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Examining the causes and experiences of homelessness around the University of the Witwatersrand:

A psycho-social and spatial perspective

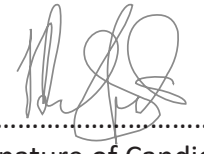


University of the Witwatersrand
October 2019

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted as a requirement to obtain a Master's of Science in Development Planning (MSc DP) from the Univervisity of the Witwatersrand , School of Architecture and Planning



……

(Signature of Candidate)

22nd day of **October** year **2019**

ABSTRACT

The homeless community in Johannesburg has a large presence, is hetrogeneous and is seemingly growing in size as a result of poverty, migration towards the city in search of job opportunities and escapes from traumatic lives. For this reason, understanding the causes and experiences of homelessness is important in managing and embracing the problem and planning for more integrated and sustainable solutions . There is a lack of research and data on the lived experiences of homelessness. This is a key gap that necessitates a study that provides insight into the psychosocial and spatial profile of those that are homeless. This research will outline a data collection process that is linked to broadly understanding homlessness, its roots in South Africa and Johannesburg and the causes and experiences of seven homeless individuals that inhabit areas around the University of the Witwatersrand. It is beyond the scope of this study to present findings on the entire homeless population in Johannesburg. Instead, the research aims at illuminating how the homeless population can be better understood and assisted.

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1 INTRODUCTION

An image that represents a homeless man with all of his belongings



They calling it home: JOBURG HOMELESS, 2013

1.1 Contextual Background

In South Africa, the causes of homelessness are deeprooted in among other reasons, apartheid spatial planning, past and current housing policies, violence, Bantu education, forced removals under the banner of regeneration and an acute lack of rural and social development (Thomas, 1997). Although trauma (social, psychological and economic) and family dysfunction are key contributing factors to people leaving home, the focus of many interventions to address homelessness, remain on structural issues (Daya and Wilkins, 2014). Together with this, neo-liberal approaches to urban development and governance are exacerbating homelessness rather than addressing it. Cities are being developed to attract capital and protect and sustain the investments of 'economic saviours' (Speak, 2012). This coupled with strict control, regulation and surveillance of public areas, has an acute effect on the homeless. The logic underpinning these penalizing regulations is to, "safeguard and protect the public from the predatory actions of those inhabiting public space, which in turn can cleanse city centers and attract capital" (Tosi, 2007:225). These injustices continue to hinder many marginalized people from becoming productive members of society. Those that are homeless in Johannesburg, are in a vicious cycle of necro-politics and the struggle to survive.

Regardless of this, the homeless continue to demonstrate resilience, ingenuity and street savviness with a hope of exiting their state of homelessness and finding a place to live and employment in the city (Daya and Wilkins, 2014). However, due to their lack of resources and a dearth of holistic and integrated interventions directed at assisting them, these hopes are far from being realized. Conflated with the above is the criminalization of poverty through the control of public spaces, which are an important component of the homeless people's lives. (Tosi, 2007). In Johannesburg, public areas are increasingly serving as space for the homeless to hustle to feed themselves, before calling it a day and retreating to 'hidden' places of shelter.

The above illustrates the urban context in which the research will be conducted. The homeless are amongst the most destitute members of society. As a departure point in trying to support the homeless, it is important to understand the pathways into their circumstances, and the different consequences of those pathways for the homeless (Desmond, Timol, and Sausi, 2017). Understanding the above may assist policy makers to move away from generic solutions and devise better, far-reaching and holistic responses.

This research studies the lives of the homeless that occupy public areas around the University of the Witwatersrand, with the aim of gaining a personal and in-depth understanding of the psycho-social, and relationships that constitute the everyday experiences of the homeless. By understanding the circumstances of the homeless, one may gain valuable insight into the reasons that lead to the exclusion of the homeless from public areas, while simultaneously viewing them subjectively and as heterogeneous within the structures of exclusion and address the problem accordingly (Daya and Wilkins, 2014).

1.2 Problem Statement

The homeless sector of the population survives in intricate and innovative ways often characterized by vulnerability, invisibility, unhealthy mental and physical lifestyles and a privation of a sense of belonging in Johannesburg (Desmond et al, 2017). Over time, the homeless in Johannesburg have forged a noticeable spatial footprint and striking presence in public spaces around the city. Regardless of this, not enough attention is given to addressing the problem. There is currently no national policy that speaks directly to homelessness in South Africa (Desmond et al, 2017). This is evident in the growing number of homeless people in and around cities of South Africa. At face value, many homeless are searching for ways out of poverty. Migration from their places of origin towards city centers in search of work opportunities and escape from traumatic experiences are among the most frequent causes of homelessness (Desmond et al, 2017). Due to a lack of resources and an inability to be absorbed by the job market, many individuals turn to the streets in the interim. This interim period is characterized by pliability, street begging and intricate psycho-social and survival mechanisms.

