himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control (UN General Assembly, Article 21.1, 1948).

Thus, "the right to adequate housing may be generally considered as a right derived from the universal right to an adequate standard of living" (Avramov, 1995 : 12).

Homeless and badly housed people have not up to now, been identified as a specific target group. In numerous United Nations instruments, housing is generally identified as an integral part of development policies. The declarations and covenants name housing as a component of dignified living conditions, but do not identify homeless people as a vulnerable group in need of particular protection. The furthest the UN General Assembly has gone is to express:

its deep concern that millions of people do not enjoy the right to adequate housing (Cited in Avramov, 1995 : 14).

The final declaration adopted at the International Conference on Social Housing, the Homeless and the Poorly-Housed in Europe states that :

implementing the right to housing, a fundamental right of any individual, is a priority duty of society as a whole and a collective obligation of public authorities at all levels (Avramov, 1995 : 17).

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