

The Challenges of Providing for the Street Homeless

Johannesburg as a single case study

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Abstract

The thesis considers the challenges associated with providing for the street homeless in Johannesburg. From a planning perspective, the research aims at leading to enlightenment on practical solutions to address the problem in Johannesburg.

The study notes that the street homeless or the 'rough sleepers' population are amongst the most distressed people that live in negligible and inadequate housing. Dating back since before apartheid, Johannesburg has been seen as a place that offers a platform to better one's living conditions. Thus, there has always been a high influx of local and international migrants into the city. Given the successes of apartheid spatial planning in creating a racially and economically divided Johannesburg that served an urban minority only, the city's infrastructure is unable to absorb and address all of its inhabitants. This, together with personal circumstances and structural inadequacies is resulting in an increase of street homeless people in the city.

Street homelessness in Johannesburg requires a continuum of well-coordinated interventions that address the individualistic and structural causation factors. This research unpacks how street homelessness is being addressed in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, with particular attention given to government responses. Through the gathering of qualitative and quantitative data, the research aims at measuring government's effectiveness in addressing the issue. The report moves forward by providing debates, conceptualisations and approaches to homelessness across the globe. Followed by this, the research focuses on identifying gaps in current approaches to addressing the issue and through this, providing potential and valuable input that will assist in effectively curbing street homelessness.

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Chapter 1- Introducing the core of the research

1.1 Context of Research Area

The inner city of Johannesburg is a mixture of central business nodes which are surrounded by mixed land uses and high density residential areas (Olufemi, 1998). The CBD is the heart of the city high with a concentration of shops, residences and offices. Out of these are run a variety of functions such as administration, finance and entertainment (Olufemi, 1998). Progressing over the years, Johannesburg has evolved into a multicultural and multinational node in which urban inhabitants of all races, live and work. The origins of these residents are rooted in Africans from white farms who established themselves in increasing numbers in townships in and around Johannesburg; often in conditions of extreme poverty and deprivation (Olufemi, 1998). Today these tendencies have intensified as there is no barrier to migration. This has resulted in the rapid growth of urban poor at a rate government authorities are struggling to deal with.

Of all South Africans living in negligible and inadequate housing that denies them a place in residential society the street homeless with no housing, are most distressed (Cross and Seager, 2010). South African inner cities are characterised by people living on the streets. A large proportion of these people come from urban peripheries in search of work; but they have no money for a place to stay, no money to commute and no money to go back from where they came (Cross and Seager, 2010).

While these people occupy public spaces in inner cities, more fortunate urban residents feel homeless people are violating by-laws; creating urban chaos and fostering undesirable environments. Together with this, interventions to alleviate homelessness in Johannesburg are negative and unhelpful to the man on the street (Speak and Tipple, 2006). Interventions tend to operate in an environment of, "hostility, suspicion and apathy towards homeless people. This environment is cultivated and enhanced by negative and derogatory language and images used by politicians, the public and the media in their portrayal of the homeless people as unemployed, beggars, drunks and criminals" (Speak and Tipple, 2006: 172).

These perceptions of homelessness largely affect attitudes towards policy and thus institutionalize the stigmatization of this sector of the population (Tipple and Speak, 2006). This keeps the homeless population disassociated and disconnected from society (Olufemi, 2002). In addition to this, exclusionary processes that are consequential of inequitable

urban planning and metro-spatial planning for world class cities often turns into upgrading programmes that displace the homeless from their livelihoods (Cross and Seager, 2010). This invariably drives them to a greater degree of poverty and destitution in impoverished and decayed parts of the city (Cross and Seager, 2010).

In the context of Johannesburg there are multiple definitions as to what constitutes homelessness and this plays a pivotal role in the responses that address the issue. Within government there has been a shared response to this issue. The Housing sector and Social development sector are the principle facilitators and actors in trying to alleviate the causes and consequences affecting the homeless (du Toit, 2010). To date most interventions have been directed at reducing structural problems through transitional housing schemes and the upgrading of informal settlements.

These have been done with the aim of reducing the risk of becoming homeless (Naidoo, 2010). Transitional housing plays an important role in the delivery of housing to homeless persons (Poulsen, 2000). However there are questions as to where transitional housing fits into the broader housing programmes that address the needs of the street homeless (Poulsen, 2000). It is unclear as to what assistance is offered to people who do not qualify for transitional and subsidised housing; together with this there is no alternative provision made for people once they leave transitional housing (Poulsen, 2000). The success of these interventions is hindered by a lack of co-ordination and collaboration between responsible government departments and a lack of clearly allocated resources (Cross and Seager, 2010). Responses by respective departments have largely been remedial once street homelessness has occurred. In Johannesburg, a comprehensive planning response with measures to prevent and deal with homelessness has not yet been holistically attempted.

1.2 Rationale for Research

Due to the socio-economic complexity of homelessness, the precise needs of the street homeless in Johannesburg Inner City are not easily quantifiable (Naidoo, 2010). Post-apartheid, the roll-out of mass housing, primarily attempting to address the massive housing shortage and the problem of people living in inadequate shelter fell short of directly responding to homelessness. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) did not demonstrate enough concern in addressing the social and economic obstacles facing

persons in need of government assistance (Naidoo, 2010). Homelessness is more than being roofless and this illustrates that providing shelter is but one solution. Trying to better understand the dimensions of homelessness and the population that falls under this classification will help to better inform government responses and interventions. There is a gap between policy intentions and policy outcomes. Olufemi (2002: 456) cited in Naidoo, (2010) illustrates that there is “remarkably little consensus among policymakers, researchers, local authorities and voluntary organizations as to the definition of homeless, where the meaning attributed to homelessness has important implications for quantification and policy”. This is reflected in the varying approaches that municipalities across the country use to address homelessness (du Toit, 2010).

According to du Toit (2010), the Department of Human Settlements and the Department of Social Development view homelessness in Johannesburg as matter of social need and dependence. As a result of this, government responses have mainly been dedicated to focusing on the co-ordinating of civil society responses and putting in place a range of targeted responses (du Toit, 2010). There are between 4000 to 6000 homeless people in the municipality and there are between 12 and 15 shelters of which most are privately owned (du Toit, 2010). This highlights that the housing or shelter demands of the homeless in Johannesburg are not being met. Non-empirical studies on metropolitan responses to homelessness illustrate the importance of looking at the relationship between homelessness and urban space and the need for providing affordable housing options. The way in which municipalities plan, design and control urban space affects the survival of homeless people in the most essential way (Robins, 2002).

In light of the above, the aim of this research is to provide a holistic understanding of street homelessness using the inner city of Johannesburg as a focal point. Simultaneously, the research aims at unpacking the nature and logic of current responses taken by the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality in relation to the respective rights stipulated in the constitution. The effectiveness of these responses will be highlighted. The city of Johannesburg has a great responsibility to address street homelessness and uphold rights contained in the constitution.

This research operates under the assumption that by scrutinizing the context of the current street homeless and related responses, gaps will be found. Through identifying the gaps in addressing the housing needs of the street homeless in Johannesburg's inner city, room should be made for explicit responses and approaches to the issue. Consensus pertaining to the development of comprehensive programmes must be reached among planners, city officials, private developers, charity organizations and the street homeless. Consensus on the matter will result in better collaboration between responsible departments and will also strengthen public-private partnerships. This research report will attempt to provide alternatives and solutions to meeting the demands of the homeless population.

1.3 Problem Statement

Street homelessness means more than a lack of shelter and is closely linked to social and economic conditions. Varying definitions of homelessness has made it difficult for government to distinguish between the street homeless and people that are inadequately housed. This has resulted in fragmented and one dimensional interventions that are failing to reach the street homeless population. In addition to this, a lack of reliable stats and a clear definition of homelessness in Johannesburg are resulting in a relatively small allocation of state resources to this destitute and almost helpless segment of the urban population. This is a consequence of competing needs within people living in informal and inadequate housing (Morrow, 2010). For this reason, this research report will focus on the street homeless population and move forward on the basis that they are a sub-category of a broader definition of homelessness.

The transitional housing scheme which addresses special housing needs has been largely ineffective. The reason for this is that this scheme only caters for short term accommodation. People who leave these housing schemes often end up homeless again because they could not find alternative accommodation. Emergency shelter programmes in Johannesburg have clear benefits; however these humble welfare efforts have not managed to holistically embrace the entire street homeless population (Cross and Seager, 2010).

People that reside in informal settlements and the street homeless should be viewed as different. This should be done because of their varied capacity to respond to and engage with government delivery (Morrow, 2010). To date, a majority of government efforts in

upholding rights enshrined in the constitution have been directed at informal settlement upgrading, provision of subsidised housing and provision of transitional housing.

1.4 Research Question

Given the rights stipulated in the constitution of South Africa, has government effectively responded to and provided for the needs of the street homeless in Johannesburg?

Effective, explicit focus on ending homelessness; clarity of intended impact; sound evidence and integration within a broader systems response

1.5 Research Sub-Questions

- 1) How is homelessness understood and debated around the globe?
- 2) How is homelessness understood and conceptualised in developing countries?
- 3) What are the structural and individual causes of homelessness?
- 4) What are the differences between the street homeless and those that are inadequately housed?
- 5) How is street homelessness understood in a Johannesburg metropolitan context?
- 6) How has government interpreted and given effect to the rights in the constitution that refers to the homeless?
- 7) What are the legislative frameworks that address street homelessness in Johannesburg and how holistic are they in capturing the social, housing and economic demands of the street homeless?
- 8) How effective have responses in Johannesburg been?
- 9) What is the planner's role in effectively integrating the street homeless into the urban fabric?

Chapter 2- Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introducing the concept of home and the causes of homelessness

“There are as many classifications and definitions of homelessness as there are different points of views. A definition of homelessness might refer to a special housing situation, to a special minimum standard, to the duration and the frequency of a stay without shelter, to lifestyle questions, to the use of the welfare system and to the being part of a certain group of the population, to the risk of becoming houseless and to the possibility to move or not if desired” (Tipple and Speak, 2006:2)

Homelessness is not easy to define and the difficulty and inconsistency in robustly and holistically defining the term has proven to have a substantial impact on the value and accuracy of statistics on homeless people (Minnery, 2007). This regularly results in approaches and responses that are not able to serve the homeless population. By better understanding the concept of home and the roots of the problem, responses would be more effective. Literature on homelessness frequently makes a differentiation and separation between individual and structural causes to homelessness.

Structural causes are associated with wider structural, societal, political and economic change. Joblessness and poverty; the housing arena; the nature of the economy and resultant policies are identified as the key structural causes. Mental illness, substance abuse, alcoholism, work ethic and most psychological factors that reflect an individual's agency are identified as individual causes to homelessness. Underpinning the roots of homelessness with these will help to better address the issue. The next section aims to explain the relationship between home and homelessness and unpack both structural and individual causes to homelessness.

Understanding the notion of 'home' and its relation to homelessness

For many, home is where the heart is; home is a notion that arouses ideas such as comfort, sense of belonging, identity, security and assets. “Home can be defined as a relationship between people and a place and as emotionally based and meaningful relationship between dwellers and their dwelling places” (Dovey, 1985 cited in Tipple and Speak, 2009: 3). Homes should serve as social, economic and financial platforms for individuals to develop and grow. Furthermore having a home can be interpreted as owning or renting a space that is adequate enough to encounter the needs of a household; the ability to sustain privacy and enjoy being part of social networks and home should provide private possession, security of

tenure and a legal title (Busch Geertsema, Edgar, O' Sullivan and Pleace, 2010). This shows that homes are part of physical domains, social domains and legal domains. This indicates that being homeless implies or represents the loss of self-worth because home is a large part of self-determination.

Despres (1991) identifies characteristics of 'home' as follows:

- Permanence and continuity
- Centre for family relationships
- Security and control
- Mirror of personal views
- Influence and place for change
- Retreat from the surrounding world
- Personal status indicator
- Centre for activity
- Concrete structure, and
- [a place to own]

Somerville, (1992) argues home has at minimum six to seven dimensions. These dimensions are identified by the following key signifiers;

- Shelter - home as shelter refers to the physical form of a home that serves as protection to a household
- Hearth - home as a hearth is a connotation of the warmth, love, comfort and tranquillity that having a home offers.
- Heart - a home offers emotional security ease and comfort.
- Privacy - home as privacy indicates the ability and authority to control one's own

territory and space. Homeowners have the authority to prohibit and exclude other people from their space.

- Roots - home as a root signifies an individual's source of identity, sense of belonging and sense of emotional security.
- Abode - home as an abode refers to any space that one chooses to stay.

Homelessness can be viewed as an ideological construct of the absence of having a home. Thus, homelessness is a derivative from the ideological construction of home (Somerville, 1992). In defining homelessness, the latter part of this chapter will specify a conceptual method that classifies realms that collectively make up a home. The absence of these categorizations can be taken as one approach to define homelessness (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010).

2.2 Individualist causes to homelessness

Early research on homelessness focused on individualistic explanations. The limited amount of research before the 1970s was confined to America. This research mainly focused on the characteristics of people that resided on 'skid row' (where homeless men gathered). This research illuminated homelessness to be a process of disaffiliation simply of the individual characteristics of the homeless persons themselves (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010). Thus, it was the necessities and features of a person that defined them as homeless. However, there were other views that showed how unequal interactions between the homeless and regulatory agencies shaped the lives of the homeless (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010).

Archard, 1979 cited in (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010: 15) critically reviewed the literature of the time by stating, "Our contemporary research strategy has been to study vagrants, not vagrancy. The research spy-glass is focused on the individual, not the social and political dimensions of the problem. The sociological study of legislation and policy, both at their ideological and institutional levels, has been forgotten. More significantly, the relationship between vagrancy, society's reaction to it, and the economic and social structure of contemporary capitalism, is absent in contemporary research". Moving into the 1980s, the quantity of homeless people increased on a global scale and, "individualistic explanations

that stressed the pathology of the individual were becoming increasingly difficult to sustain (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010: 16).

Neo-conservatives argue that homelessness is caused due to the breakdown of the nuclear family unit or by the failures and inadequacies of individual household heads (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010: 16). This explanation merely blames the homeless victim and has nothing to say about defaults in supply mechanisms. These kinds of explanations are oblivious to the constraints which the economic, political and housing systems have on individuals. Individual pathology approaches point at the notion of those that are deserving and undeserving (Tipple and Speak, 2009). This illustrates that some people might be without shelter, but would not be considered as entitled to state assistance simply because they caused their homeless situation by their own actions (Tipple and Speak, 2009). As a result of the individualist approach dominating the homelessness research landscape, negative and stereotypical perceptions were developed of the destitute segments of society.

Since the introduction of social exclusion- gender, religious and colour discrimination - as a foundation for policy development, the structural causes of homelessness became a focal point (Speak, 2004). An example of exclusionary policies can be taken from former apartheid South Africa. A large majority of the population were excluded and denied access to the city. Contemporary South Africa is still trying to grapple with the vast effects of these policies.

2.3 Structural causes to homelessness

A structuralist view on homelessness situates the accountability for homelessness beyond the agency of the homeless person (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010). A report prepared for the Committee on Social Affairs of the European Parliament underlined the structural causes of homelessness by stating, "Homelessness above all results from loss of housing and the homeless are mainly households which in their majority lie under or slightly above the basic social benefits level, the institutionally defined poverty line. The origins and even more the maintenance of homelessness are a consequence of poverty on the one hand and inadequate, or the lack of, attempts to overcome it on the other" (European Parliament, 1987: 11 cited in Busch Geertsema et al, 2010). During the 1990s the European Council

endorsed the explanation that viewed homelessness as a representation of an extreme form of poverty and marginalization. Together with this, homelessness was being associated with inadequate income, a lack of accessibility to affordable housing, and that homelessness was hastened by traumatic events in an individual's life (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010).

The structural explanation is complicated by a lack of consensus with regards to the nature of structural causes. It is unclear whether structural causes are a result of the inability to provide affordable accommodation or is it underpinned by wider globalised politics (Speak, 2004). The fiscal crisis that affected countries around the globe has brought about structural changes in the form of reshaping of welfare policies. Through this, resources directed at the public are reduced. In developing countries, a large sector of the population is dependent on welfare safety nets. Thus, these dependents are continuously in a state of displacement and insecurity (Tipple and Speak, 2009). Current neo-liberal policies are resulting in large regeneration and re-shaping of urban spaces. In contemporary cities, this is a key structural cause that needs to be addressed.

2.4 The Neo-liberal paradigm and its relation to the city and the homeless

"In order to comprehend neo-liberalisms political and cultural effects, it must be conceived of as more than a set of free market economic policies that dismantle welfare states and privatize public services in the north, make wreckage of efforts at democratic sovereignty or economic self-direction in the south, and intensify income discrepancies everywhere. Certainly neo-liberalism comprises these effects, but as a political rationality, it also includes a consequential organization of the social, the subject and the state." (Wendy, 2006: 693). The above quote understands neo-liberalism to be an ongoing project around the globe which has become the dominant paradigm practice to economic organisation, governance and even everyday living (Griffin, 2013). Cities are being re-shaped to create spaces in which capital accumulates rather than being distributed among all social classes and spaces (Griffin, 2013). Strategic investments and disinvestments of particular urban areas are resulting in economically and socially polarised cities. According to Mitchell (2003: 18), the bourgeoisie city is the city in which we live and is characterised by expropriation of space by a dominant class. Harvey (2008: 31) agrees with this point, stating, "the quality of urban life has become a commodity, as has the city itself, in a world where consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based initiatives have become major aspects of the political

economy.” Characteristics include gated communities, privatised public spaces, fortified spaces and new urbanism places that boast grandeur and ostentatiousness, only accessible to an urban minority. Neo-liberalism’s key concept of ‘minimising regulation’ to ensure unencumbered expressions of the individual illustrates the school of thought it represents. A focus on individual preferences rather than the public interest at large increases the chance of becoming homeless for many individuals. Simultaneously, many challenges are presented to city officials and planners in their attempts to uphold the aims and ambitions of social justice.