However, it is apparent these strategies are not contributing towards a reduction in homelessness. Rather they tend to normalise living on the streets. Living and surviving on the streets becomes a way of life and learned helplessness becomes a common trait among this sector of the population. Lerned helplessness occurs after a person has experienced a stressfull situation repeatedly. As a result, the person comes to

believe that they are unable to control or change the situation that they are in, even if opportunities for assistance and change are available. Due to negative connotations and punitive regulations associated with homelessness, hidden spaces play integral roles in fulfilling basic human needs. Due to negative connotations and punitive regulations associated with homelessness, hidden spaces play integral roles in fulfilling basic human needs.

While there is a lot of insightful literature with regards to homelessness, this research has not come across much literature that speaks to the psycho-social components of the homeless. Related to all of the above, this study aims at contributing towards filling the gaps in research around the embodied, affective, emotional and relational psycho-social and spatial geographies of homelessness (Daya and Wilkins, 2012).

1.3 Rationale for Research

The aim of this research is to first understand the specific causes of becoming homeless and living around the University of the Witwatersrand specifically. By researching the causes, from the homeless themselves, the research aims to bring to surface the personal and deep-rooted causes and consequences of being in a state of homelessness. This may assist in providing bottom-up understandings and interpretations of the homeless. These insights could potentially discover solutions to the problem. These experiences shape the lives of the homeless, and within the context of this research, it is imperative to understand experiences in order to position related solutions and interventions.

The motivation is to try and contribute towards finding solutions that target the homeless. A departure point in achieving this will be to critically examine the experiences of the sample population. Supplementary to this, the research will engage with how the issue of homelessness has been addressed by the state. Below are guiding questions that will harness the focus of this research paper.

1.4 Research Question

What are the causes and experiences of the homeless that inhabit the area around the University of the Witwatersrand?

Research Sub-Questions

- What are the specific causes that led to them being homeless around the University of the Witwatersrand?
- What are the psychosocial experiences of being homeless?
- How is homelessness understood by the homeless themselves?
- What kind of support and survival mechanisms do the homeless apply and seek?
- How can development planners contribute towards addressing this problem?

1.5 Research Design in Brief

The research design used is relative to the questions being researched and the extent of obtainable resources. Given the research question and sub questions of the paper at hand, qualitative information is needed to examine the experiences of being homeless in areas around the University of the Witwatersrand. The focus of this research is on examining the experiences of the homeless in places around the University of the Witwatersrand.

The research design used in this research has been designed to gain first-hand information into the psycho-social situations of the homeless. This will be done by conducting semi-structured interviews with open ended questions. The research design will gather information from participants and explore the way people survive on the streets and interact with their surroundings. The research aims at providing insight into homelessness and may encourage more studies on the experiences of the homeless.

1.6 Ethical Considerations and limitations

The research will interact with amongst the most destitute sector of South African society and therefore presents a certain level of a moral and ethical challenge. In interacting with the homeless it is imperative the researcher treat individuals with compassion, dignity and without judgment.

Participants will be made aware the intention of the interview process is to gain insight into the psycho-social experiences of being homeless. Together with this, they will be made aware that the interviewing process will begin only once they agree to speak to the researcher. They will be informed all information imparted will be confidential and used for research purposes only. Names of the participants will not be used, if the participants make that request. Confirmation of this will be given to participants by presenting them with the research paper once it is completed, should the report be requested. Participants will be made aware no money will be given to them during the process and participation is voluntary.

A participation information sheet will be handed to participants indicating they will not be forced into participating. In addition, they will be made aware they will not be in a disadvantaged position by not participating. Participants can refrain from answering questions if they feel uncomfortable. A request will be made to use tape recorders.
Due to limitations and the need to create a focus for the paper, not much attention will be given to understanding government interventions. However, considerable effort will be placed on understanding how the issue of homelessness can be addressed based on the experiences of the homeless and on international best practice models.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The image below represents the stark contrast in living conditions between the rich and poor



Modern Diplomacy, 2018. Rich and Poor: Opportunities and Challenges in an Age of Disruption

Literature Review

The review will present broader arguments and practices used to understand homelessness on a global scale. As the review progresses, literature will focus on specific arguments, policies and practices that relate more directly to the case study.

> "It is important that we also consider the psycho-socio economic drivers and outcomes of homelessness, particularly for the development of relevant interventions. These include factors such as substance abuse, family dysfunction and conflict, mental and physical health issues, and criminal affiliation. Among others, socioeconomic factors include poverty, unemployment, and a lack of social security and housing. These factors may be both the drivers and outcomes of homelessness" (Desmond et al, 2017:1).

The deep-rooted nature of homelessness presents both researchers and policy makers with the difficult task of concise and contextual alignment. Literature on manifestations of homelessness in public and associated responses will be studied. The literature together with information from the homeless aims at providing information to assist policy interventions. Below is a diagram that relates to the introduction above and provides a synopsis of all the concepts and related literature that will be researched in-depth.

2.1 Conceptual Framework



Figure 1: Conceptual Framework that presents a synopsis of the literature review to follow. All the above concepts will be unpacked. This will assist in analysing the findings, answering the research questions and presenting recommendations.

2.2 Pathways into homelessness

One of the key intentions of this research is to understand the specific causes that led to individuals becoming homeless and living in the area around the University of the Witwatersrand. Homelessness is a complex and global occurrence and there are common threads in the causes of homelessness. However, in developing countries, homelessness is just one of the many pressing social, economic and political problems governments are trying to address. The causes of homelessness are much more than a shortage of housing. There are a number of economic, social, cultural, and psychological factors as well as the breakdown of family networks combined with low levels of social and political protection (Tipple and Speak, 2009).

"Homelessness may be precipitated by a housing problem, but there are other factors that define it and perpetuate it, such as the lack of income, insecurity, stigmatisation, vulnerability, lack of choices and the inability to plan ahead" (Bernasconi and Puentes, 2006: 6).

The above quote indicates homelessness is the result of a combination of social, cultural, economic and political malfunctions.

Cooper (1995) suggests an economic dimension to homelessness arises, when not enough houses are provided. This removes the responsibility of being homeless from the homeless. Political institutions are proving to be unresponsive to the needs of the most vulnerable sectors of society as political bodies are failing to effectively intervene in equally distributing housing costs and benefits (Cooper, 1995). A report prepared for the Committee on Social Affairs of the European Parliament underlined the 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).

This suggests homelessness is a result of extreme forms of poverty and marginalization. Resources directed at assisting the poor are acutely reduced. In developing countries, a large sector of the population is dependent on welfare. Thus, these dependents are continuously in a state of displacement and insecurity (Tipple and Speak, 2009). Current neoliberal policies are causing large scale regeneration and re-shaping of urban spaces that displace poor residents without compensation. In present-day cities, these are key structural causes that need to be addressed (Tayob, 2014).

Social dimensions to homelessness suggest homelessness occurs when central social relations have undergone alteration that makes it intolerable for traditional households to function adequately and sustain themselves (Tipple and Speak, 2014). This pressure causes individuals to leave their traditional accomodation in search of sustenance for themselves and their families and if they fail to do so, they become homeless. The social dimension to homelessness illustrates the, "importance of supportive family life and the effect of ineffective parenting. It also suggests that effective intervention such as family support, child protection, family mediation and the prevention of domestic violence can be important in addressing homelessness" (Tipple and Speak, 2009:141).

This highlights the causes of homelessness are linked to structural and individualistic debates. Literature on homelessness shows there is a growing continuum of individualistic and structuralist causes to homelessness and these causes are inter - connected.

> "The polarity of views on the causation of homelessness – often exaggerated by polemicists – was gradually replaced with the view 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).

This suggests the best approach to understanding the causes of homelessness should take cognisance of the significance of personal and individual factors and should make an attempt to assimilate these causes within a structural framework (Tayob, 2014).

> Another view, known as the 'new orthodoxy', on the causes 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 learn the scope of the 'new orthodoxy' approach and found, "… all described the cause of their homelessness as individual events, such as drug and alcohol use, relationship breakdown and mental illness … That their path 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".

The individualist approach makes apparent assistance needs to be harnessed towards assisting individuals on a psycho-social level. The structural approach highlights that there needs to be broader political and economic change. The new orthodoxy model shows that the causes of homelessness should be viewed as a mixture of structural and individual causes (Busch Geertsema et al, 2010).

The sections below aim at examining the various definitions of homelessness.