In contemporary cities, the processes of urban regeneration are increasingly affecting the homeless. According to Winkler (2009: 365), urban regeneration is performed in diverse cities under various titles including renewal, regeneration, re-investment, revitalisation and more recently smart growth. Using South Africa as an example, urban regeneration is being implemented through rhetoric that claims to target welfare provision and poverty alleviation. However, the underlying agenda stems from an economic growth standpoint rather than a pro-poor standpoint. So, rightfully these policies should be titled economic regeneration for big businesses rather than urban regeneration for the poor. The pro-growth focus of these policies often results in unjust evictions, social exclusion and the deepening of inequality and poverty. These results are linked to homelessness in the cities around the globe. Homeless people are excluded from private spaces because they do not have material resources. Furthermore, they are even being excluded from public spaces due to detachment and inability to conform to the socio-economic conventions of behaviour dictated by the neo-liberal paradigm. In relation to the socio-spatial imagination of neo-liberalism, the homeless population are increasingly becoming detached, victimized and criminalized through negative perceptions.

2.5 New Orthodoxy- integrating structural and individualist causes

International literature is making it more apparent that the structuralist and individualist approaches cannot exclusively be the only point of references to identify the full intricacy of homelessness. There is a growing continuum between these factors. There has been a broad consensus among scholars and practitioners in the field that there is an interlinked connection between these two classifications of causes. Forrest (1999) cited in (Minnery, 2007: 644) states, “this idea of a continuum of potentially precipitating factors recognizes

that homelessness can have different causes and that while, for some, the experience of homelessness may be a temporary episode, for others it is a manifestation of continuing poverty of personal and social resources”.

Recent on-going debates on understandings around homelessness have come together in identifying that homeless people are no more perceived as wholly male, liquor dependent transients (Crinall, 2001 cited in Minnery, 2007)). Recent studies identify that there is an increasing presence of what can be termed as the “new homeless”. The new homeless are categorised as, “families, woman, children, youth, the elderly and marginalised ethnic or migrant groups” (Minnery, 2007: 645). Together with this, the ‘new homeless’ are also viewed as a destitute population that is created by unemployment, the reduction of the social welfare grants and globalisation (Marsh and Kenett, 1999: 1 cited in (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010).

The processes of globalisation have resulted in increasing numbers of immigrations around the world (legal and illegal). This has become apparent in the Southern Mediterranean countries in which illegal immigrants pose serious problems for homelessness policies and for wider social service and infrastructure provision. Illegal immigrants are not registered as citizens and therefore are not identified in homelessness surveys (Chamberlain and Mackenzie, 2004 cited in Minnery, 2007). As a result of this, they are almost entirely overlooked when social services are provided. This highlights the need for new responses to homelessness because many of these people may have previously been excluded from receiving aid and assistance. This solidifies that structural and individual causes need to be viewed as interlinked trigger factors.

“The polarity of views on the causation of homelessness – often exaggerated by polemicists – was gradually replaced with the view that adverse events in the lives of individuals, when coinciding with certain structural factors, could result in individuals becoming homeless. In other words, a confluence of adverse individual and structural events was most likely to trigger homelessness. Adverse individual events did not by themselves necessarily lead to homelessness, nor did adverse structural events, such as changes in housing markets, by themselves lead to homelessness” (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010: 16). The above mentioned illustrates that the emerging approach to and understanding of homelessness recognizes

the significance of personal and individual factors and makes an attempt to integrate these causes within a structural framework. Moving into the 21st century, distinctions between structuralistic and individualistic causes to homelessness were being replaced with a new understanding of homelessness (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010).

The 'new orthodoxy' view on the roots of homelessness states , "structural factors create the conditions within which homelessness will occur; and people with personal problems are more vulnerable to these adverse social and economic trends than others; therefore the high concentration of people with personal problems in the homeless population can be explained by their susceptibility to macro-structural forces, rather than necessitating an individual explanation of homelessness" (Fitzpatrick, 2005: 4). McNaughton, (2008: 168:9) cited in Busch Geertsema et al, (2010: 17) used a qualitative biographical approach to discover the dimensions of the 'new orthodoxy' approach and found that, "... all described the cause of their homelessness as individual events, such as drug and alcohol use, relationship breakdown and mental illness ... That they led to homelessness also related to a broader structural context whereby the people studied had relatively low levels of resources. Resources of human, social, material, and financial capital provide a buffer to the negative effects of such events, and are accessible (or not) due to structural mechanisms".

From the theories and concepts mentioned above, an attempt has been made to trace developments in understanding homelessness. The individualist approach makes apparent that assistance needs to be more individually directed at the homeless person. The structural approach highlights that there needs to be broader societal and economic change through an increase in employment and housing supply (Tipple and Speak, 2009). The last approach, the new orthodoxy, illustrates that the causes of homelessness should be viewed as a convergence of adverse structural and individual causes (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010). This research report will use the 'new orthodoxy' and 'neo-liberal' concepts as umbrella concepts to try and formulate conceptual and operational definitions of homelessness that will assist in uncovering the research question.

2.6 Defining homelessness

As was mentioned earlier, homelessness is a highly complex, ambiguous and varied concept and it is inappropriate to try and address it as a single issue. However, the concept of

homelessness is placed in a paradoxical position. This is due to definitions being used to quantify homeless populations (Tipple and Speak, 2009). “To create workable and effective policies addressing homelessness it is critical that policy-makers have a clear definition of homelessness and an understanding of its prevalence. This is one of the ways in which a clear connection can be made between research and policy. It is also helpful for policy-makers to have a satisfactory concept of what constitutes “good practice” in homelessness policies” (Minnery, 2007: 641). This illustrates the importance definitions hold in understanding and obtaining precise explanations and descriptions of the various categories of the homeless population. The sheer diversity of the homeless population is constantly making it difficult to approximate the vastness of homelessness. The homeless have various histories, careers and pathways that are fluid and transient in nature

Over time, the intricacy of homelessness has brought about two stratum of continuums that are described by researchers as;

1. Typologies as continuums;
2. Continuums of definitions.

Definitions of homelessness can be placed along two different bands 1) based on ideology 2) based on complexity (Tipple and Speak, 2009). The ideological continuum consists of on the one extreme, individualistic explanations of homelessness that acknowledge the assortment of the problem, but blames it on individual hopelessness. However, this extreme also maintains that people are homeless due to endogenous features (psychological and psychiatric complications). The other extreme of the continuum is the structural explanation of homelessness which includes characteristics of society as large scale fiscal change as the causes and welfare measures as solutions (Tipple and Speak, 2009). This extreme recognizes the diversity of past experiences of homelessness and encapsulates a wider range of housing needs (Tipple and Speak, 2009).

Individualistic

Based on Ideology

Structural

As focus shifts along this continuum, different definitions include and exclude people from the homelessness definition (Tipple and Speak, 2009: 50).

The complexity continuum of explanations ranges from the simplistic extreme to the heterogeneous extreme. The simple and more concise definitions usually ascend because of administrative compulsion. Heterogeneous definitions usually arise as a result of efforts at comprehensiveness and holistic sociological improvements (Tipple and Speak, 2009).

<i>Simplistic</i>	<i>Based on Complexity</i>	<i>Heterogeneous</i>
<i>Simpler definitions might only focus on one condition of homelessness such as rough sleeping while</i> <i>Heterogeneous definitions aim at including as many conditions of homelessness as they can eg: street sleeping right up to inadequate housing.</i>		

A variety of definitions will be provided with the aim of contextualizing where these definitions are situated along both continuums and also how they relate to the ‘new orthodoxy’ views on homelessness.

Caplow et al. (1968:494) cited in (du Toit, 2010:2) defines homelessness as “a condition of detachment from society characterised by the absence or attenuation of the affiliative bonds that link settled persons to a network of interconnected social structures”. The above definition is limited to, but explicitly understands the socio-psychological problem facing disconnected homeless persons. This definition does not consider actual physical housing circumstances and a lack thereof. This definition is situated close to the individualistic and heterogeneous extremes on the respective continuums.

FEANSTA adopts a fourfold approach to defining homelessness that represents a quality orientated typology to describe the conditions of homelessness to evaluate the extent thereof. The definition is divided into three sections; conceptual categories, operational categories and living situations:

Roofless - operational categories are people living rough in public spaces and people staying in night shelters (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010).

Houseless - operational categories are divided into people that stay in accommodation for the homeless; people who stay in women's shelters; people in accommodation for immigrants and people that are due to be released from prison. Living situations include: homeless hostels; temporary accommodation; transitional supported accommodation; women's shelter accommodation; temporary accommodation; migrant workers' accommodation; penal institution; medical institution; children's institutions; residential care for older homeless people and supported accommodation for formerly homeless persons (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010).

Insecure - operational categories can be seen as people living in insecure accommodation, people living under the threat of eviction and people living under the threat of violence. Living situations include: staying temporarily with family or friends; no legal (sub) tenancy; Illegal occupation of land; legal orders enforced (rented); repossession orders (owned) (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010).

Inadequate - operational categories are people living in temporary or non-conventional structures, people living in unfit housing and people living in extreme overcrowding. Living situations include: mobile home; non-conventional building and temporary structures (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010: 23). This definition is almost a utopian understanding of homelessness. A balance is struck between the individualist and structural continuum (based on ideology) and also between the simplistic and heterogeneous continuum (based on complexity). These typologies cater for different angles of service provision and policy models.

In the "Compendium of Human Settlement Statistics" the United Nations (UN) refers to homeless households as "...households without a shelter that would fall within the scope of living quarters. They carry very few possessions with them while sleeping in the streets, in doorways or on piers, or in any other space, on a more or less random basis" (Tipple and Speak, 2005: 4). This definition suggests that the visible unkempt and random nature of persons without shelter is simple and can be applied universally. This definition is rather one dimensional as it restricts the concern of homelessness to simply not possessing a house. This falls on the simplistic extreme on the continuum that is based on complexity.

Naidoo, (2010) understands homelessness to be the most evident representation of being without shelter. The landscape and degree of socio-economical poverty in Johannesburg has meant that, “the notion of being homeless has been subsumed under a broader definitional umbrella, where significant numbers of people have access to shelter, but where the quality of these structures is judged as being adequate” (Naidoo, 2010: 129). This definition appears to imply there are combinations of factors that collectively constitute the relentless poverty situation. Homelessness is one manifestation of this (Morrow, 2004.) As a result of this, there has been a joint reaction by two government sectors in attempts to alleviate poverty. This is an outcome of the heterogeneous nature of the definition and brings attention to the necessity of addressing the varying qualities of shelter.

Olufemi (1998: 227) describes being homeless as “those living in squatter/shack housing; as well as those living on the streets or pavements”. Olufemi’s definition can be located close to extreme heterogeneity on the continuum based on complexity. In practice this definition is proving to be problematic, Tipple and Speak, (2005) make mention of a vague and potentially shifting boundary between those that are actually homeless and the inadequately housed. This has important implications for policy responses and alludes to creating a clear separation of the two conditions if they are to be addressed

2.7 Examples of policy responses in relation to particular definitions

In Ghana, the concept of homelessness is a relatively new phenomenon. The Ghanaian language has no word for homelessness which implies that it is a concept contrary to Ghanaian culture (www.dfid.co.uk: 2014/9/21). However, “the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) uses a standard of accommodation criterion by accepting that anyone who lives in a structure with a roof is not homeless. No other issues of structural quality or suitability are considered” (Tipple and Speak, 2009: 74). This is an extremely simplistic definition and ignores the diverse nature of homelessness. However, this could be a result of administrative obligation:

“[one] who has no place to call home in the city. By home is meant a place which not only provides a shelter, but takes care of one’s health, social, cultural and economic needs. Home provides a holistic care and security” – homelessness in India (Aashray Adhikar Abhiyan, 2001 cited in Tipple and Speak, 2009: 77). India’s definition of homelessness is

viewed as an absence of home and all the dimensions that come with it. This falls on the heterogeneous extreme as an attempt is made to include sociological and comprehensive improvements in the definition. The definition also views the possibility of a home to serve as a financial, social and economic asset.

The Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) defines homelessness as, “[The] floating population are the mobile and vagrant category of rootless people who have no permanent dwelling units whatsoever” (BBS, 1999: 3). This definition has elements of both individualist and structural explanations of homelessness. The term floating can be equated to being detached from society and operating in a transient manner. Rootless illustrates a lack of belonging and not being part of social and family networks. Furthermore, the definition also acknowledges a lack of secure tenure and adequate structures. The fluidity and transient nature of homelessness is also taken into cognisance. In relation to the ‘new orthodoxy’ of homelessness, Bangladesh does well to create a balance between the individualist and structuralist understanding (based on ideology) and also between the simplistic and heterogeneous understanding (based on complexity). The rationale of this definition is reflected in Bangladesh’s pro-poor approach to housing. Below is a brief case study from Bangladesh to illustrate the practical usefulness and application of the above definition.

Bangladesh - societal and economic change through increased housing supply

In terms of government housing programmes, the Bangladesh National Housing Policy appears to be very pro-poor in its approach. The policy encapsulates the whole spectrum of income groups, but stresses the disadvantaged, the destitute and the street homeless are specific target groups. This shows that Bangladesh’s housing policy does explicitly address homelessness. The housing policy commits government to delivering tenure rights in areas where regeneration and improvement is feasible. This will make a marked reduction in the amount of people being evicted (Ghafur, 2002). Literature illustrates that the housing shortage in Bangladesh was about 5.6 million units in 2001. This is almost a quarter of the total housing stock. Such a large figure seems almost impossible to achieve.

As Evident in many countries around the world the Bangladeshi government has failed to turn policies into practice (Tipple and Speak, 2009). However more recently, there has been a paradigm shift from housing provision and support mechanisms to a more enabling

approach, which has resulted in more progress (Tipple and Speak, 2009). Through this, housing policy is viewed more holistically through the lenses of poverty eradication and gender (Ghafur, 2002). A remarkable example from Bangladesh is the budget allocation to help people who are in most need of assistance. These allocations include, “monthly allowances to poor elderly people, funds to provide loans for housing homeless people, the establishment of a bank which would offer loans to unemployed young people that are willing to start a small business enterprise, allowances for destitute woman, homes for the aged destitute and setting up Ashrayan formerly known as Ideal/Cluster Villages (Ghafur, 2002 cited in Tipple and Speak, 2009: 36).

Bangladesh may offer some insight in the approach to homelessness in South Africa. Tipple (1994) argues that it is unaffordable for a majority of households in Africa to own a standard of a self-sufficient dwelling. This indicates that more affordable housing and shelter stock needs to be urgently provided and assistance is needed from NGOs and other entities. Bangladesh seems to be line in with their attempts to address homelessness through the lenses of the ‘new orthodoxy’ views on homelessness.

It is imperative to note that homelessness is not a stagnant experience, but rather has a strong element of fluidity. Through analysing homeless careers, pathways, cycles and routes in and out of homelessness there has been a shift towards identifying homelessness as a lively and potentially enduring process (Minnery, 2007). Anderson (2001) cited in Minnery, (2007) identifies various paths into homelessness such as family unit breakdowns, bereavement, or loss of an adult that one depended on. In Australia the concept homeless career is applied to understand the processes of becoming homeless through the various phases in an individual’s life that led them to becoming homeless (Minnery, 2007). Mackenzie and Chamberlain, (2003) identify three consistent career pathways into homelessness: one as an outcome of a housing predicament; as a consequence of a family breakdown and also the result of moving from minor to adult homelessness. The last principal could imply the state of homelessness is a result of inter-generational poverty that fosters living platforms that provide no potential to develop (socially, economically and financially).

The above approach to homelessness provides valuable insight into the relationship between structural and individualist aspects of homelessness. This is made possible through tracing the life-course trails of homeless people, following their routes while being homeless and their pathways out of homelessness (Tippie and Speak, 2009). Australia serves as a good example to illustrate how this approach can be applied in a context of diverse homeless. The brief case study below will attempt at making visible the inter-play between individual and structural views on homelessness.

Approaches to addressing homelessness in Australia

The reason for using Australia as a case study is there is a profusion of existing research and policy interventions that explicitly address the issue. A technical report that is referred to as the Homelessness Persons Assistance Act of Australia was produced in 1974. This shows that Australia has a lasting concern for this segment of the population. This act was outmoded in 2003 by common wealth literature and gave rise to the following acts: The Supported Accommodation Assistance Act (1994) and The Housing Assistance Act (1996). A remarkable advance in Australia is that it introduced premeditated approaches to homelessness (Minnery, 2007). This is reflected in the National Homelessness Strategy (Australian Department of Family and Community Development Services). A key benefit of strategic responses is the inclusion of evaluations as a prerequisite to interventions (Minnery, 2007). A definition that is derived from Chamberlain and Mackenzie (1992) is broadly used across the nation. This definition has three levels of homelessness and the marginally housed (Greenhalgh, Miller, Mead, Jerome and Minnery, 2004). .