2.3 Re-Conceptualising homelessness in developing countries.

Before delving into the global definitions of homelessness that will be employed in this report, it is important to understand the broader economic and urban context in which homelessness is manifested, in developing countries. The rationale behind this exercise is to assist in the process of breaking away from concepts and understandings that are rooted, to a large extent, in developed nations (Speak, 2012).

The spatial form of developing nations is increasingly becoming a representation of urban and economic policies distancing themselves from the poor and homeless (Speak, 2012). Within developed nations, there has been change in understanding homelessness from 'agency' explanations to 'structural' explanations. Traditionally, the agency debate positioned the causes of homelessness in the inadequate behavioural tendencies of individuals (Speak, 2012). However, since the 1990s there has been a shift towards the structuralist approach, which functions on the premise that the causes of homelessness are out of the control of the homeless, but rather a result of structural deficiencies (Speak, 2012). A broad synopsis of these tendencies illustrates the failure of the housing market and poverty are factors that contribute to the vulnerability of becoming homeless (Dupont, 2000).

The research will be similar to that done in developing countries that are similar to South Africa. Developing countries include those, "experiencing rapid population growth, urbanisation of poverty, chronic housing shortages, weak governance and unstable fiscal systems" (Speak, 2012: 3). In relation to the above, the structuralist approach to understanding homelessness has not been effective enough in addressing the problem. According to Speak (2012), in order for the structuralist approach to be effective, there needs to be a conceptual framework that buttresses the structural causes to homelessness.

In the context of developing nations, it is necessary to acknowledge that neo-liberal ideologies towards development result in increased homelessness and interventions that are not well aligned to addressing local developmental issues (Speak, 2012). In both developed and developing countries, this mode of operation is increasing the, "marketization of services and rapid diminution of the welfare state which once protected the vulnerable from homelessness" (Speak, 2012: 5). The strictly pro-growth attitude is negatively affecting homelessness. A valuable observation made by Speak (2012), is there

is a need for concepts that emanate from developing countries to address problems that are being faced by developed countries (Speak, 2012). The growing rate of inequality being experienced in developed countries is something that has been the norm in developing countries for a long time. Hence, by looking at homelessness in the context of developing countries, findings and emerging solutions can be applied in a world that is experiencing diminishing support and provision from the state (Speak, 2012).

In moving towards examining the causes and experiences of homelessness in Johannesburg, the foundation of the research will be laid on the re-conceptualizations of homelessness presented by Speak (2012);

HOMELESSNESS AS A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT

According to Speak (2012), homelessness is sensitive to politics and the political nature of the subject is closely related to the way it is defined. The question of who constitutes the homeless is imperative to the kinds of responses and policies that are employed to address the problem. The approach to defining homelessness is sensitive to political influence and the values that underpin supposed solutions (Speak, 2012). According to Cooper (1995), many cases of homelessness arise due to government's unwillingness to adopt and institutionalise social justice policies. In many instances, it appears urbanism ideas are in pursuit of instant, transitory and capitalistic solutions rather than interventions that focus on human well-being and efforts to liberate citizens from harsh living conditions (Amin, 2006). This has a direct impact on addressing homelessness as this is an issue that requires politics of compassion and generosity.

The political use of defining homelessness is well presented in India in which urban areas are dotted with pavement dwellers. These people are denied the right to vote and, in many cases, do not possess identification documents or proof of residence. However, during the election period, politicians remove pavement dwellers from the ranks of being homeless and classify them as residents living in 'formal slums' just so they are eligible to vote. Together with this, politicians promise pavement dwellers alternative housing and better living conditions should their political party win the election. These promises are made in vain, as politicians shift their focus to capital inflows and accumulation once they come into power.

An argument emerging from this is governments are able to supress the urban poor in the name of city revitalisation programmes. An example of this can be taken from "Operation Murambatsvina" (Restore Order) in Zimbabwe that took place in 2005. The political party in power swept up an entire informal settlement that provided housing and a livelihood to about 70 000 people. This settlement housed a population of people in political opposition (Speak, 2012). The resultant effect was many people became homeless and jobless. When faced with criticism, the government superficially responded by saying these people were already homeless. This is an illustration of how governments can use the definition of homelessness as a political instrument.

The above case study illustrates homelessness can be exacerbated by 'politically purposeful interventions' such as regeneration programmes (Speak, 2012). Large public subsidies are given to capital accumulation entities without a guarantee of job creation. Instead, there needs to be a shift towards a politics of compassion, equity, human dignity and social justice (Amin, 2006). Addressing homelessness should become a moral, ethical and political priority. Viewing homelessness as a political tool will demonstrate how the City of Johannesburg is defining and addressing homelessness.