Primary homelessness: refers to those without conventional accommodation like people living on the streets, in parks, squatting in dilapidated buildings or under bridges. All these typologies serve as temporary shelters (Greenhalgh et al, 2004).

Secondary homelessness: refers to people who move frequently from one form of a shelter to another. Emergency shelter falls under this categorization. Hostels, nightly shelters, refugee camps for teenagers and people that temporarily reside with family members are part of this tier of the homeless population (Greenhalgh et al, 2004).

Tertiary homelessness: refers to people who find accommodation in boarding spaces on a medium to long term basis (Greenhalgh et al, 2004).

Marginally Housed - Refers to people in accommodation circumstances that are just below community norms. This category could include two people staying in a room with no separations between the kitchen, living room and bedroom (Greenhalgh et al, 2004).

The above method of defining homelessness in Australia has the ability to provide specific interventions for the respective classifications. The different typologies of homelessness are helpful because they help to distinguish and prioritise between sub-groups of the homeless population. This may serve as a good example to developing a tightly defined definition of homelessness in Johannesburg, South Africa. With regards to developing tightly defined definitions, lessons can be learnt from non-governmental organizations around the globe. NGOs operate and intervene in contexts where governments are failing to cater for the entire homeless population. Below is a brief description of how some NGOs view homelessness.

NGO's - providing for the 'undeserving' and those without access

In developing nations, operational and functional definitions are often used and applied by NGOs to address the multi-faceted nature of the concept. NGOs fill the cavity between those who are not officially classified as homeless and those who do not have access to government support services (Tipple and Speak, 2009). These approaches are in line with rights based approaches and imply interventions should be aimed at those with urgent needs. In most cases, definitions adopted by NGOs are tighter which result in more definite responses.

In the city of Johannesburg, research carried out by an NGO came up with three distinct classifications of homelessness: pavement dwellers or rough sleepers: those who live in bare conditions; those who live in transitory shelters in public spaces and those who reside in city shelters. These definitions are based on the adequacy and the location of the accommodation (Tipple and Speak, 2005). Given the nature of responses to homelessness in Johannesburg, NGOs are mainly addressing sub-categories of the homeless not being reached through state interventions. NGOs in India use the following definition to approach homelessness, "able to live with dignity in social, legal and environmental security and with adequate access to essential housing resources like land, building materials, water, fuel, fodder as well as civic services and finance" (Banerjee Das, 2002 cited in Tipple and Speak,

2009:77). The above is a description of what a home means in India and is bold and holistic in its approach. It creates a linkage between structural and individualist understandings of homelessness and is inclined towards heterogeneity in relation to the continuum that is based on complexity. In Zimbabwe, the government uses a broad definition of homelessness that includes all those without a house in its classification. NGOs in Zimbabwe also pledge to this definition (Tipple and Speak, 2005). However there are many relief and welfare agencies that narrow down this definition to focus on the most destitute; people on the streets and people who are displaced through evictions (Tipple and Speak, 2005). An NGO named the Bulawayo Shelter includes displaced people as part of their client assembly (Kamete, 2001).

From all the definitions above it can be seen the concept of homelessness varies significantly in countries around the world. The similarity in most of these definitions is that they are all moving towards a continuum approach advocated for by the 'new orthodoxy' view on homelessness (structural and individualist causes as related and interlinked). In a neo-liberal context, through neo-liberal urbanism, politics and economics, the homeless are increasingly being victimized as a population that negatively contributes to the form and function of the globalised city. It is in this paradigm that planners need to become consultants to the poor, bring social and political equity and defend substantive solutions. Planning decisions need to be biased towards the greatest benefit of the least advantaged and exercise fairness in the distribution and allocation of spatial resources and welfare benefits. It is undoubted that people residing and working on the streets and in public spaces are amongst the most destitute and marginalised in Johannesburg (Tipple and Speak, 2005). Ironically, it is this segment of the population that is in most need of assistance.

A definition that embraces both the absence of shelter and the poor quality of shelter is used by many scholars when referring to South Africa. This is because a large proportion of the population has no constant roof over their head and also there are many inadequately housed people in dense inner cities and sprawling suburbs (Mass, 2010). As was noted as a key concern in the problem statement in chapter one, a majority of government's resources in addressing the matter are going towards those inadequately housed. This alludes that government has been prioritising the inadequate housing character of homelessness over those that are truly homeless (www.feantasearch.org:2014/9/15).

This research does not claim that a single definition can address all cases; however it does suggest a need to separate the street homeless from those that are adequately housed. Due to the scope and limitations of this research, there will be a focus on the street homeless population in Johannesburg. In working towards clearly articulating the scope and limitations of the paper, the section to follow will aim at conceptualising a separation between the street homeless and those inadequately housed. This will be followed by a conceptual framework used to address the research question.

2.9 Separating the street homeless population from those that are inadequately housed and from those that are homeless in informal settlements

Given the above body of literature, it appears when discussing housing and social welfare issues and relevant interventions in Johannesburg, it is imperative to make a distinction between those who are inadequately housed and those that are street homeless. Housing adequacy should be looked at in close relation to land tenure and services that are accessible. (Tipple and Speak, 2005). A definition situated in the Habitat Agenda 1997 defines adequate housing to embrace physical accessibility, security of tenure, structural stability, permanence and adequate environmental and health quality ([www.dfid.gov.uk: 2014/9/21](http://www.dfid.gov.uk/2014/9/21)).

From an urban planning perspective it is vital to institutionalise who should be incorporated in the population count as residing in the current available housing stock and who is in need of housing (Tipple and Speak, 2005). Together with this there should be a clear distinction between housing sector procedures that add sustainable long term housing stock to the city and those that provide shelter that cannot be classified as sustainable in the medium to long-term (Tipple and Speak, 2005).

The latter can be referred to as emergency shelters and transitional housing that offer temporary accommodation option only. Inadequate housing in many instances is the first stage of incremental improvements to households that later have the potential to be termed habitable. Therefore not all inadequate housing is the same. This shows the high level of intricate research and surveying that is needed when addressing housing situations. FEANSTA (1999), highlights that by implementing a methodology based on the quality of the shelter, which includes all categories of inadequate housing as homelessness, policies will fail to address the urgent needs of the street homeless. These are the people who usually

live in emergency shelters, overnight accommodation, on pavements, in public open space, transport intersections, river banks, and railways and in other public spaces. Through personal observations in Johannesburg, Mumbai and London, it seems the most basic accommodation for the homeless is a section of the pavement that serves as a bed, reading place, eating place and even a place to socialise.

Literature relating to this topic has identified key distinguishing characters that separate 1) those that are inadequately housed from 2) the homeless in informal settlements and from 3) the street homeless population. A very holistic set of differentiating factors were studied in a book titled, "The hidden millions: homelessness in developing countries." The differentiating factors used in this book are very useful to the research at hand because it helps to clarify the limitation, scope and focus of the study. It contributes to developing a tight, concise and operational working definition of homelessness that can effectively be used to address the development challenges facing the city of Johannesburg today.

Situated on the next page, is a table that illustrates the differentiating factors between those inadequately housed homeless people in informal settlements and the street homeless population.

Table 5.5 Differentiating factors between inadequately housed and homeless people in informal settlements and street-homeless people

Differentiation factors	People in informal settlements		Street-homeless people
	Inadequately housed	Homeless	
Security			
Type of settlement	Spontaneous/informal	Spontaneous	Spontaneous
Access to land*	Invasion (backed by political support)	Invasion (illegal)	Invasion/illegal
Type of government land	Not assigned for other use or not likely to be used as intended	May be assigned for other use	Assigned for other use
Security of tenure*	Partial or temporary/psychological security	None, little or misplaced psychological security	None
Permanence	Permanent	Not permanent	Not permanent/itinerant
Level of consolidation on the site	Consolidated	Not consolidated	Stable/more problematic
Type of accommodation and location			
Physical planning*	Quasi/informal planning	Quasi/informal planning	Not planned
Building quality	Improving/consolidating	Not improving/consolidating	Stable or deteriorating
Type of building materials*	Wood, iron sheets, sometimes mud, brick or stone walls	Scavenged wood, iron sheets	Scavenged cardboard boxes/blankets, plastic sheets
Life span of housing	More than 5 years	Under 5 years	Weeks or months
Personal safety*	Moderate safety	Minimum safety	Not safe
Type of accommodation	Renting or informally constructed owner occupation	Renting or informally constructed owner occupation	Night shelter, under flyovers, in stations, pipes, etc.
Location*			
Location*	Tend to be in the urban periphery	Inner city or urban periphery	Inner-city areas
Growth	Increases/ expands in density over a limited area	Increases/ expands in density over a limited area	Expands without control
Social status and organisation			
Social status	Low but accepted for most employment	Low but accepted for most employment	Not trusted, lowest status
Recognition as citizens	Sometimes ID and ration cards can be obtained by political patronage	Sometimes ID and ration cards can be obtained by political patronage	Non-existent
Employment*	Full time in most cases, low-paid manual and domestic work; many small businesses	Lowest paid manual and domestic work, some unemployed/ very erratic; begging; few small businesses	Lowest paid manual and domestic work, some unemployed/ very erratic; begging.
Community organisation *	Organised into CBOs	May organise over time into CBOs	Not organised
Response of government	Upgrading	Resettlement/ often summary eviction	Non-recognition/ demolition and relocation
Access to services			
Access to facilities, e.g. banking	Difficult	Difficult	Impossible
Access to services	Partial, often illegally connected, likely to improve	Very basic, often illegally connected, or none; unlikely to improve	None or a few street taps and public toilets

Adopted from (Tippie and Speak, 2009: 98).

From the above comparison, it is clear there is fine detail that needs to be considered when defining the term homelessness. Bearing that in mind, the comparison makes it clear the street homeless population are the most distressed part of the population that lives in marginal and unsatisfactory housing.

2.9.1 Conceptual framework

All the above literature has helped the report in formulating a framework best suited to answer the research question. As has been mentioned earlier, the new orthodoxy and the neo-liberal paradigm will be used to describe the current context in which homelessness exists in Johannesburg. Within this context, a selected definition will help identify a particular sample population within Johannesburg.

In summary of the 'new orthodoxy' view, "structural factors create the conditions within which homelessness will occur; and people with personal problems are more vulnerable to these adverse social and economic trends than others; therefore the high concentration of people with personal problems in the homeless population can be explained by their susceptibility to macro-structural forces, rather than necessitating an individual explanation of homelessness (Fitzpatrick, 2005: 4 cited in Busch Geertsema et al, 2010:17).

This proved to be beneficial as it informed the research of the complexity and difficulty involved in holistically addressing the issue. The first illumination made apparent that defining homelessness and the population that characterises that definition is very important and has important implications for policy responses. Definitions of homelessness need to be clearly and tightly defined. The South African definition of homelessness that embraces inadequately housed and actual homelessness (houseless) has had negative implications on policy responses. This is due to policies only responding to the inadequately housed, and in doing so, almost entirely overlooking the actual homeless population. As a result of this, the definition used in this research report attempts to be clear and concise with a direct target population in a metropolitan context. This will assist in trying to obtain accurate observations of the population group being studied.

Street homelessness in Johannesburg - The definition to be adopted and referred to in most cases of the report will concentrate on the street homeless population. This is done to solidify the scope and limitation of the research study. Together with this, the street homeless is a population group that has never been in mainstream policy, but rather on the periphery of housing and social development policies. Based on this definition the street homeless in Johannesburg can be classified as;

- Detached homeless persons
- Temporary overnight sleepers
- A visible manifestation of being without shelter
- Having no security of tenure
- Those living on pavements and other public spaces (chronic and transient)
- A population group that many people do not trust
- Street homeless not being recognized as citizens
- People whose building material is scavenged cardboard boxes, blankets and Plastic bags
- Living rough or relying on emergency accommodation

“Of all South Africans who live in marginal and unsatisfactory housing that denies them a place in residential society, the street homeless are the most distressed” (Cross and Seager, 2010: 2).

The concepts of human rights and citizenship are relevant to the topic being studied. These are theoretical underpinnings that guide moral sympathy and judgement towards the street homeless. Given the transformative nature of the constitution in South Africa, many policy documents follow rights based approaches that are in line with international human rights policies. Together with this, the concept of ‘the new homeless’, as it emerged in Australia, is becoming increasingly apparent in Johannesburg. The street homeless population is no more male dominated. Families, teenagers and children are increasingly occupying spaces on the streets and pavements of Johannesburg.

The concept of homeless careers is also beneficial to understanding the dynamics of street homelessness in Johannesburg. Tracing homeless careers will be employed in this research. Many people become street homeless, out of choice, in order to make a living and save money. Regardless of them being homeless in Johannesburg, a lot of people have homes in informal settlements further away from the city. The government of Bangladesh adopts a very pro-poor approach to its national housing policy. It is not common around the world for housing blue-prints to do this.

The policy covers the whole spectrum of income groups, but stresses the disadvantaged, the destitute and the street homeless are specific target groups. Together with this, the housing policy commits government to delivering tenure rights in areas where regeneration and improvement is feasible. This will result in a marked reduction in the amount of people being evicted and invariably reduce homelessness (Ghafur, 2002). As a result of urban regeneration in a neo-liberal context, it is common that the street homeless are displaced through gentrification processes occurring in former industrial and run down areas. The above mentioned reflects the conceptual framework in which the research report exists.

Chapter 3- Contextual Framework

3.1 Origins of homelessness in South Africa

Due to colonialism and apartheid, South Africa has had a cruel history in which the state subsidised policies that fostered homelessness (Morrow, 2010). This is among the underlying reasons why the eviction of people from buildings and land that is informally occupied is such a sensitive and present-day issue (Morrow, 2010). Evictions and forced removals of today are reminiscent of the brutality exercised by the apartheid regime. The roots of homelessness in South Africa come from the segregatory policies used by the apartheid government to guide urban development. Apartheid spatial planning was highly successful and efficient in creating a divided city. The problem is that cities at the time were developed to be inhabited by an urban minority and as a result, many cities in South Africa are struggling to deal with the developmental challenges of the 21st century. Among many challenges facing urban areas, homelessness is increasingly becoming a key concern. Therefore, a brief history of the evolution of housing policy will be carried out. This will help to contextualise the current state of homelessness in South Africa.

Housing policy in South Africa during the apartheid era

The Transvaal Local Government Commission of 1922 stated that, “the native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man’s creation, when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister” (Goodlad, 1996). This shows the marginalised man was viewed as a visitor to urban areas and possessed no sense of permanence and belonging. The above quotation reflects one of the first systematic approaches to achieve segregation in South Africa. By the time the Nationalist party came to power in 1948, the pre-apartheid city was highly but not completely segregated.

The apartheid regime had a central aim of achieving racially segregated cities in which the white population became entitled to privileges of available resources. “Its fundamental objective was unequivocal: to achieve racial segregation in all aspects of social and economic life, so as to protect the resources and-style of the white minority and to subordinate less advantaged groups” (Turok, 1994; 244). To achieve this, a variety of policies were put in place.

The Group areas act of 1950 and 1960 designated different areas for different racial groups and Africans were effectively omitted from white areas and relocated to homelands in

which almost no provisions were made (Morrow, 2010). Africans who had permission to enter the urban landscape resided in distant townships with unacceptably over-crowded conditions. Some of these townships were also seen as 'white' rural areas. Africans living in these areas were forced into homelands based on their traditional fidelities and roots (Goodlad, 1996). The homelands were used as a tool to deny Africans of their right to participate in decisions that affected the well-being of themselves and the country.

Homelands developed into human settlements that forced long distance commuting to cities in search of economic opportunities. As a result, these people became poverty stricken and underdeveloped while the urban minority flourished. South Africa was world renowned for the quantities of gold that it produced. Large numbers of migrant labourers were recruited to work at gold mines for a very low wage in order to increase profit margins. The men who worked on the mines were inhumanely housed in hostels that were impoverished, overcrowded and environmentally degraded (Morrow, 2010). This very motion highlights the link between industrialisation, migration and homelessness.

The conditions in the homelands were in stark contrast to the low-density urban areas of the whites, which boasted the advantages of good location, secure tenure, provision of services and high standards of living. During apartheid Africans were prohibited from owning title deeds in the townships and they forcibly became tenants to municipalities. This can be related to the notion of state sponsored homelessness in South Africa. Informal settlements sprawled within the homelands and on the peripheries of cities, where they were brutally demolished, habitually, until the end of apartheid. This was possible, as there was no security of tenure and no free holding property rights. In relation to housing, a majority of the population was allocated minimal space and resources. An urban minority had the economic power and resources to provide for their own needs. Regardless of this, most of the state's resources were directed in their direction (Goodlad, 1996).

Residential segregation and disparities in living conditions played a significant role in stimulating the resistance against the apartheid regime in the 1970's (Goodlad, 1996). Examples of this include resistance to forced removals and land invasions that took place in the built environment. Housing policies and apartheid spatial planning did not cater for this and so a serious backlog in housing infrastructure developed. This housing backlog can be said to be a key contributor to homelessness.

According to Goodlad (1996), struggles during apartheid showed that gaining democracy is inextricably linked to providing better shelter and material conditions for all. Prevailing housing conditions before the 1994 elections contributed to the high expectations held for the new government. The newly elected and structured government which came into power during the 1994 elections was posed with a vast housing challenge. During this era it was estimated that 1.7million households were living in shacks on unserviced sites and over 2million people were in 620 000 shacks on unserviced sites (Goodlad, 1996). Together with this, 100 000 serviced sites were not used as they were isolated developments that were in the wrong place, with the wrong facilities and were unaffordable (NHF, 1994). “The levels of crowding in the townships was also excessive, with official assumptions of occupancy levels of 7 people per house belied by surveys which have found 17, 20 or even up to 30 occupants of the 4 room houses” (Wilson and Ramphela, 1989 ;125-126). Informal settlements on the peripheries of cities were characterised by a large concentration of inadequate structures. Residents of these settlements lacked the bare necessities and urban facilities (Goodlad, 1996).