HOMELESSNESS AS NON-CITIZENSHIP

In many instances, homeless people are categorized as either deserving or undeserving citizens. This indicates it is necessary to re-visit the agency stance towards addressing homelessness (Speak, 2012). Often homelessness is coupled with negative connotations that perceive the homeless to be citizens that are unable to upkeep civil responsibilities and are often on the wrong side of the law (Tipple and Speak, 2006). The homeless are too often prematurely judged as individuals that negatively contribute to the functioning of cities. These judgements are passed without bothering to understand the circumstances that resulted in individuals turning to the streets to survive. Homeless people are perceived as those that do not possess that which is required to be part of society. Unfortunately, in a globalised world that is driven by capital accumulation, those that do not conform are considered to be bad citizens (Amin, 2006). Invariably homelessness is criminalised, and city authorities apply punitive measures against this sector of the population (Amin, 2006). However, in the same breath, the presence of homelessness is not desirable for the functioining of cities and city authorities should replace punitive measures with more social development approaches.

A lack of a sense of citizenship and belonging makes individuals vulnerable towards remaining homeless; this is exacerbated by an inability to prove citizenship (Plaatjes, 1999). These understandings may create awareness that many homeless individuals are unable to exit the trap due to a lack of citizenship and a sense of belonging.

HOMELESSNESS AS NEO-LIBERAL COLLATERAL IMPAIRMENT

Many cases of homelessness are rooted in poverty; poverty is rooted in complex urban and economic dynamics (Stewart, 1995). Enduring poverty in developing countries can be traced to the neo-liberal agendas that were spread through colonialism and now dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank through their structural adjustment policies (Speak, 2012). The neo-liberal philosophy is aligned to economic growth rather than equitable economic distribution (Speak, 2012). Spatially, cities begin to regenerate and create pockets of gentrification that displace many people who cant afford the high rentals that go with a world class city image. These regeneration efforts are achieved by evicting people from derelict buildings without providing any compensation and sustainable transitional housing, with the resultant effect being homelessness (Speak, 2012).

These kind of development processes are guarded and rationalised by utilitarian arguments that advocate for economic growth that is generated largely in the interests of private property owners (Speak, 2012). As a result, those that are in need of development planning initiatives are neglected. This leaves a large sector of the population without important amenities. Developing sustainable human settlements on well-located land for those that live in poverty should be a political priority. From the development patterns above, it can be construed that cities are being harnessed to develop an elite work force that is capable of existing in a global knowledge economy. Within a developing country context, this is not fair as there is a large proportion of people that survive and generate an income from activities that are deemed unfit by the neo-liberal paradigm (Roy, 2009).

> According to Speak (2012: 12), “It might be argued that urban policy and resources are directed towards supporting and retaining economic saviours rather than towards addressing poverty and homelessness”.

This indicates that cities are being developed to attract investment and

in doing so, city spaces need to be clean, safe, inviting for the wealthy and free of homeless people.

Spaces in the city that sre designed with the strict rationale of attracting investment which requires strict protection from any element that will reduce the capital value of the return on investment (Madanipour, 1999). This very act of controlling and regulating excludes the urban poor and the homeless.

HOMELESSNESS AS EMPOWERMENT AND OPPORTUNITY

Perceptions around homelessness are almost entirely negative as this sector exists under the umbrella of exploitation, exclusion and, marginalisation (Speak, 2012).

> "To underestimate the potential of empowerment and opportunity which can accompany homelessness would be to misrepresent it. The relationship between homelessness and empowerment has been explored by others who tend to discuss the empowerment of the homeless person, especially in demanding support and services. For some, the experience of homelessness is itself empowering" (Speak, 2012: 12).

The above-mentioned refers to the opinion that the act of surviving homelessness through resilience fosters traits of entrepreneurialism and empowerment. In the same breath, there are many people that make conscious decisions to embrace homelessness as a trade off for other balancing benefits (Speak, 2012). In many cases, individuals choose to leave home to try and assist their families by making an income in towns and cities. In many instances, certain individuals are successful and manage to establish sustainable livelihoods. However, due to an acute lack of resources many individuals that leave home are forced to live on the streets. Searching for a way out of poverty is a key factor that contributes towards the resilience of the street homeless.

In many cases, individuals flee from traumatic lives. Within the circles of homelessness, there exist strong social bonds that develop into communities of support and compassion (Speak, 2011). According to deHaan (1999), becoming homeless is not something that is forced, but rather it is planned and accepted in exchange for a unique form of independence. This search for independence and empowerment is driven by a desire to put food on the table. The above conceptualisation of homelessness is relevant to the research at hand because it advises that skills development and community integration should be key interventions to address street homelessness.

HOMELESSNESS AS A VALUE-DRIVEN PHENOMENON

There are complex and conflicting values regarding homelessness. The very task of defining homelessness provides evidence of this (Speak, 2012). Definitions of homelessness are underpinned by the values of those tasked with defining and addressing the problem (Speak, 2012).

These values are imperative with regards to progressively addressing the problem. Economic and structural changes in cities are eroding traditional social values which are proving to have negative influences on families, (Phillopson, 2010). As a result of migration to towns and cities, family networks are becoming unstable. This is largely due to young people moving out in search for work and they are therefore unable to care for the immediate needs of elder relatives are left behind (Phillopson, 2010). In the past close family networks, tight community bonds and social welfare initiatives protected people from becoming homeless. In recent years, there has been a shift in priorities that includes having safety, freedom, and money over the physical fortification afforded by dwelling units and spaces.

The above conceptualisations present useful information in

understanding the extent of homelessness. For the homeless, proving citizenship and creating a sense of belonging is a priority. The immediate impacts of neo-liberalism need to be addressed in a just and equitable manner. Expropriation of land and compensation should be provided to the urban and rural poor when there is a loss of land in the drive for economic development. By understanding that for some people being homeless is a form of empowerment, in a sense that they are in this state because it is a form of survival, will be beneficial. This will provide impetus to develop initiatives that are low-cost such as storage facilities, medical and ablution facilities and accommodation facilities.

All the above highlights the need to interact with the wider causes and more intimate individualistic causes of homelessness. Analysing the above will help in gaining insight into how political decisions, economic growth and socio-cultural change foster circumstances that increases an individual's vulnerability to homelessness and how these conditions can be addressed accordingly. The section below aims at presenting the various definitions and characteristics of homelessness.

2.4 Defining and understanding homelessness

The core of this research is to examine the experiences of the homeless. In doing so, it is important to understand homelessness. Poverty and unemployment are the most visible traits of homelessness. Due to deep-rooted structuralist and individualist characteristics that govern cities and individuals, the homeless find themselves stuck in a web of deprivation and survival (Tayob, 2014). Invariably, a large sector of the population exists in living conditions that are not condusive to social, economic, financial and environmental prosperity. Many people find themselves migrating to cities in search of employment.

In its purest form, being homeless is to be without a home. According to Sommerville (1993) there are seven key signifiers of home; shelter, hearth, heart, privacy, roots, abode and paradise. These words possess connotations of warmth, love, shelter, psychological and emotional security and the affective embodiment of relaxation, happiness and stable and consistent social relationships (Sommerville, 1993). Being homeless represents the absence of these which is expressed by, "coldness, indifference, stress, alienation and instability" (Tipple and Speak, 2005: 53). The above is one way of defining homelessness. However, there are many homeless people that find ways of acquiring the feelings and senses that come with a home, in cities. An example of this can be taken from homeless communities that are formed. In these micro communities, homeless individuals share their meagre resources with each other which contribute to survival. Below are various definitions that have been devised around the topic of homelessness.
Definitions of homelessness are based on ideology and complexity (Tipple and Speak, 2009). In relation to the ideological continuum, on the one side are individualistic orientated definitions, and the other side structurally orientated definitions. Individualistic definitions acknowledge the assortment of problems but blame the state of being homeless on individual hopelessness. The core of these definitions maintains people are homeless due to endogenous features (Tipple and Speak, 2009). Structural definitions are rooted in the circumstances created through large scale fiscal changes that require welfare provision to address the problem (Tipple and Speak, 2014). The complexity of definitions spans from the simplistic extreme to the heterogeneous extreme. Simple definitions usually only focus on limited conditions of homelessness while heterogeneous definitions arise from attempts

at comprehensively achieving sociological improvements and try and encapsulate as many characteristics as possible (Tipple and Speak, 2009). The above can be used to frame the various definitions that will be presented.

"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 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).

The above quote illustrates that there are various definitions of homelessnes and there is a need to zoom into one definition that clearly describes the nature and characteristics of the sample population that is being researched.

"Homelessness can be seen as a detachment from society characterised by the lack of affliative bonds that link people into their social structures. Homelessness carries implications of belonging nowhere rather than having nowhere to sleep" (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 2000: xiii).