“Poor black migrants, from white farms and homelands, established themselves in increasing numbers in townships, often in conditions of extreme poverty and indigence. Some failed to obtain even the most basic level of security and housing” (Morrow, 2010: 55).

The above quote can be used to explain the origin of homelessness in South Africa. It was these bare life conditions in the townships that made it vital for marginalized groups to move closer to opportunities and resources that urban centres had to offer. Today, this tendency has intensified as there is no barrier to migration which is resulting in the rapid urbanisation of the poor.

3.2 Current understandings and approaches to homelessness in South Africa

In a South African context, government officials from the Johannesburg Metropolitan council describe homelessness as, “People without (i) adequate shelter, (ii) secure tenure, (iii) living in squatter settlements, (iv) living in backrooms in townships and elsewhere, (v) living in slum conditions. It is evident in the inner city, since it consists of both third and first world elements, a cardboard house under the bridge, occupation of metropolitan open spaces, parks, vacant land, a couple of dirt-stained blankets on the corners of high rise

building, occupation of unused buildings” (Tipple and Speak, 2009: 76). This definition includes those that are inadequately housed and those that are actually homeless and destitute.

However there is no clear distinction made between those inadequately housed and the street or pavement dwellers. The degree of poverty in South Africa has resulted in an official definition of homelessness that is subsumed an umbrella of people that are housed in inadequate structures (Naidoo, 2010).

Given this broad definitional umbrella, there are key areas that policies aim to address and cope with (Naidoo, 2010). Discrepancies in the meaning of homelessness in South Africa are resulting in interventions not well co-ordinated with recipients and with other responsible departments. Usually those in informal settlements are situated in better living conditions than the street homeless because they benefit most from housing and human settlement programmes, policies and subsidies. This is re-iterated by Cross and Seager, (2010: 2), “Of all South Africans who live in marginal and unsatisfactory housing that denies them a place in residential society, the street homeless are the most distressed”. The Housing Sector has seen partial success in bringing the inadequately housed into settled residential societies, however they have been much less successful in helping the street homeless (Cross and Seager, 2010). In many instances the street homeless cannot access government subsidies. The Department of Social Development and the Department of Human Settlements are organs of the state that address homelessness. These departments have worked on addressing shelter and poverty alleviation respectively (Cross and Seager, 2010).

Research carried out on homelessness in South Africa lead to a definition that includes three groups of homeless people, “detached homeless persons, temporary overnight sleepers (includes evictees and weekday homeless persons) and informal settlement dwellers” (du Toit, 2010: 3). The first two groups can broadly be categorized as the street homeless as they usually reside on the streets in metropolitan municipalities (du Toit, 2010).

3.3 Government legislature that aims at addressing homelessness in South Africa

The most visible reference made to homelessness in Johannesburg is documented in the constitution of South Africa. The constitution recognizes the need to amend past discriminatory practices. The research report will make reference to the constitution. The

relevant legislature will be used as one of the tools to measure the municipalities' effectiveness in addressing the challenge of providing for the homeless.

Section 26(1) of the Constitution states that everyone has the right to adequate housing and 26(2) states that the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right (Constitution of South Africa, 1996). Section 26(1) covers both definitions of homelessness - persons that have shelter, but considered to be inadequate and those with no shelter at all (Naidoo, 2010). The circumstances covered in section 26 are expanded in South Africa's National Plan for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. This is a policy document that is directly informed by the constitution.

This policy document is relevant to the research proposal as it, "covers the special needs of the homeless (especially children); inherited racial disparities in access to and quality of shelter; disparities between rural and urban dwellers and addressing backlogs in moving informally sheltered individuals to more formal housing"(Naidoo, 2003:30 cited in Naidoo, 2010). The issues that the policy aims at addressing are some of the fundamental causes of homelessness.

The issue of shelter is further addressed in Section 28 of the Constitutions Bill of rates and states that every child has the right to nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and social services (Constitution of South Africa, 1996).

As mentioned above, homelessness is more than a lack of shelter and is closely linked to the dynamic underlying social and economic conditions affecting homeless persons. Section 27 of the Constitution aims at addressing these conditions by stating; everybody has the right to access healthcare services, sufficient food and water, social security and social assistance, and not to be refused emergency medical treatment (Constitution on South Africa, 1996). In Johannesburg's current context, a majority of the homeless population are denied these rights.

The Housing Act of 1997 does not directly refer to homelessness, however it states National, provincial and local spheres of government must promote the development of socially and economically viable communities and safe and healthy environments to ensure the prevention of slums and slum conditions. Slum conditions can be equated to inadequate

housing. This re-iterates that the state is mainly addressing homelessness by trying to formalise the informal and upgrading informal settlements rather than explicitly addressing the issue through comprehensive targeted measures (Cross and Seager, 2010). The Children's Act (Act No. 38 of 2005) expands on section 28 of the Constitution by making unambiguous reference to children, as a distinct population group in vulnerable social and economic situations such as street homelessness (RSA, 2006). The Act, administered by the department of social development, refers to the provision of 'structures' as an intervention to ensure the social, emotional and intellectual development of children. The Act shows an appreciation for the underlying vulnerabilities of street children as the provision of a 'structure' is not viewed in isolation.

Coming out of apartheid the housing sector's response to homelessness was indicated in the 1994 White Paper on a New Housing and Policy Strategy for South Africa. In attempting to realise an effective right to housing for all, the policy stated government had a duty to abstain from taking steps to promote or cause homelessness (DoH, 1994). This implies the primary concern was to prevent the growth of homelessness by ensuring access to adequate housing for all. This approach was taken over attempts to address homelessness more directly. Since then the government has prioritised the inadequately housed through social housing policy and informal settlement upgrading that targets persons with secure and low to medium income (DoH, 2003).

Since then the Department of Housing has made a more explicit response to the conditions of homelessness defined in the 1994 White Paper as special housing needs. This has resulted in the provision of shelters through a transitional housing scheme. However, the effectiveness of the scheme has been limited due to a lack of clarity on the duration of stays, funding for the schemes and unclear quality benchmarks that shelters have to adhere to (Poulsen, 2000).

In relation to the above research proposal, the transitional housing programme holds promise for addressing the housing needs of the homeless. According to Poulsen (2000), a comprehensive analysis of the needs of the people, the management structures and the spatial environment is needed. Relative departments need to be well-coordinated and, "welfare, health, education, training and job creation need to be looked at in conjunction with housing" (Poulsen, 2000: 4).

The 1997 White Paper for Social welfare acknowledges the conditions of communities with 'special needs'. The street homeless are now part of this category whereas in the past they were not recognized as families or households (Naidoo, 2010). Due to this they lacked social support systems. The Department of Social Development stresses the need to work with the Department of Human Settlements, Department of Public Works and with municipalities to effectively address the needs of destitute family and individuals that are living on the street (Naidoo, 2010). The Department of Social Developments Strategic Plan (2006/07- 2009/10) solidifies special status to the street homeless population by classifying them as 'vulnerable' groups that have limited or no social protection and are invariably exposed to social misfortunes (DoSD, 2006). Furthermore, The Street Children Shelters Act 1998 enables government support to NGO run shelters. This act serves as the predominant and most far reaching tool for executing social welfare support to the homeless (Naidoo, 2010). The most recent response from the Department of Social Development to homelessness can be seen through the efforts of the Displaced Persons Unit in coming up with a policy for people living and working on the streets (Naidoo, 2010).

3.4 Policy mandates - Special needs housing (SNH) and Provincial Department of Social Development

Housing subsidies for Special Needs Housing in South Africa

Special Need Housing can be described as any form of state assisted or state funded housing for persons who are in special need (CSO National SNH submission, 2013). SNH is provided by registered and well capacitated non-profit organizations for those people that require special care, resources and expertise. Individuals that require this kind of assistance are not registered on the national housing database. Through transitional subsidies, allocations are given per bed and not per beneficiary; this is done because of the transitional nature of the accommodation (CSO National SNH submission, 2013). The endorsement of the NPO's and intended projects are needed from the relevant oversight Department, which in Gauteng is the Department of Social Development. Categories of people that qualify for Special Needs Housing are as follows:

- 1) Orphans and Vulnerable Children
- 2) The seriously ill

- 3) The old and infirm
- 4) Those with physical disabilities
- 5) Those with intellectual and psychiatric disabilities
- 6) Victims of domestic violence
- 7) The homeless/those living on the streets (street children, refugees, trafficked people)
- 8) Those under substance rehabilitation
- 9) Parolees, ex-offenders and juvenile offenders (CSO National SNH submission, 2013).

Suitable non-profit and non-governmental organisations can access transitional subsidies from the Department of Human Settlements for the acquisition, construction or refurbishment of properties for the provision of special needs housing. These subsidies are not provided to cover the operational costs of the projects. The Transitional Housing Scheme provides these subsidies. According to the Breaking New Ground Policy, transitional housing is listed as follows, “Transitional housing comprise rooms and on based on the hostels redevelopment programme the cost of a room amounts to approximately R5 775,00. Government will contribute 100% of the development cost of these units and the income target group would be persons earning R0 to R800 and less per month” (BNG, 2004: 14).

The scheme is spear headed by provincial departments that work with civil society organizations that are taking the responsibility for managing transitional shelters (Naidoo, 2010). Examples of SNH includes, “foster care homes, accommodation for older persons, residential care and assisted independent accommodation for people with disabilities, hospices, centres for abused women and children and shelters for homeless people, (although SNH is not limited to these types of housing)” (CSO National SNH submission, 2013: 8). The development of housing for those with special needs is formulated under the legislative mandate of the Constitution of South Africa and the following acts and programmes.

Housing Act 107 of 1997 - “National, provincial and local spheres of government must...promote the meeting of special housing needs, including, but not limited to, the needs of the disabled” (Paragraph 2(1) (e) (viii)).

Social Housing Act 16 of 2008 - "In giving priority to the needs of low and medium income households in respect of social housing development, the national, provincial and local spheres of government and social housing institutions must....ensure their respective housing programmes are responsive to local housing demands, and special priority must be given to the needs of women, children, child-headed households, persons with disabilities and the elderly." (Clause 2(1) a).

National Department of Human Settlements- Breaking New Ground (Comprehensive Plan for Housing, 2004 - Special Needs Housing is in line with the vision of the Breaking New ground Policy to create more integrated and sustainable Human settlements. The provision of improved care and shelter for those in special need is of paramount importance if this vision is to be realised.

(CSO National SNH submission, 2013: 9).

The above mentioned illustrates how the Government Housing Sector is attempting to address homeless in Johannesburg and South Africa at large. The latter part of the report will analyse the programmes for SNH. This will be done through gaining knowledge of what is happening on the ground.

Gauteng Department of Social Development

The vision of the Gauteng Department of Social Development is to create a caring and integrated social development system that facilitates human development and improves the quality of life for people in Gauteng. This vision is coupled with the mission of playing a leading role in social empowerment, social integration and social protection of poor and vulnerable individuals, families and communities of Gauteng. The street homeless in Johannesburg can be regarded as vulnerable individuals and are therefore entitled to social services provided by the department (Department of Social Development Annual Performance Plan, 2013-2014).

The Department has a programme for social services. The purpose of this programme is to deliver integrated developmental social services to the poor and vulnerable in partnership with stakeholders and civil society (www.gautengleg.go.za:2014/10/2). Expenditure Estimates of the programme for social services, gained from the Gauteng Department of Social Development illustrates that expenditure increased from R1.4 billion in 2009/10 to

R1.8 billion in 2011/12 financial year (www.treasury.gov.za- Department of Social Development Annual Performance Plan, 2013-2014). This increase in expenditure is attributed to transfers made to non-governmental organisations (www.treasury.gov.za- Department of Social Development Annual Performance Plan, 2013-2014). The total budget increases from R1.9 billion in 2012/13 to R3.2 billion in the 2015/16 financial year. The above mentioned illustrates the direction the province wants to head into with regards to funding social development.

The Department of Social Development in Johannesburg has the mission of advancing social development by centrally coordinating strategy and developing enabling mechanisms for addressing poverty, inequality and social exclusion across the City of Johannesburg (CoJ, Department of Social Development, 2014).

In relation to addressing homelessness in the city, the department has the following functions and responsibilities:

Social Benefit Programmes

- Social Grants
- NGO coordination and Support
- Expanded Social Packages
- Delivery of Human and Social Services to the Community
- Social Services and Grants
- Burial Services
- Enrolment of Beneficiaries and Targeting of all Pro Poor and Poverty Programmes and Galvanizing the Services and Interventions (CoJ, Department of Social Development, 2014)

Migration, Displaced Persons and Children's Programmes

- Mainstream issues facing Migrants and Displaced Persons
- Programmes benefitting the Homeless
- Homeless Care Facilities

- Coordination of Services and Programmes
- Child Friendly City Programmes
- Early Childhood Development
- Street Children Programme
- Programmes Benefiting Orphans
- Interface with FMM Entity
- Capital Project Oversight and Coordination (CoJ, Department of Social Development, 2014)

In achieving the above mentioned, the Department of Social Development is assigned an operational budget of 159.1 million rands and an on-going budget of 47 million rands for 2014/2015 (CoJ, Department of Social Development, 2014). This will fund key initiatives and programmes that are undertaken by the department. The latter part of the report will analyse the Department of Social Developments policy for people living and working on the street. Due to the limitations and scope of the paper, this is the only policy from the Department of Social Development that will be analysed. The section below aims at understanding how the constitutional court interprets the rights in the constitution relevant to street homelessness.

3.5 Constitutional court case that has referred to homelessness - Blue Moonlight Case vs Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

In a neo-liberal context, urban regeneration is proving to have negative impacts on the poor inhabitants of the city. This is largely a result of municipal housing policies that are not responsive enough to people that are evicted through regeneration processes, which is increasingly becoming a cause to homelessness in Johannesburg. This is a key concern in relation to the rights enshrined in the constitution of South Africa. Given these rights, the state is constitutionally tasked with assisting persons living in intolerable conditions (Huchzermeyer, 2003). The City of Johannesburg vs Blue Moonlight Properties 39 (Pty Ltd) is a strong example of a case addressing the needs of the homeless through realising their right to adequate housing via housing policy.

About eighty six very poor people were residing in a building located on Saratoga Avenue in Berea, Johannesburg. The building was bought over and the new owner sued the occupants

of the building for eviction (Clark, 2013). However, the occupants opposed the eviction on the basis that the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality had not upheld its constitutional obligations by providing temporary alternative accommodation while they waited for formal housing through the Breaking New Ground Policy. In this case, the constitutional court had to address the responsibilities of the municipality in a situation where eviction by a private entity would result in homelessness for the former residents. This brings section 25 (Property rights) of the constitution into play and illustrates a conflict between the right to adequate housing and the right of the property owners (Clark, 2013). In situations like this protection against arbitrary deprivation (s25) and protection against arbitrary eviction (s26) need to be balanced (Clark, 2013). Having said this, the constitution mentions that evictions have to be just and equitable. If the court rules the eviction to be unjust and inequitable, the refusal of the eviction would be legitimate in limiting the right of the property owner. The constitutional court used a list of factors that would deem an eviction unlawful and unjust:

- The length and duration of occupation by the occupiers
- Whether their occupation was once lawful
- Whether the owner was aware of the occupiers when purchasing the property;
- Whether the eviction would lead to homelessness; and
- Whether there is a competing risk of homelessness on the part of the private

Owner of the property (Clark, 2013: 38)

Adherence to the above factors by the court resulted in a ruling that private owners need to be patient while their ownership rights are provisionally restricted by the occupation of people in the property who could be rendered homeless if evicted. Given this ruling, the court also had to tackle the City of Johannesburg. The city specified that a policy was developed to provide accommodation to people who are evicted from 'bad buildings' as part of the Inner City Property Scheme (ICPS). However, they strongly denied their obligations towards providing accommodation for people who have been evicted by private landlords (Clark, 2013).

In response to this, the constitutional courts judgement ruled the city's differentiation of evictions from supposed bad buildings and evictions from private land owners as

unconstitutional. This is so because no cognisance is given to the desperate need for housing towards those who have become homeless (Clark, 2013). Precedents from a case in the Port Elizabeth Municipality illustrates the state has to respond to people who face emergency housing crisis. Together with this the case in Port Elizabeth informed the judges it is the task of the local municipality to address these emergencies, even if the inhabitants were evicted from private owned land (Clark, 2013). With reference to section 26 of the constitution and the PIE Act, if evictees result in homelessness, it was required the property owner should wait to assert his/her property rights until the municipality is given a chance to implement and materialise alternative accommodation programmes (scholar.sun.ac.za: 2014/8/11). In doing so, the municipality would uphold their obligations.

The above case represents a structural cause to homelessness through eviction. It is primarily the duty of the local municipality to address the needs of all those who become homeless through eviction. However, the city's housing policy is proving to be unsustainable and half-hearted with regards to upholding the rights of the constitution and also, "handing over policy issues to judges is an act of democratic defeatism" (Huchzermeyer, 2003:93). "Government has moved away from the political foundations that informed this constitution towards an uncritical acceptance of a free-market interpretation of the global imperative" (Mail and Guardian, 2000, article by Friedman cited in Poulsen, 2000). The above quote succinctly describes the environment in which policies for the homeless are devised. Political activity directed at policy changes is needed to meet the demands of the majority.