In this case homlessness is most vividly understood as indidviduals that lack a sense of belonging and are disintergrated from society.

"Homelessness is a condition of detachment from society characterised by the absence or attention of the affiliate bonds that link settled persons to a network of interconnected social structures" (Caplow et al. 1968:494).

The above definitions of homelessness highlight the psycho-social characteristics and the disconnected nature of homelessness. However, these definitions do not cover the absence of housing. Many definitions of homelessness revolve around pragmatism and accommodation orientated understandings. These definitions limit the subject of homelessness to simply not having a house (Cooper, 1995). Definitions of this nature do not do justice to the complexity and deep-rooted realities of homelessness in contemporary society (Cooper, 1995).

Tipple and Speak (2005), present useful criteria for classifying the various definitions of homelessness in developing countries. As was mentioned, developing countries are characterised by inadequate housing. Due to the increasing visibility of homeless people, many governments started to use the following criteria to define homelessness; "lifestyles, location, permanence of occupation, welfare entitlement and quality" (Tipple and Speak, 2005:342).

LIFESTYLES

If an individual, lives and sustains a livelihood on the streets and does not consistently sleep in a recognised dwelling, they are defined as homeless (Fédération Européenne d'Associations Nationales Travaillant avec les Sans-Abri, 2002). Peru has adopted this definition and goes on to brand the homeless as people that are not part of formalised communities (FEANSTA, 2002). Together with this, the homeless are branded as alcoholics, addicts, vagrants and mentally ill persons (Tipple and Speak, 2005). In Bangladesh, the homeless are described as, "the floating population that are the mobile and vagrant category of rootless people who have no permanent dwelling units whatsoever" (Tipple and Speak, 2005). This definition highlights the rootless and landless nature of the homeless person. Defining homelessness through lifestyles can be viewed as the most straightforward approach.

LOCATION

Definitions of homelessness through the lifestyle lense are closely bound to location as it tends to define homelessness by the places in which they live eg. parks, under bridges etc. Many countries define the homeless as people that do not accommodate themselves in recognised dwellings (Springer, 2000). At a point in time in South Africa, the definition of homelessness was based on the quality of shelter, but the definition is expressed with location in mind. The definition is as follows;

> "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, 2005:343).

This definition indicates a structural cause to homelessness as these situations arise as a result of unfavourable economic conditions. The flaw in this definition is there is no differentiation between shack dwellers, squatters and people living on the street. As a result, government will focus most of their attention on those that reside in inadequate housing and turn an almost blind eye to pavement dwellers (Tipple and Speak, 2005).

Homelessness is a global phenomenon; each country has specific contexts that lead to various pathways into homelessness. These pathways result in diverse types and consequences of homelessness (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 2000). The use of public space plays a pivotal role in the lives of the homeless and the governance and control of these spaces vary (Doherty et al, 2008). Without taking cognisance of this, there is a risk that responses to homelessness will result in generic reactions that are not holistic enough to address the problem.

In light of the above, it must be noted that the intention of this paper to study the causes leading to homelessness and experiences of being homeless.

PERMANENCE OF LIVING AND SECURITY OF TENURE

Homeless people range from being rootless; moving from one rough sleeping location to another or homeless people can be those that live in inadequate housing with no security of tenure (FEANSTA, 1999). In Peru, a second group of people that are regarded as homeless are those without legal title to land (Tipple and Speak, 2005). Identifying the homeless through a lack of tenure is an approach that is adopted in Zimbabwe. The National Housing Task Force assumes that anybody that does not own a home in a formally approved residential area, is homeless (Tipple and Speak, 2005). This is a problematic definition as there are many people that establish sustainable livelihoods and intricate social, political and economic networks to survive, in informal residential areas. Evictions of people from informal settlements are a problem as these survival networks are broken and due to low levels of resources, evictees struggle to rebuild their lives. In 2005, Zimbabwean authorities employed this definition to rationalise and legitimise the eviction of about seventy thousand people from informal settlements. These people were stripped of their dignity and livelihoods, as was mentioned earlier, the victims of the eviction process belonged to an opposition party (Tipple and Speak, 2009).

WELFARE ENTITLEMENT

In India, residents that inhabit land in officially approved slums are

entitled to a plot with title deeds (Tipple and Speak, 2005). However, if they are squatters in an area that is not officially approved, these people need to be evicted through demolition of their current housing in order to receive a home with title deeds on a regularised plot (Tipple and Speak, 2005). The above is an illustration of how homelessness can be used as a political tool. In Egypt, all people living in marginal housing qualify as homeless and are entitled to institutional housing (Tipple and Speak, 2005). In Egypt, according to Tipple and Speak, (2005), marginal housing refers to those that reside in shacks, staircases, public institutions and cemeteries.