Chapter 4- Case Study and Research Methods

4.1 Case Study- Johannesburg

“A case study investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1994: 13).

The City of Johannesburg will be used as a case study to analyse the government’s effectiveness in addressing the challenges of providing for the street homeless. Homelessness in growing metropolises is expected to rise in the near future and since homelessness does not only affect the homeless but the public interest in general, there is a need to enquire and investigate responses to this issue (du Toit, 2010). The City of Johannesburg will be a good platform to conduct this investigation as it is the economic hub of Africa and is currently experiencing a variety of social, political, and economic development challenges. By using the city of Johannesburg as a case study, the research will be carried out in a diverse and cosmopolitan urban context that has characteristics of both developed and developing countries. Due to this, observations and findings derived from this city could serve as practical examples to countries with similar developmental trends.

The site is bound by the perimeters of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Streets of Johannesburg are dotted with the street homeless and this population group has become a consistent and robust feature of the urban fabric. Johannesburg is seen as a global destination for international migrants looking for work or looking to escape harsh realities of their respective countries. Together with local migrations to Johannesburg, there has been a relatively high influx of international people into the city. Johannesburg is rich in history and is a construction of apartheid ideologies and a contemporary physical, social and economic representation of the post-apartheid and post-modern city (Olufemi, 1998). Olufemi, (1998: 225) explains with reference to Johannesburg, “the chronic African housing crisis and the associated proliferation of subletting 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”. South Africa has amongst the most transformative constitutions in the world in which obligations of the state are mentioned (Schreiber, 2014). Addressing the needs of the street homeless can be said to be one of these obligations. The case study of

Johannesburg will be used to analyse governments and NGOs responses to catering for the street homeless population.

Field work was carried out in the form of interviews with relevant persons and responsible government departments. Together with this; non-governmental and faith based organisations were interviewed.

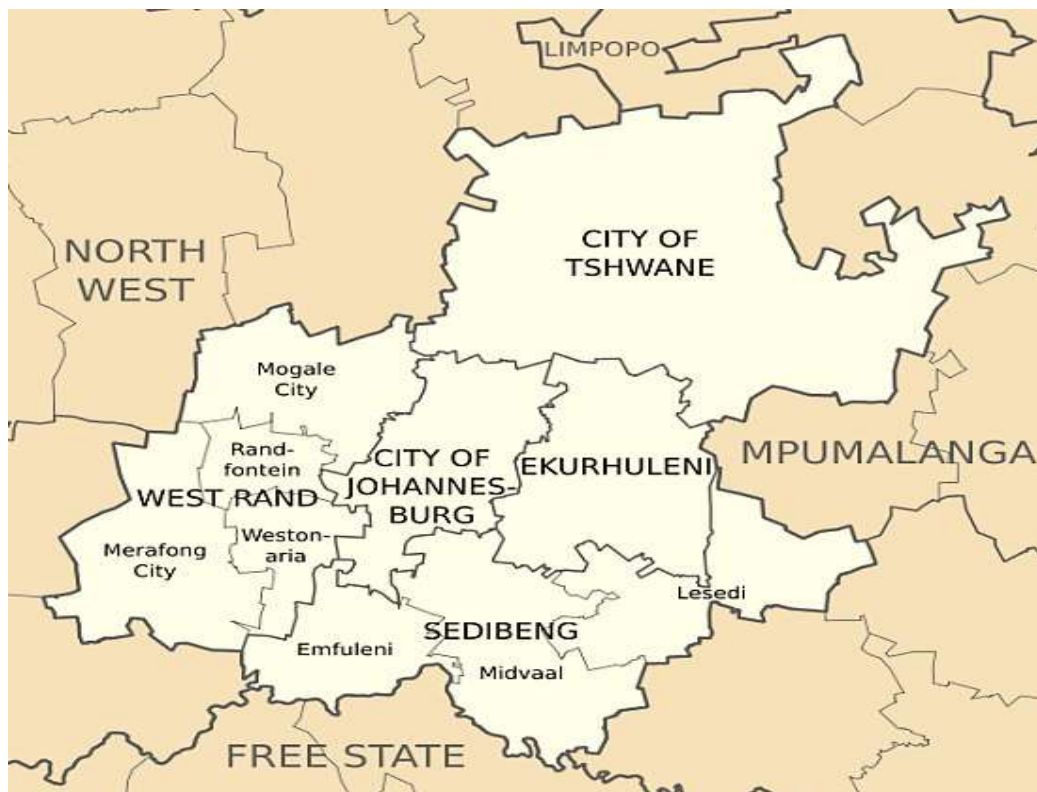


Fig 1.2: Graphic representation of the location of the Johannesburg metro in relation to broader South Africa.

4.2 Research Methods

Research methods need to be chosen in relation and according to the questions being researched and the amount of available resources. Given the research question and sub-questions of the paper at hand, both qualitative and quantitative data is needed to address the challenge of addressing homelessness in Johannesburg.

Qualitative data can be viewed as generating descriptive data through respondent's words, perceptions and behaviours. Furthermore, qualitative data is associated with the unpacking of the phenomenon of homelessness and related interests from a participant's perspective. Qualitative methods of gathering data can take various forms. Observations and in depth interviews will be carried out with service providers and the street homeless population in

Johannesburg. The street homeless is viewed as a sub-category of the broader homeless population in Johannesburg. Based on the definition of the street homeless above, a sample population will be identified by the researcher. Qualitative methods will assist in gaining an in-depth understanding of the varying aspects of the street homeless people's lives, their pathways into homelessness, backgrounds to their current situations, their own interpretation of homelessness and their views on the effectiveness of programmes.

Qualitative data is also valuable with regards to understanding how the system of service providers (government and NGOs) works and how they are relating to the street homeless population (Research methods, 1). According to Antonius (2003:2), quantitative methods are defined as, "the procedures and techniques used to analyse data numerically". Quantitative data will be gathered through using existing data (large scale surveys carried out by the City of Johannesburg) on homelessness in Johannesburg. Apart from gaining an estimate of the prevalence of street homelessness, quantitative data can assist in informing the researcher about characteristics of the street homeless in Johannesburg and making comparisons between them, the inadequately housed and those that are homeless in informal settlements.

Therefore a 'mixed approach' as a research method is adopted. Cresswell and Plano Clark (2007: 6) explain that, "mixed methods research involves collecting and analysing both quantitative and qualitative data. By mixing the data sets, the researcher provides a better understanding of the problem than if either data set had been used alone".

The two research methods can be viewed as complementary to each other. A collection of in-depth interviews (street homeless as the sample population) will be gathered from a portion of the population who were part of a broad survey on homelessness. In this case, qualitative methods have the potential to improve quantitative investigations. This is applicable to studies on homelessness because the element of specificity is brought to surveys conducted on a broadly/randomly defined homeless population. The following quote concisely describes the above mentioned. "Quantitative research brings the strengths of conceptualizing variables, profiling dimensions, tracing trends and relationships, formalizing comparisons and using large and perhaps representative samples. On the other hand, qualitative research brings the strengths of sensitivity to meaning and to context,

local groundedness, the in-depth study of smaller samples, and great methodological flexibility which enhances the ability to study process and change” (Punch 2009: 290).

4.3 Measuring effectiveness - Assessing the case of Johannesburg in relation to a most ‘Promising Practices’ framework

A best practice approach may not be the most suitable method of evaluating the effectiveness of homelessness programmes in Johannesburg. This is due to a lack of access to methods and techniques unswervingly proven to be effective via the most vigorous scientific research. In order to claim or identify a best practice, interventions have to be able to illustrate that it produces superior results as compared to other approaches and that it can be contextually applied in varied contexts. Due to a lack of an adequate body of evidence that can confidently describe a best practice, a promising practice approach will be more suitable in evaluating the effectiveness of responses in Johannesburg. In relation to the research question, a continuum of potentially promising practice elements will be used to define what is effective in responding to street homelessness in a metropolitan context.

A framework for designing and implementing promising practices is adopted from ‘The Homeless Hub’, a web based research library that is supported by the Canadian Homelessness Research Network. This appears to be a credible approach to use in this research. The reason for this is because the Homeless Hub has carried out extensive research on what works, why it works and for who it works for. Given that homelessness is a relatively new concern for research, there is not much literature that describes effective policies and programmes in a practical way. The Homeless Hub believes that the sharing of solutions with the right tools and information can contribute to communities learning from each other and adapting initiatives to local contexts (www.homelesshub.ca).

According to The Homeless Hub, the goal of conducting research on promising practices is to make a determination of what constitutes effectiveness. This will assist in measuring current responses of street homelessness in Johannesburg and in the propagation and adaptation of promising practices. Promising practices identifies programmes that have illustrated, through assessment and evidence to be effective in achieving targeted outcomes, but which are reliable on limited research. This is a well suited method to take the research report forward. Promising practices can be referred to as a variety of solutions

ranging from policies to practices on the ground. The promising practices framework will focus on interventions that aim at explicitly preventing and ending homelessness.

Guiding Principles that underlie the 'promising practice' approach

- 1) Explicit focus on ending homelessness - the focus is on initiatives that do more than just respond to homelessness, but rather operate with the specific goal of reducing homelessness by helping people find routes out of their current predicament. The research method adopted aims at finding practices that work to reduce or end homelessness.
- 2) Clarity of intended impact - there needs to be clarity in how an intervention is planned. Clear goals and objectives that are rooted in strong philosophical bases are vital for effective responses. The successful evaluation of a programme is reliant on the clarity of the plan. There needs to be certainty who the plan is serving and what it is aiming to achieve.
- 3) Sound Evidence - There must be evidence that a programme is achieving results. The source of evidence should be quantitative and qualitative data that represents change as in reducing the numbers of homelessness. Promising practices must illustrate effectiveness with regards to achieving targeted outcomes.
- 4) Integration within a system response - promising practices must clearly demonstrate how the intervention integrates with other departments addressing homelessness. Initiatives are more effective when they are integrated into broader strategic frameworks (www.homelesshub.ca).

Framework to determine the effectiveness of a programme

The framework is divided into various categories. Each categorization contains a variety of elements of programmes that address the effectiveness of a practice as a whole. This framework will be referred to when evaluating the successes and failures of interventions applied in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality.

(1) Design of the Initiative

(A) The case for the practice

There are certain key questions that should underlie effective responses. These questions can be identified as: What is the problem that the intervention is trying to solve? Is there a

case for undertaking an intervention? Why is the specific practice undertaking this course of intervention rather than another route?

(B) Mission, goals and Objectives

It is of pivotal importance that goals and objectives are clearly defined. This helps to evaluate whether an intervention has achieved what it sets out to do. Therefore, a promising practice should possess clear and realistic missions, goals and objectives. Together with this, interventions need to uphold loyalty to the stipulated mission, goals and objectives.

(C) Context

In measuring effectiveness of interventions, it is required to mount the interventions in relation to the social, economic and policy contexts that the intervention exists in. Promising practices need to validate how socio-economic, geographic and historical concerns are reflected in the design and implementation of interventions. Promising practices need to make mention of the presence or absence of legislation that hinders or empowers the effective development and implementation of interventions. There also needs to be a clear illustration of how local contextual factors shape the experiences of the homeless and responses to homelessness.

(D) Planning Process

Interventions are moulded in various ways with various grades of organization and planning. Promising practices need to encapsulate how the intervention was developed, which agencies were responsible and which sectors (outside the homeless sector) and individuals were consulted with in coming up with the intervention. There also needs to be an indication of how target groups have been merged into the planning and implementation of the intervention.

(E) Resources

Promising practices need to have adequate sources of funding and an administrative structure that supports and pursues the implementation of the intervention. In effectively

doing so, there needs to be supervision and support mechanisms in place that ensures loyalty to the mission, goals and objective of the intervention.

(F) Identification of a target population

If an intervention is to be successful, it must be designed to address and serve a specific target population rather than addressing everyone's needs. Promising practices need to explicitly define and postulate the target population while simultaneously reflecting the needs of this population. Together with this, the intervention needs to show an acute appreciation of the diversity within the targeted population.

(G) Anti-discriminatory practice

The targeted population for responses, need to feel comfortable in their environment rather than being victimised and stigmatised as a result of their being in a state of homelessness. A promising practice should illustrate that the targeted population is not stigmatised and discriminated against (www.homelesshub.ca).

(2) Collaboration and Systems integration

Within the built environment, and especially with regards to homelessness, interventions exist in relation to other practices, departments and affiliations. In certain cases, interventions exist in a disconnected and singular manner while other cases are much more strongly integrated and interrelated models of service delivery. "Systems integration is a method of organizing and delivering services, housing and programs that aims to coordinate resources to ensure community-level results align with long-term goals and ultimately meet client needs effectively" (www.homelesshub.ca: 14). System planning works towards developing an approach for the delivery of interventions in a focused, assimilated and premeditated manner. The above mentioned illustrates it is worth measuring how well interventions and programmes are integrated into wider networks of services, interventions and practices. Promising practices in homelessness should be able to validate there is collaboration between the homelessness sector and other practices and departments addressing challenges facing cities. The very causes of homelessness re-iterate there needs to be more than one department/agency responsible for addressing the issue and these agencies need to work together.

All the above mentioned, together with the relevant rights in the constitution of South Africa, will be used as methods and frameworks to evaluate the governments effectiveness in addressing homelessness in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality.

Chapter 5- Findings

The section to follow discusses the findings on homelessness in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Findings that relate to government, non-profit/non-governmental organisations and the street homeless themselves will be listed. The findings will be followed by an analysis. An instrumental limitation to the findings and analysis is that there is a lack of quantifiable information on the amount of people that are street homeless and on the amount of organizations involved in addressing street homelessness.

Who is currently addressing street homelessness in Johannesburg?

With regards to services being provided for the homeless, there have been a variety of attempts by numerous agencies. Research carried out by the centre of Social Development in Africa and the University of Johannesburg illustrates that these services include, “outreach activities, family re-unification, assistance with grants and documentation, provision of accommodation and recreation programmes, education in computer literacy, awareness and life skills such as hygiene and sexually safe behaviour” (Moyo, 2013: 4). Non-governmental organizations are playing a pivotal role in providing these services. However, they are largely dependent on funding from sponsorship donations to cover operational costs. The Displaced Persons Unit, which is a sub-unit of the Department of Social Development, is tasked with the responsibility of developing and implementing a policy that addresses the street homeless population. Findings illuminate the programme is not holistically achieving the intended results.

The Housing sector has been much more reserved and limited in their approach towards providing housing for the street homeless population. This has proven to be a key finding, as international literature illustrates that housing plays an important role in addressing homelessness. The most visible reference made to housing the street homeless is listed in the transitional housing programme. “The aims and objectives of the transitional housing programme is to provide temporary accommodation to destitute and impoverished homeless people living in inner city areas” (Poulsen, 2000:3). However, this programme is proving to be unsustainable and unable to holistically encapsulate the street homeless population. Poulsen, (2000:1), addresses this by asking two questions; “What facilities are made for people who do not qualify for transitional housing and where do people move to after transitional housing”. Findings of the study are based upon interviews that were carried out in the field of practice.

5.1 Findings from the Johannesburg Metro Municipalities' Department of Social Development: Displaced Persons Unit (DPU)

Findings from the Department of Social Development are vital in answering the research question at hand. This is because this department is the principal government agent that is responsible for addressing street homelessness within the municipality. Particularly, the Displaced Persons Unit is tasked with the responsibility of devising and implementing policies that explicitly speaks to the issue. The unit currently has twelve field workers and two social workers. According to the DPU, they are not enough staff members to implement interventions on a city wide scale.

As was stated in the research methods section, a 'promising practice' approach was adopted to measure government's effectiveness in addressing the issue. Based on the framework that determines a 'promising practice', an interview was carried out with Kebonye Senna and two of her colleagues who are part of the Displaced Persons Unit and custodians of the approach taken to tackle homelessness in the municipality. Listed below, are the findings that illuminate what has happened thus far.

How does the Displaced Persons Unit (DPU) define and identify street homelessness?

According to Mrs Senna, the DPU is expected to identify 'hotspots' which is the term used to describe hangout spots of the street homeless population. Hotspots usually have a variety of homeless people with different character traits, living conditions and causes that led them to becoming homeless. Homeless people are often identified by their manner of dress and physical appearance. In most cases, they are dressed in torn and tattered clothing, seem to be lacking a healthy and nutritious lifestyle and have no roof over their head of course. Before physically approaching the hotspots a scan of the area is carried out and in doing so a profile of the area is formulated based on the activities that take place in the area. Based on the profiling of the area, programmes are developed to assist the street homeless in that particular hotspot. The street homeless are also defined through their age. You get minors which are 18 years and younger and you get adults that are understood to be 18 years and above. With regards to minors, there are children 'of the streets' and there are children 'on the streets'. Children 'of the streets' are children who reside on the streets and have no linkage to family and past living circumstances. Children 'on the streets' have homes, however, due to high poverty levels at home, they come to the streets to beg and

apply survival strategies to feed themselves. These children sleep at home, they come to the street just to make a living. Together with children who are street homeless, there are many adults who have some sort of home in the urban peripheries and marginalized areas eg: Diepkloof, Diepsloot and Alex. However due to unemployment, they come to the streets to beg, as the children do.

Identification of the street homeless population is also done via word of mouth from different government departments and NGOs.

“Soup kitchens and drug rehabilitation centres link up with the displace units in identifying hotspots” (Senna, 2014).

Once the hotspots are identified, personal relationships are created with the inhabitants of the area.

“Through these relationships, the homeless people are informed about the displaced persons unit and are asked for permission to intervene in their lives. This is due to the very democratic society that we live in, where you can’t impose on people against their will. They have a right to refuse” (Senna, 2014).

The above process is followed up by an intake session in which the particulars are taken down. Questions posed for intake are: Where do you come from? Why are you currently homeless? Based on the service that the client requires, the DPU tries to meet their requirements and alleviate their current state of being homeless.

How does the DPU view the causes that lead to street homelessness?

“Family breakdown, poverty, drug addiction, expensive inner city rentals and evictions from bad buildings are key causes to homelessness” (Senna, 2014).

However, the displaced persons unit acknowledges that there are a variety of factors that constitute homelessness.

“Peer pressure is proving to be a big cause of homelessness. Friends influence each other into moving to Johannesburg because they have the perception that life is better in this municipality. In Johannesburg there is also a high and easy access to drugs as compared to peripheral areas” (Senna, 2014).

In understanding how family breakdown is a cause to homelessness the following example is useful.

“A child’s parent’s passes away, this child is then forced to move in with a family member. After some time this family member is unable to provide for the child and hence the child moves to the city to try and make it for himself, only to find that it is not possible to do this with barely any resources. When you want to assist them in taking them home, they say that home has nothing to offer for them and they are not wanted there. So they rather stick it out as homeless in the city” (Senna, 2014).

How have you responded to the issue and how was the intervention developed?

According to Mrs Senna, the Displaced Persons Unit was started in 2007 and mainly focused on children living and working on the street. However in 2009 the unit realised that the problem of street homelessness was more than just children. Therefore in March 2010, a policy for people living and working in the streets was developed and approved by council. The chapter to follow will carry out a policy analysis. The policy to address people living and working on the street, on the ground, was developed through carrying out outreach programmes. These outreach programmes include shelter placements, social workers who address psychological needs of the individual and assistance is given in acquiring ID documents. The shelter location on 3 Kotze Street, Constitution Hill provides shelter and related services at a fee of R8, 00 per night. The shelter offers the following programmes: personal hygiene programmes, group education programmes, job readiness programmes, substance abuse programmes and HIV awareness and well-being programmes. Together with this, feeding, sleeping, ablution and recreational facilities are provided for.

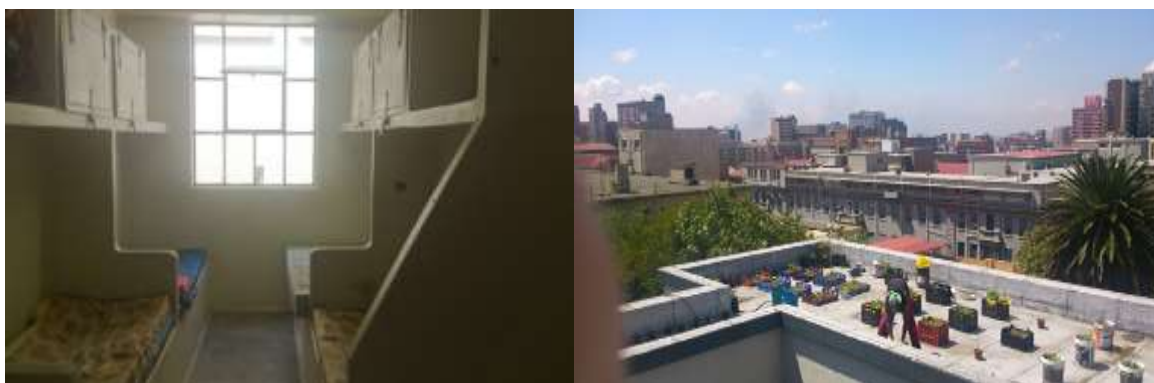


Fig 1.7: Representation of the provided bedding facilities and urban agriculture activities of the residents

The above mentioned is evidence that the City of Johannesburg has tried to put a structure in place in which displaced people can be assisted. However, there are only two government owned shelter locations that are dedicated to assisting the homeless.

According to members of the DPU, the Department of Home Affairs is the most frequent department that is consulted.

“When people are sleeping on the streets and the metro police conduct their street operations, they confiscate all of the belongings of the street homeless. So they end up losing their ID documents, when they come to the DPU they have to then go and do ID verifications. This is done so that the unit can account for who is staying in the shelter or receiving a service” (Senna, 2014).

These kinds of actions by the police are a result of the by-laws of this country. In many instances, perceptions and attitudes towards the presence of homeless people in public spaces is viewed as a violation and therefore the JMPD address the homeless in a vulgar manner. However, in many cases, the JMPD bring these homeless people to the assessment centre on Constitution Hill.

Which agencies were responsible for coming up with the policy? Was the housing sector consulted and how do you view their involvement?

The Department of Social Development is responsible for coming up with the policy. However the following departments were consulted in coming up with the policy - Community Development, Housing through JOSHCO, JPC, Urban Management, Johannesburg Metro Police, Johannesburg City Parks, City Power and the Department of Health. With regards to housing, there is a housing sector within Johannesburg that has to work with and be in line with provincial development goals. The Housing sectors role is to

allocate subsidies in providing transitional housing for those with special housing needs. Allocations need to be given to government owned shelters and to credible non-profit and non-governmental organizations that provide services to the homeless. According to Mrs Senna, the effectiveness of this policy is hampered by a lack of government resources.

“The city is currently providing shelter and services but it is the duty of the Provincial Social Development department to fund these projects. Unfortunately, to date, it is not working like that. Therefore, the department has to rely a lot on donations” (Senna, 2014).

The Displaced Unit was expecting the policy to work well but instead it is not meeting expectations. The Governors House shelter situated on 3 Kotze Street on Constitution Hill is evidence of this. Governors House supposed to serve as an overnight shelter and a programmatic centre in which the homeless can learn life skills and develop themselves. However, members of the DPU feel that the programmatic centre could not be provided because of a lack of funding from the Provincial Department of Social Development.

How have the target groups been incorporated into the planning and implementation of the policy?

In answering this question, a brief overview of a past approach was given to provide enlightenment on the present approach to incorporating target groups. In 2010, there was a high influx of unaccompanied young children who came into the city as a result of the World Cup. In doing so, many of the children dropped out of school and stopped attending classes which invariably increased the street homeless population. In response to this, a programme was developed in which the DPU worked with the schools the kids attended. Through this, information about the kids was gained from the school and then intake sessions were carried out with these Kids. The same intake assessments are aimed to be carried out with the target group for people living and working on the street.

Are there any supervision models in place that ensures loyalty to the vision and objectives of the policy?

Mrs Senna confirmed there are supervision models in place. This is in the form of a Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP). This is a detailed plan for implementing the municipalities’ delivery of services. Within this plan, there are key performance indicators that set targets for each financial year. Requirements are set out and these requirements need to be met by the relevant departments. It is one of the requirements for the Displaced Persons Unit to place homeless people in shelters. However, there are some

people who will not gain access to these shelters simply because government does not have a big enough social safety net to provide the services and infrastructure. In this case, the DPU links the homeless people to a relevant NGO that have the resources to cater for them. In many instances NGOs are also under budgetary constraint

Does the Displaced Persons Unit have a system of planning towards the delivery of interventions in a focused manner?

In response to the above question, the DPU have standard operating procedures in place. Attached on the next two pages is the standard operating procedure on shelter management. The form was handed to the researcher by Kebonye Senna.

**STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURES:
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
SOP ON: Shelter Management**

Name of the Unit: Shelter Management

Guidelines for using the instrument: See guideline document No 1/ PRM

1. Process/ Component – It is the identified main sections to be covered describing policy indicator/ job indicator that must be implemented

2. Procedure - is a series of actions which have to be executed a flow of activities done step by step to achieve policy component in the same manner in order to always obtain the same result under the same circumstances

Name of the policy/Strategy/Framework : The SOP is informed by the Children's Policy on children living and working on the streets and the City's Management plan.

Date policy approved:

Purpose of the work or process, that are appropriate to the SOP process, and the scope to indicate what is covered:

The SOP explain the implementation of the number of individuals benefiting from the Shelter Program

SOP written by: Alen Grobller

Date: 31/03/2013

APPROVED: (Signature and date on file)

Unit Head: _____

Date: _____

PRM Head: _____

Date: _____

Director: _____

Date: _____

Process/ Component	Procedure	By whom	Time frame
Project Development Phase	1. Receiving a sign off form from Governors House	Op. Manager/Social workers	Same Day
	2. Receiving Indemnity form from Governors House	Op. Manager/Social workers	
	3. Receiving Personal Profile from Governors House	Op. Manager/Social workers	
Registration Phase	1. Shelter Intake form	Op. Manager/Social workers	Same Day
	2. Inform and Signing of rules and regulations of the shelter.	Op. Manager /Social workers and Beneficiary	
	3. Assessment Form completed	Social Auxiliary /Social	

		workers	
Psychosocial intervention	1. Process note	Social Auxiliary /Social workers	Through out the stay of the client.
	2. Referral note to other agencies	Social Worker	
Daily routine	1. Daily searching of beneficiaries on arrival.	Security	
	2. Register and payment of stay per night.	Care Workers	
Reporting	1. Programs 1.1 Psychological Counseling 1.2 UJ Students- Group work. 1.3 Skills training : Certificate in Security 1.4 Catering& Hospitality	Partners: Crescent clinic UJ- Social Work dept. Stallion Izizwe Hospitality Hotel College	Weekly
	Consolidated Quarterly report	Assistant Director	Quarterly

Findings from non-governmental operations: Develop South Africa and Immaculata House

5.2 Develop SA- Programme Director: Admire Kamutimbe

Develop SA represents a non-housing intervention into addressing homelessness. This programme recognizes more needs to be done other than providing basic shelter to sustainably address the issue of street homelessness in Johannesburg. According to programme director, “the non-profit organization Develop SA invites corporates, small businesses, retired professionals and academic institutions interested in supporting youth development to support them either as sponsors, advisors, mentors and contributors” (Kamutimbe, 2014). Together with this, the non-profit organization aims at empowering the street homeless and the unemployed youth. An open-ended interview was carried out with Mr Kamutimbe to gain an insight into their approach and philosophical underpinnings towards providing services for the street homeless and unemployed.

Mr Admire believes that addressing homelessness in Johannesburg is a problem for government because they have a structured way of doing things. This is due to resources mainly being assigned to assist the homeless through providing shelters in the municipality. Together with this, resources are provided to organizations that meet government standards which are usually very formal organizations and processes. This becomes a

challenge for smaller organizations that are doing work because they do not have access to government resources. It is evident from the current situation on street homelessness that the government is unable to address everything on its own.

“Develop SA recently acknowledged that they should start working with government”

(Kamutimbe, 2014).

Develop SA is concerned with the development of the street homeless through a well thought out strategy answers the question of how to get people of the street in a sustainable manner.

“It is in our history as human beings that there will always be homeless people, there will always be homelessness despite interventions from individuals, government officials and NGOs. These homeless people will always be side-lined by policies and personal circumstances” (Kamutimbe, 2014).

How does Develop SA define street homelessness and the causes that lead to the state of being homeless?

For Mr Kamutimbe, street homelessness is defined as somebody who resides on the streets and feels comfortable residing on the street because they have homes on the urban peripheries, but choose to move to the city in search of job opportunities. People choose to live on the street for various reasons. Based on research carried out by Develop SA, a key reason that emerged is family breakdown is an important cause of homelessness. As a result of family breakdowns, individuals forget their emotional and psychological circumstances and resort to substance abuse. The above mentioned illustrates that homelessness is viewed against the backdrop of poverty and unemployment and views the causes of street homelessness through individualistic lenses.

“In the city, there are certain groups of people who come to live on the street because they want to feed their drug addictions. However, most of the guys on the street accept their conditions and they want to put their lives in good order and create a fresh start. Having said this, the main objective of the organization is to work with the street homeless in conjunction with businesses. So develop SA serves as a middle man between the homeless and businesses. Develop SA advocates for the homeless people” (Kamutimbe, 2014).

Develop SA's approach to addressing homelessness

Develop SA comes up with programmes that answer the questions and challenges of the street homeless. In doing so, an academic programme was recently developed. This has been done through teaching and enabling the homeless to become computer literate. Develop SA invites homeless people to attend workshops on how to use computers. Together with this, there are also business programmes in place in which prominent business people from the area are invited to come in once a month to educate the street homeless on ways to become successful businessmen and entrepreneurs. However, these programmes are still at an infant stage.

“English classes are provided by an educator who is equipped with her Ph.D. in English and languages. She teaches them grammar, colloquial and business English (jargon)”
(Kamutimbe, 2014).

In addition to this, Develop SA also has a support facility to assist homeless people who make an effort to improve their own circumstances. Currently there is a group of homeless people who come to the Rosebank library every day. These people have talent, passion and a desire to exit their current living conditions. This group of homeless people present their talents and require assistance in pursuing these talents. Develop SA links these people up with relevant organisations that will help them in developing and achieving their passions and talents. This initiative has been welcomed by the broader public. In giving the homeless people access to what the world has to offer, in an age of globalisation, a youth desk has been set up in the Rosebank library in which computers and free access to WI-FI connection is provided.

“Interventions by Non- profit organizations are incremental because there is no profit obligation. So, Develop SA is investing into homeless communities” (Kamutimbe, 2014).

According to Mr Kamutimbe Develop SA is largely dependent on sponsorship donations for funding, so everything is done on a smaller scale until it is proven successful for more people to buy into the idea. Currently no funding is being received from the government; however Develop SA has received funding from the Rosebank Homeless association recently.

“The programme is all about sustainability. Around the area there organizations that offer food and shelter. Develop SA wants to compliment these services rather than compete”
(Kamutimbe, 2014).

5.3 Immaculata Hall - Shelter Manager: Micheal Ntuli

Immaculata Hall is a non-governmental organization and represents a housing related intervention into addressing the issue of street homelessness. This shelter for the homeless illustrates that providing a place for people to call home is highly valuable to the development of the street homeless and contributes to ending street homelessness. Immaculata Hall is located across the road from the Rosebank shopping Mall and is next to the Rosebank police station on Sturdee Avenue. Immaculata Hall can be described as a single house that lodges about 100 homeless people. An organization called the Sisters of Mercy approached the City of Johannesburg with a proposal and as a result was allocated city subsidy to open the homeless shelter, dating back to 1993. Prior to the conversion of the shelter, Immaculata Hall existed as an empty space that served no real purpose. An interview was carried out with Mr Ntuli, who is the manager of the shelter. This was done in order to get an understanding of the dynamics involved in managing a service for the street homeless. Listed below are the questions that were posed to Mr Ntuli which are coupled with their responses.

How do you define street homelessness?

Mr Ntuli understands street homelessness as a situation where someone does not have a roof over their head or has been displaced through evictions and migration from one place that is not economically viable to a place that is perceived to offer economic prosperity. Once these people have migrated, they find that they have no place to call home and inevitably become homeless due to a lack of resources. The high influx of people - who do not have enough resources to sustain themselves in adequate housing - into Johannesburg from the urban periphery and surrounding provinces means that they are vulnerable to turning into a state of homelessness.

What do you view as the causes to homelessness?

“Unemployment, family breakdown, substance abuse, a need to explore new environments, lack of affordable housing and a lack of government intervention seem to be the key causes of homelessness. Together with this there are too many capitalistic developments in which the poor are almost entirely excluded from” (Ntuli, 2014).

Mr Ntuli acknowledges that it is the government’s constitutional obligation to address homelessness, regardless of this; the government is not allocating enough resources in this direction.

How has Immaculata Hall responded to the issue and what kind of services are provided?

Mr Ntuli began by enlightening the researcher on the origins of the homeless shelter. Immaculata came about in 1993, as a response to the increasing presence of homeless people on the street. The implementation of Immaculata Hall was made possible through the use of housing subsidies through for special needs groups in South Africa. SNH is a form of state assisted housing for people with special needs, the street homeless population fall under this category. The Sisters of Mercy organization acquired funding via the provincial housing board through institutional subsidies that are handed out in accordance with the guiding principles of the transitional housing scheme.

The Department Of Human Settlements stipulates requirements that need to be met by non-profit and non-governmental organizations before they can gain state funding. Immaculata Hall met these requirements and was granted funding. This subsidy offers a once-off capital payment which is based on the number of beds or units to be provided. No monetary assistance is given for the day to day running, which makes it difficult for the non-governmental organization to sustain the project. Therefore Immaculata House has to ensure that there are on-going fundraising initiatives and programmes in order to sustain the homeless shelter.

“It is of pivotal importance, that us as managers have good structures in place. Relationships with sponsorship donations play a big role in up-keeping Immaculata Hall”

(Ntuli, 2014).

Currently, Immaculata hall caters for 100 single persons that are aged between 30-60 years. Accommodation, food and clothing are provided to the residents for a period of ten months. Two meals per day are prepared for residents and non-residents. The shelter provides one bed and one locker for its residents.



Fig 1.3: Images taken at the Immaculata Shelter illustrate items that can be donated to assist in the day to day running of the shelter. The image on the right illustrates goods that were brought in by an anonymous donor on 2014/9/7.

Together with these services, Immaculata Hall is linked to the Department of Social Development which offers assistance through their social workers in which counselling and advice is given to residents who require psychological assistance. Together with this, there is a life skills programme that is available and guidance is given on how to apply for government grants. Immaculata Hall is also affiliated with the Department of Home Affairs; this affiliation allows the shelter to help the homeless to obtain Id documents.

Before taking in residents, interviews are carried out in which life circumstances are explained to the managers of the shelters. People looking for accommodation are required to provide some information of their next of kin to gain a reference and as informant if something is to happen to the individual. This process is carried out within a strict non-discrimination policy in which all races, nationalities and religions are welcome and viewed in the same light.

For Mr Ntuli, Immaculata Hall can serve as an example or a proto-type model of a method to address street homelessness government can learn from. This project has made a visible difference in contributing to ending homelessness in the Rosebank area. However, if government can contribute, monetarily and through policy, much more can be done to address the issue in Johannesburg as a whole. More funding will assist in developing programmes that enable the street homeless to exit their situation and sustain themselves once they have departed from the state of being street homeless.

Chapter 6- Analysis of Findings

This chapter lays a foundation on which the research will draw its conclusions and recommendations. A comprehensive analysis of the findings will be carried out in a manner that makes reference to the literature review, conceptual framework and the research methods sections of the paper. Literature on homelessness illustrates that in an age where neoliberalism is the ruling paradigm in the development of cities, a new orthodoxy approach should be used to understand the causes of homelessness. The new orthodoxy view on the causes of homelessness states that, “structural factors create the conditions within which homelessness will occur; and people with personal problems are more vulnerable to these adverse social and economic trends than others; therefore the high concentration of people with personal circumstances in the homeless population can be explained by their susceptibility to macro-structural forces, rather than necessitating an individual explanation of homelessness” (Fitzpatrick, 2005:4). The above quote is a reflection of the homeless situation in Johannesburg and indicates that interventions need to address both individual and structural causes to street homelessness.

The analysis will dissect two government interventions; the policy for people living and working on the streets and the transitional housing programme that provides subsidies for Special Housing Needs. These will be followed by an analysis of how shelter provisions (Immaculata House) and livelihood support mechanisms (Develop SA) are addressing street homelessness in Johannesburg. The analysis will use the ‘new orthodoxy’ approach and the principles and frameworks of a ‘promising practice’ to determine the effectiveness of government’s policies to address street homelessness.

Policy analysis

6.1 Policy for the assistance and management of people living and working in the street

The policy for people living and working on the streets illustrates that the City of Johannesburg acknowledges that the problem of street homelessness needs to be addressed and responded to. As noted above, the policy was first developed for children working and living on the streets, however financial year assessments showed that the problem is bigger than just children on the streets and thus the policy evolved. The change in policy shows that government is making an effort to monitor the situation and provide appropriate responses. The Displaced Persons Unit views the causes of homelessness to be

family breakdown, poverty, drug addiction, expensive inner city rentals and evictions from bad buildings.

These understandings are in line with the new orthodoxy approach as both individualistic and structural causes are acknowledged. This is a positive sign because it contributed to acquiring a variety of homeless people that are found in the Johannesburg Municipality. The profiling of hotspots and the carrying out of needs assessments is a good mechanism for understanding the dynamics of the lives of the homeless people and also it legitimises the case for adopting the policy in practice. The above mentioned is backed up by the diversity of characters found to be occupying spaces (hotspots) in the city;

- Those that are involved with small income generating activities
- Those who practice cost saving practices

A significant number of people work in suburbs far away from their Homes and have to use double transport to reach their places of employment. They would rather sleep on the city pavements to save on travelling costs.

- Job seekers. This group includes both young and middle aged people and a significant number of both internal and economic migrants (The young economic migrants are more often than not undocumented). Some of the people in this group are in receipt of different types of grants and are looking for opportunities to augment this form of income.
- Youth who are actively involved in informal small-scale economic activities are most visible during the day. At night they tend to occupy secluded areas including disused buildings and under bridges. Some usually keep to themselves away from the adult groups probably to minimize the risk of being vulnerable to abuse.
- Women and male beggars at robots
- People living with disabilities
- Mentally challenged
- People with chemical dependency (Adopted from the Policy on people living and working in the streets)

The above categorizations were made possible by assistance from relevant government departments - via word of mouth - and consultations with internal and external stakeholders who have the same objective of reducing street homelessness. All the above

profiles are summed up as 'displaced persons'. This illustrates attempts have been made to create a tight definition of the street homeless in order to get an understanding of the target population the policy needs to address. The policy has been effective in this regard because the target population is explicitly defined and on the ground interventions show an acute appreciation of the diversity within the targeted population.

In addressing the challenges of street homelessness, the City of Johannesburg bases its interventions on the following principles:

Partnership and Cooperative Governance: a collective responsibility of government, civil society and the private sector to deliver services to the displaced people.

Accessibility: social development services are made available to all vulnerable groups including displaced persons. Services should be accessible, inter-sectoral, coordinated and delivered by a multi- disciplinary team wherever possible.

Involvement and Participation: people should be fully engaged in their own process of change, learning, empowerment and development.

Social Justice: The resourcefulness of people living and working on the streets should be promoted by providing opportunities for entrepreneurial activities; choices; a sense of responsibility and an opportunity to turn talents into economically productive activities after an appropriate assessment.

Equity: disbursement of resources based on dire needs and priorities. All citizens are subject to the laws of the land and the by-laws of the municipality. In applying these laws it should be done in a manner that is consistent with upholding human rights and the Constitution of South Africa.

Efficiency and effectiveness: achievement of objectives in a most efficient and cost effective. Services should prioritize the need for street people to remain within their families or communities (as defined by the street person) by promoting intervention, prevention and developmental programmes.

Openness and Transparency: access to information, openness of administrative and management procedure (DPU, 2010).

The guiding principles mentioned above have been inspired by the concepts of human rights and citizenship. These are theoretical underpinnings that guide moral sympathy and judgment towards the street homeless. Given the transformative nature of the constitution in South Africa, the policy on people living and working in the streets follows a rights based

approach, in rhetoric, that is consistent with upholding to the Constitution of South Africa and international human rights policies. However, all of these principles are not adhered to in the field of practice. The principles of social justice, equity, efficiency and effectiveness are not adhered to in the field of practice. Equity and social justice are trampled upon through the behavior of the JMPD in their street operations. Furthermore, the favoring of private business interests and the development of housing stock that is inaccessible to the street homeless is contributing to homelessness rather than addressing it. A lack of adherence to these principles is creating voids in the implementation of the policy.

The principle aim of this policy is to develop an integrated and holistic approach to effectively deal with the question of people living and working on the streets. In doing so, the policy has the following objectives:

- Safeguarding and supporting the poor and vulnerable, in this instance being the displaced people.
- Championing rights of people living and working on the street as any 'normal' person and thereby creating opportunities for them.
- Providing access to social service packages and building prospects for social inclusion through family integration programmes and related placements (DPU, 2010).

The intentions of the policy are multi-dimensional in nature and possess equity and rights based theoretical underpinning. However they are not clearly defined. This has proven to be problematic with regards to evaluating whether the policy has achieved what it set out to do. Together with this, the objective of championing the rights of people living and working on the street is in contrast to what happens in practice. Evidence of this can be taken from Operation Clean Sweep in Johannesburg.

In 2012, Operation Clean Sweep started in the city of Johannesburg in a campaign that was directed at clearing the CBD of supposed illegal hawking, illegal occupation of space, building invasions and cooking spots (www.urbanjoburg.co.za: 2014/10/15). This illustrates the City of Johannesburg is failing to understand the developmental context of the city. Informality contributes a great deal to the economy and employment in the city and it serves as a survival strategy for many people that are trying to sustain themselves in the city. Given the neo-liberal paradigm that governs Johannesburg, people have to create their own opportunities.

According to the urban joburg website, self-created opportunities come in the form of, “window-washing and rubbish collection at intersections, selling clothing hangers and black refuse bags, selling sweets on busy streets, cutting hair under the shade of a jacaranda or selling Balkan burgers at the trendy and affluent Neighbourgoods Market” (www.urbanjoburg.co.za: 2014/10/15). The process of raiding through the streets and violently ‘cleaning’ away supposedly illegal residents and hawkers is in contradiction to the philosophy of the way in which our constitution should be dispensed (www.urbanjoburg.co.za) This process also symbolises democratic defeatism. Operation clean sweep can be linked to the negative perceptions, victimization and stigmatization of homeless and informality by the public, city officials and private businesses. To a certain extent, these raids replicate those that were carried out during apartheid. Back then, informality was not part of the cities vision and was therefore eradicated from the urban landscape.

Twenty years into democracy, and Johannesburg’s vision of becoming a World Class African City does not include the innovative survival strategies of the ‘displaced person’ as part of its vision. The by-laws that prevent people from surviving in public spaces are enforced in a very aggressive manner. Section 4 of the Informal Trading by-law does acknowledge the freedom to engage in informal trading activities (www.urbanjoburg.co.za). However, the consequent boundaries and restrictions make it almost impossible for traders to follow them. If the displaced traders relocate to areas that permit informal trading and occupation of space, it is often in areas that are not as socially and economically productive as their former spots. The above mentioned leads one to the opinion, the City of Johannesburg is not fulfilling its objective of championing the rights of people living and working in the street. Strangely enough, operation clean sweep is in total contrast to this objective.

The vision of the City of Johannesburg, with regards to homelessness, is to significantly reduce and adequately manage people living and working on the streets with a special emphasis on ensuring that, over the long term, no persons are living on the streets (DPU, 2010). The vision indicates there is an explicit focus on ending homelessness and initiatives need to function with the precise goal of reducing homelessness. Based on research carried out by the homeless hub, this should be done by enabling people to find routes away from their current circumstances and these people should be equipped with skills to sustain themselves. With regards to this, the policy suggests a number of goals, which are directed

explicitly at the people living and working on the streets, the city, and the community at large.

People living and working on the street

- To empower and create an enabling environment for people living and working on the streets so they can take responsibility for themselves and their own development (DPU, 2010).

City of Johannesburg

- To reduce poverty through job creation;
- To develop partnerships between NGOs, CBOs and Faith based Organisations, the private sector and public sector and all spheres of Government;
- To actively support and facilitate training and education of all officials;
- To promote effective policing, particularly at local government level; and
- To facilitate the development of a coherent, effective funding programme (DPU, 2010).

The community and society

- To raise awareness and promote education in the communities about the issues affecting people living and working on the streets.
- To ensure involvement and participation of all relevant stakeholders in addressing the plight of the displaced people

The above goals are clearly demonstrated in the policy and seem to be attainable. However, all of these goals have not been achieved. The goal of empowering the street homeless and the creation of an enabling environment for people living and working on the street is yet to be reached. Qualitative data that was gathered illustrates that interventions to achieve this goal are not enabling the social, economic, financial and intellectual potential of the street homeless. This can be attributed to the transitional nature of interventions. An element of sustainable solutions could be lacking in the policy. Together with this, the goals of reducing poverty through the facilitation of job creation and the goal of facilitating the development of an effective funding programme have not been met. This could be a result of a lack of understanding of the socio-economic, geographical and historical considerations that have an impact on the delivery of the programme. An effective funding programme is hindered by a relatively low allocation of resources in the direction of people living and working on the streets.

Responses of the DPU in relation to the ‘new orthodoxy approach to homelessness

As was mentioned earlier, programmes that address homelessness need to encapsulate the individualistic and structural causes of homelessness. When looking at the programmes for people living and working on streets, it is found that they are quite effective in addressing both causes. The diagram below is an illustration of where the programmes are located on the continuum. The diagram aims at communicating that the policy aims at providing a continuum of interlinked interventions to address street homelessness.

Individualistic

Structural

Workshops in schools	Life Skills: personal hygiene, substance, job readiness	Provision of shelter
Activities in shelters: Intake, assessment, individual stabilisation plan, developmental programmes, referral for appropriate services		
Workshops in communities’	Family re-unification	
Social worker counselling		

Promising practices need to encapsulate how the intervention was developed, which agencies were responsible and which sectors and individuals were consulted in coming up with the policy. With regards to this, the Displaced Unit has proved to be relatively effective. Intake sessions, outreach programmes and assessment centres are the backbone of addressing street homelessness in Johannesburg. Intake sessions and outreach programmes enlighten people on homeless careers and pathways. This is beneficial because contextual, relevant and specific services can be provided to individuals. Outreach programmes include shelter placements, social workers who address psychological needs of an individual and assistance is given in acquiring ID documents. This shows that the approach is not one-dimensional and attention is given to the individualistic and structural needs of the homeless.

Findings from the previous section illustrates that quite a few government departments were consulted in coming up with the policy. The housing sector, through JOSHCO, should be in collaboration with the DPU on the development of shelter stock as well the development of low income rental as an exit strategy from being homeless. As a capital contribution, JOSHCO is tasked with the preparation of sites for temporary shelter for evictees (DPU, 2010). The Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) has to make an on-going

operational contribution through the sourcing of new shelter sites and assessment of suitability and renovation issues, to allow space for a target of 2000 beds in the inner city and 1000 beds in each region of the municipality (DPU, 2010). The JPC needs to make a capital contribution by sourcing suitable buildings available for renovation from city held stock (including stock held by the Inner City Property Scheme). However there are only two government owned shelters in the municipality which shows there is not enough effective involvement from the Housing Sector. Another possible reason for the lack of government owned shelters is the city's housing stock is used to provide accommodation for those living in inadequate shelter. This implies that the street homeless are being included under a larger population of people living in inadequate and unstable shelter (Naidoo, 2010).

Subsidies for Special Needs Housing are not co-ordinated with the policy for people living and working on the street and therefore the policy is unable to get subsidies from the transitional housing scheme for the development of homeless shelters. The lack of co-ordination between government departments is contributing to a lack of funding and allocation of resources for assisting the homeless. As a result, the policy is struggling to meet its vision, goals and objectives.

A lack of resources in DPU can again be related to neo-liberal approaches used to govern urban spaces. In working towards developing a 'world class African city', the city of Johannesburg invests more of its resources in developing areas to become superficially attractive to the world rather than investing in infrastructure for the homeless. There needs to be a shift in budgetary allocations that favour the poor and marginalized spectrums of the city. With regards to the inclusion of target groups in the planning and implementation of the programmes, the DPU has not explicitly included them in the process. The closest they've come to be part of the process is through intake assessments. This highlights that advocacy and equity planning can make a big contribution towards voicing the needs of the most destitute.

A Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) are used as a mode of supervision to ensure loyalty is to the vision, mission and objectives of the policy. This is an element that contributes to effective responses. The SDBIP requires the DPU to place all the homeless in shelters. Regardless of this requirement, the department of social development

is falling very short in absorbing all the displaced persons in the municipality. Again, the issue of funding is proving to be a key challenge for the Displaced Persons Unit.

6.2 Shelter Provision- Transitional Housing Scheme

The Immaculata Hall in Rosebank represents a pilot project that was funded by the transitional housing scheme to provide special needs housing to the street homeless population in Johannesburg. In addition to this, it provides insight into how a faith based organisation is contributing to addressing the needs of the street homeless. A valuable finding to be analysed is the shelter managers understanding of the causes of homelessness, “Unemployment, family breakdown, substance abuse, a need to explore new environments, lack of affordable housing and a lack of government intervention seem to be the key causes of homelessness. Together with this there are too many capitalistic developments in which the poor are almost entirely excluded from” (Ntuli, 2014). This approach to homelessness is in line with the new orthodoxy approach and also acknowledges the context of development in Johannesburg. Capitalistic developments need to create relationships with the street homeless and help in certain ways, even in the smallest of ways.

Immaculata Hall received a once off capital subsidy from government, so relationships with sponsor donations is important as they contribute a great deal to the day to day running of the shelter. This illustrates that organizations responsible for providing special needs housing at a grass root level are insufficiently funded. This results in day to day struggles to acquire resources for the operational costs of the shelter. Together with this, shelter provisions (resulting from the Transitional Housing Scheme) are faced with the challenge of accommodating not only the street homeless population, but also people who are employed and able to provide some rent and people who have left their homes in search of job opportunities (Naidoo, 2010).

So, the transitional housing programme is functioning in a context where there is a shortage of all forms of housing. This presents a challenge to sustainably addressing homelessness. Thus, according to Poulsen (2000:3), “at the other end of the period of transition there is very little affordable ‘formal’ provision of housing for people from Transitional Housing to move to as the provision of social housing tends to be too expensive and the rental gap is too high for people to cope with whilst still in a relatively unstable employment situation”.

The above quote implies that consideration needs to be given towards developing affordable housing for people that exit the shelters. If this is not done, those that exit shelters may fall back into a cycle of homelessness. There is a large gap in the housing continuum.

In the context of insufficient funding, as a method of sustenance, Immaculata House has to ensure there are on-going fundraising initiatives and programmes in order to sustain the homeless shelter. Other service providers for the homeless can learn from this and initiate their own fundraisers in order to keep their programmes running. Given the holistic definition of the causes of homelessness, Immaculata Hall responded appropriately to the immediate needs of the individual. This is done by providing food, beds, lockers and counselling to residents that require psychological and emotional assistance. However, these services are only offered for a period of 10 months after which no arrangements are made for the person in transition.

This could be viewed as a flaw, from the side of the transitional housing programme. According to a report prepared by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa on the supply and demand of affordable housing in the Inner City of Johannesburg, “the majority of residents that leave transitional housing are homeless again and are forced to return to the street dwelling. This defeats the purpose of trying to address homelessness in the cities” (SERI, 2013:34). The above alludes to the opinion and re-iterates that the Transitional Housing Programme is falling short in addressing street homelessness. There is not enough consideration given to the duration of stays in shelters and to possible tenure options. Tenure options could possibly instil an element of responsibility in the residents of the shelter and also provide security of tenure, to a certain extent.

Regardless of these difficulties, Immaculata Hall has an effective management structure in place, which is critical to the success of the programme. The shelter manager forges relationships with residents through committees. The formation and obedience to fees criteria and house rules is vital in order to ensure co-habitation of a diverse group of residents. In doing so, the manager needs to exercise patience and compassion while being stern and consistent at the same time. Management structures applied in Immaculata Hall can serve as examples to other service providers to the street homeless.

6.3 Livelihood Support- Non-Profit Organization

Interventions into addressing street homelessness in Johannesburg have largely been focused on the provision of accommodation. However, it is helpful to understand that accommodation orientated interventions, for many people, do no more than provide the most basic shelter (Tipple and Speak, 2009). Evidence of this can be taken from the above analysis on transitional shelter locations in the city. In conjunction with transitional shelters, interventions need to explicitly address an individual's potential to grow monetarily, socially and intellectually. If these potentials are aided and assisted, they may serve as platforms to exit the state of being homeless. In relation to this, Develop SA is a representative of a non-housing intervention into addressing homelessness. Develop SA is a programme that recognizes the importance of sustainability in interventions to address street homelessness. Through Develop SA's approach to the street homeless population, enlightenment was gained into an unorthodox methodology of addressing the issue.

As a result of findings from Develop SA, a key analysis was made on government's rigid and structured way of doing things. Due to the accreditation processes by the Department of Social Development, transitional subsidies are ignorant of to Develop SA (which is a small emerging foundation) and are mainly being assigned to providing shelters in the municipality. This implies government does not show much regard for smaller organisations simply because they are not bound by formal standards and processes. As a result of this, the continuum of interventions is decreased.

"Street homelessness is defined as somebody who resides on the street and feels comfortable residing on the street because they have homes on the urban peripheries, but choose to live on the streets for various reasons" (Kamutimbe, 2014). This understanding acknowledges that people choose to be street homeless. This definition of homelessness can be described as a trade-off between; becomes a potential homeless person and in the process finds economic prosperity VS staying on the urban peripheries and remaining in the same living conditions for a long time. Furthermore, an adoption of this approach illustrates to delivery agents the street homeless will value programmes that will assist them in finding economic and financial prosperity. Develop SA is an organization that responded to this by enabling the homeless to become computer literate. In conjunction with this, business programmes and English classes are provided. In an age of globalisation and a growing inter-

connectedness in the world, these skills are very valuable and have the potential to help people exit from the state of being homeless.

The only criteria used to establish who should receive assistance is; passion, talent and a desire to exit current living conditions. Develop SA assists homeless people who are eager to pursue their talents by linking them with relevant organisations. This approach has had success stories and managed to turn a group of street homeless persons into emerging entrepreneurs and musicians. A key contributing factor to achieving this are the incremental steps taken as a result of a non-profit obligation. Incremental steps allow full dedication to one issue rather than addressing many issues in an ad-hoc manner. Investments are made into homeless communities with the simple aim of empowering and enabling them to exit their current living conditions in a sustainable manner. Develop SA serves as a good example of a non-profit organisation that provides a service which can complement housing interventions and in doing so, holistically address street homelessness. It can be said this is an approach guided by good will, social justice and answers to the needs of those less fortunate in Johannesburg.

All the above mentioned attempted unpacking the context, nature and logic of current responses used in the City of Johannesburg to address the challenge of providing for the street homeless population. Through this, various gaps have been found in government responses to addressing street homelessness. The section to follow addresses these gaps through conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 7- Conclusions and Recommendations

The aim of this chapter is to summarize the key findings of the research, explore the gaps in the area of government responses and provisions to the street homeless in Johannesburg; provide a measurement of the effectiveness of these responses and offer recommendations that could assist in increasing the effectiveness of government's efforts. This chapter will also answer the last sub-question: What is the planner's role in effectively integrating the street homeless into the urban fabric through addressing their housing and social welfare needs?

The research report aimed at understanding the challenges of providing for the homeless in Johannesburg. The research question continuously referred to is as follows: Given the rights stipulated in the constitution of South Africa, has government effectively responded to and provided for the needs of the street homeless in Johannesburg? The research moved forward by understanding that homelessness is not easy to define. Over time, the difficulty and inconsistency in holistically defining the term has had a substantial impact on approaches and responses to the matter. Evidence of this can be taken from a preceding definition of homelessness used by city officials from the Johannesburg Metropolitan council, "People without (i) adequate shelter, (ii) secure tenure, (iii) living in squatter settlements, (iv) living in backrooms in townships and elsewhere, (v) living in slum conditions" (Tipple and Speak, 2006: 76). This definition includes those inadequately housed and those actually homeless and destitute. However there is no clear distinction between those inadequately housed and those that live and work on the street. For a long period, even to date, the Department of Housing subsumes the street homeless population as part of those that are inadequately housed. As a result of this, most of the Housing Sectors efforts have been directed at the realisation of the right to adequate housing. This has been done through informal settlement upgrading programmes and interventions that aim at bringing the inadequately housed into settled society. All of this has been done at the expense of the street homeless population (Cross and Seager, 2010). Thus, providing a tightly defined target population of who constitutes the homeless population is the first step in providing effective responses. Due to the limitations of the paper and the relative lack of literature on the topic, the report focused on the street homeless population.

Street homelessness in Johannesburg is currently being addressed by the Department of Social Development through policies for the assistance and management of people living

and working on the street and by the Department of Human Settlements through Transitional Housing Programmes. In collaboration with these departments there are a range of NGOs/NPOs and Faith Based Organisations that are involved in responding to the needs of the street homeless.

It can be said that government (Dep of Social Development and Dep of Human) has seen limited success in effectively providing and responding to the needs of the street homeless. However, in rhetoric, they are much more holistic in encapsulating the entire street homeless population. This ineffectiveness is largely a result of the transitional and unsustainable nature of the implementation of interventions. Together with this, a poor lack of co-ordination between relevant departments is resulting in fragmented practices that lack the financial backing to see interventions from start to finish. Research has illustrated that the interventions are failing to encapsulate and effectively provide for the entire street homeless population. Evidence of this can be taken from physical observations in Johannesburg, in which there seems to be an increasing presence of homeless people. In Johannesburg, the victimisation and stigmatisation of the street homeless (in the form of by-laws) is resulting in operations that further displace the homeless. However, there are pockets of promise in which people are exiting the state of being street homeless

7.1 Gaps in government responses that are resulting in limited effectiveness

- Organisations that are involved in special needs housing at a grass-root level are not receiving sufficient support and funding from the Housing Sector to provide a continuum of interventions. Furthermore, subsidies do not cover the operational costs of special needs housing, which results in daily struggles for the organisation's to sustain themselves. Therefore, the success of these programmes is highly dependent on funding from other departments, with no obligation, to provide funding and sponsorship donations. An example of this can be taken from Immaculata House.
- Transitional Housing Programmes do not offer any tenure options to residents and the programmes do not provide a ladder approach to accessing housing.
- The failure of the Department of Social Development to recognize and accredit smaller organisations as eligible for government subsidies. Even though smaller

organisations are incremental in their approach, their programmes show positive results with regards to helping the homeless find routes out of their current living conditions. An example of this can be taken from Develop SA. Failure of government to acknowledge programmes like this simply results in fewer organisations existing to assist Government. Invariably, the supply of services is unable to meet the growing needs of the homeless.

- With regards to the policy for the assistance and management of people living and working on the street, policy principals, goals and objectives are not holistically being met on the ground. Certain objectives and goals of the policy eg: Social justice and equity are totally overridden by a department supposedly consulted in the implementation of the policy. Instead of curbing homelessness, the policy may be contributing to homelessness. An example of this can be taken from operation clean sweep that occurred in 2012, two years after the policy was approved by council. The above illustrates that the policy is not maintaining fidelity towards achieving its goals, missions and objectives.
- In relation to the ongoing operational and capital contributions of JOSHCO and JPC. It seems as if though they are barely involved in working with the DPU. They are tasked with the sourcing, preparation and development of emergency and shelter housing (gained from the city's housing stock) as part of the policy for the assistance of people living and working on the street. However, the presence of only 2 government owned shelters could imply they are dis-interested in developing housing for the street homeless population.
- Subsidies for Special Needs Housing are not co-ordinated with the policy on people living and working in the street and therefore the policy is unable to gain subsidies from the transitional housing scheme for the development of homeless shelters.
- The vision of Johannesburg to become a 'World Class African City' and attract tourists and foreign investment, does not view informal trading and the street homeless as part of its vision. This explains the highly restrictive by-laws-concerning informal trading and public space occupation that are almost impossible to adhere

to. To a large extent, this replicates apartheid principles and symbolises democratic defeatism.

7.2 Recommendations that aim at contributing towards more effective responses

The recommendations to follow were identified in relation to and as a response to the above gaps that were explored in governments' responses. The intention is to provide contextual, realistic and practical recommendations, that with the help of planners, can be smoothly implemented

- There needs to be a substantial increase in the amount of funding that is given to organizations that run shelters and care facilities. In order for shelters to provide adequate shelter in an enabling environment, subsidies need to cover the operational costs of the shelter programmes.
- The location of shelters needs to be strategically situated in areas that are in close proximity to economic opportunities, industrial parks, recreational and educational facilities. This will contribute to saving money on travelling costs and will also provide incentives for recipients to re-integrate themselves into society and the urban fabric.
- JOSHCO and JPC need to strengthen co-ordination and collaboration with the policy for the assistance of people living and working in the street. In doing so, they need to fulfil their responsibility of sourcing and developing housing that is accessible to the street homeless population.
- The Department of Social Development has to be more open-minded and lenient in its accreditation of service providers. However, they should not be too naïve and hasty in providing beneficiaries to organisations that are not credible. Accreditation should be based on evidence that the organization is trustworthy, operates in a context that enables the street homeless to develop, achieving results and contributing towards ending homelessness in the city. In doing so, government can make a more explicit impact on ending homelessness.
- The street homeless and the informal traders need to be viewed as key contributors to the economy and to the functioning of the city. The first step in realising this should be to relax certain by-laws that criminalise a man just because he is homeless and occupying a public space as a last resort.

- Local communities and marginalised groups should be largely responsible for articulating the kind of services and housing needs that are desired. Therefore, the street homeless need to be involved in every step of plans and decisions that affect them.
- All Transitional Housing Programmes need to adopt a ladder approach to housing. In doing so, a man at the bottom of the housing ladder can work his way up towards gaining better housing and more security of tenure.
- The goal of empowering the street homeless and the creation of an enabling environment for people living and working on the street need to be promoted rather than suppressed. Survival strategies of the street homeless need to be supported and assisted by government, private businesses and the broader public. This can be done through the designing of urban spaces in a manner that is more sensitive and responsive to the street homeless population. The development of mixed land uses that generate social and economic prospects, human scale developments and the design of urban space that favours the pedestrian rather than the automobile can contribute a great deal to promoting the survival strategies of the street homeless. This recommendation leads to the summation of the research report, in which the roles and responsibilities of the planner are addressed

7.3 Planner's role in effectively integrating the street homeless into the urban fabric

Through the evolution of cities and the planning profession, the role of the planner has substantially diversified. Given the complexity of addressing street homelessness through planning in a neo-liberal context, planner will need to serve a variety of roles in order to undertake the challenging task. The research is concluded by suggesting appropriate roles and strategies that planners could play in more effectively responding to the needs of the street homeless.

The principals of justice in relation to the planning profession played a large role in ethically and philosophically informing the approach to integrate the street homeless into the urban fabric (Campell, 2006). Most philosophers that express themselves about justice are largely apprehensive with constitutional fundamentals of entire humanities: suitable relations and interrelationships between persons, societies, administrations and markets. Planners need

to apply these components in diverse environments. Through the words of Rawls cited in (Campbell 2006), “in a pluralist world individuals should be able to choose their own way of life, free from external influence or coercion except if liberties of others were infringed on” A focus on individual liberty rights and self-expression has also been motivated by post-modern theories that include identity and difference in its discourse. These liberties should be protected and enhanced through planning constitutions and the planning profession.

In trying plan for social justice, public interests need to be personally imitative from each individual, with collective ideas of interest. These interests should be treated with caution due to possible associations with power, control, corruption and oppression (Campbell, 2006). According to McConnell (1981), the primary aim of planning for justice is that planning decisions should be biased towards the greatest benefit of the least advantaged. In other words there should be positive discrimination in favour of the most advantaged. Justice in this situation is defined as fairness in the distribution and allocation of whatever spatial resources and welfare benefits there are at the command of the planning system (McConnell, 1981). Just distributions are largely an ethical issue and cannot be resolved without making important moral decisions.

The above mentioned is a broad reflection of the theory that should inform the nature of planning decisions and attitudes in the field of practice. Together with this, there are various planning models that further informed the researcher as to what kind of roles need to be played in order to effectively integrate the street homeless into the urban fabric.

Advocacy Planning

Advocacy planning stresses the role of politics in planning. “The idea of advocacy planning was that those who had previously been unrepresented would now be represented by advocacy planners, who would go to poor neighbourhoods, find out what the folks wanted, and bring that back to the table in the planning office” (Sandercock, 1998: 89). Advocacy planning definitely tries to bring justice to communities not part of the bourgeoisie city. Characteristics of advocacy planners include; consults to low income people; serves community interests; brings social and political equity; operates with a pluralist bargaining system and defends substantive solutions. Planning for the street homeless should include all-embracing consultation processes and should involve the street homeless at every phase

of the planning process. Using the knowledge of the street homeless will stimulate feelings of belonging and worth. In advocating for the street homeless, planners should be proactive in counselling, guiding and coordinating the street homeless with beneficial initiatives. Creating meaningful partnerships and bonds with the street homeless, will allow the planner to sensitize their views on homelessness, housing rights etc. In doing so, planners can inform and advice the street homeless about ways to improve their tenure acquire government grants. Together with this, planners need to contribute towards making financial estimations and identifying sites for the erection or alteration of housing for the street homeless population.

Humanistic Planning

Planners need to work towards improving the quality and substance of life for the street homeless population through humane planning principals. There needs to be a focus on the common good, local control, tolerance, human dignity and respect for the street homeless population. In an age of neo-liberalism, the assets and resources of the street homeless are ignored and viewed as insignificant to economy. In resistance to this, planners need to employ a bottom-up approach to planning. At a grass root level, the basic needs and human rights of individuals need to be recognized as fundamental and essential to solving the problem of street homelessness. The image below represents Abraham Maslow's pyramid of needs.



1.7: The above image illustrates that an individual has many needs. All of these needs are linked to attributes of what constitutes a home. Therefore, the planner could address these needs through humane urban planning.

By obtaining the above needs, the street homeless could gain control of plans and decisions that affect them. This will enable them to prevent programmes and developments that are

unresponsive and oppressive. To make the lives of the street homeless more bearable, planners should promote mobile basic services in spatially efficient locations. These mobile services should include basic sanitation services such as toilets and showers and should also make provisions for food, water, health and advocacy services (Tipple and Speak, 2009). Employment opportunities for the street homeless can be bred through these mobile services. Programmes for the street homeless should assist in the generation of economic activities and in the development of a skills labour force. This will enable survival strategies to grow into higher grades of niche goods and services and gain a foothold in markets of a similar nature. Compassionate and bottom-up approaches to the zoning of land could incentivise a positive growth in formal trading activities.

Equity Planning

Equity planners can be seen as inheritors of advocacy planning, but instead developed a tradition of creating alliances with progressive politicians. Equity planners are professionals that understand the political nature of planning and the need to reach out toward the poor and vulnerable minorities and in the process try to serve a more inclusive pluralism. According to Krumholz and Clavel (1994), equity planners are those who “seek to redistribute power, resources, or participation away from local elites and toward poor and working class residents”. Equity planners take their profession forward by understanding urban inequalities and asking political economy questions about who gets what from plans and policies. “Equity planning is engaged in speaking truth to power, still engaged in a state-centred planning, only now is it consciously a politicised practice and its allegiances are consciously directed to those who have been excluded” (Sandercock, 1998: 94). In addressing street homelessness in Johannesburg, planners need to reformulate the problem at hand and exercise power in influencing debates and attention towards more pro-poor interventions. This will make apparent to government that more funding is needed and that land-use management processes need to be more closely associated with survival strategies of the street homeless (Watson, 2009). In explicitly addressing the problem of homelessness, a variety of planning related approaches need to be deployed. As was mentioned in the earlier stages of the research, street homelessness means more than a lack of shelter and is closely linked to social and economic conditions (Naidoo, 2010). Well-being, health,

education, social development and job creation need to be addressed in juxtaposition with provision of housing.

In essence, the role of the planner is to provide interventions that empower vulnerable and marginalised populations to become contributing members of society and to discontinue the cycle of destitution and inter-generational poverty by providing opportunities for economic activity. Together with this, the provision of adequate and affordable shelter in spatially efficient locations that serve the specific contexts and needs of the homeless can go a long way to addressing the issue. The Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality has to play a big role in making this possible. It is the planner's duty to locate the responsibilities of the relevant departments and clearly stipulate potential roles they need to play. In a neo-liberal context, planners need to integrate the street homeless into developments that market forces create (du Toit, 2010).

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