HOMELESS PEOPLE DISPOSSESSED OF WELFARE

In some countries, the very definition of homelessness excludes the most destitute from welfare benefits (Tipple and Speak, 2005). The most destitute are described as, "those people living quite literally on the streets, are the very ones least likely to have their housing needs addressed and the most likely to be considered illegal" (Tipple and Speak, 2005: 345). In China, anybody that moves away from their places of registration, meaning the place of birth, is not eligible to receive subsidies from government. As socialism declined and market forces took over, many people moved away from their places of registration in search of better opportunities (Tipple and Speak, 2005). In Chinese society, these people are regarded as a 'blindly floating population' and constitute the closest classification to homelessness. Given it is not possible to gain government funding, these people congregate in overcrowded settlements of squalor and highly dense living conditions (Tipple and Speak, 2005).

The above are representative of official definitions that have been adopted by government's land and housing policies (Tipple and Speak, 2005). The ambiguities and inadequacies in these definitions are apparent in the way they fail people that are homeless. This could be one of the reasons why the homeless are increasing in developing countries. However, better suited for this research are definitions adopted by researchers and non-governmental organisations.

2.5 Zooming into a working definition of homelessness

Several themes on homelessness have emerged from the literature in a South African context. There is a thread of vagrancy that views the homeless as an anti-social sector of society. "The homeless are viewed as a category of people thought to deliberately reject any constructive role and are viewed as social enemies" (Cross and Seager, 2010: 11). The roots of these values stem from fears of a supposedly hostile threat that is posed to governments and economic growth by a desperate category of people that do not have a stake in society (Cross and Seager, 2010). These values instruct government to view the homeless as outsiders that should be excluded. Opposing the above are rights-based views that highlight that homelessness is borne from poverty and a housing problem that can be addressed through income and remedial housing interventions (Cross and Seager, 2010). Another theme that has emerged is that the homeless experience displacement, urban peripherilisation and are searching for livelihoods in the city. Cities are the best places for the homeless to earn an income. Simultaneously, cities/towns are hubs for capital accumulation; hence municipalities and businesses wish to expel the homeless from these spaces through

punitive regulation measures.

There is no clear distinction being made how to understand homelessness in relation to the 'shack population' or those living in informal settlements. Due to the limitations in the scope of the study, there is no room to present and argue the various definitions around homelessness. Instead, this research will look at homelessness and associated definitions. This sector of the population is not readily covered in mainstream policy and there is a gap in research related to homelessness in its entirety. This gap is largely represented in the neglect of research regarding the experiences and relationships of the homeless (Daya and Wilkins, 2014). According to Cross and Seager (2010), of all people that live in negligible and inadequate housing, the homeless are the most distressed.

"These people are defined as people without a voice, expression, dignity or self-determination in the decisions that affect them" (Bramley, 1988 cited in Olufemi, 1997: 17)

"If homelessness means the absence of home then street homelessness is the climax of a lifelong series of crises, mixed opportunities, and gradual disconnectedness from supportive relationships and institutions" (Bassuk, 1984 cited in Olufemi, 1997:22).

"Homelessness is, therefore, an alienation from the society. It is simply a lack of belonging. This defines the homeless street people, as simply street sleepers or mobile squatters, without a home or house" (Abrams, 1966 cited in Olufemi, 1997: 23).

Research will be conducted on the above forms of homelessness. The lives of the homeless are governed by their personal experiences and by the control of the spaces that they inhabit (Tipple and Speak, 2006). The homeless population possess complex feelings, problems, ambitions and desires and would thus be an injustice to create homogenous and objectified views around this sector of the population (Tipple and Speak, 2006). For the reasons mentioned, a psycho-social perspective will be adopted. The rationale for this is to try and assist policy makers to align interventions to the experiences of the homeless. The sections below will zoom into theoretical frameworks that relate to the psycho-social of the homeless in cities.

2.6 Context of contemporary cities

"Urbanism highlights the challenges of negotiating class, gender, ethnic difference and heterogeneity placed together" (Amin, 2006:1010). The above quote succinctly describes the complex task of designing and planning cities that offer ergonomic human experiences for all those that inhabit it. In the context of developing countries and cities, urban progress is largely measured by the city's ability to provide access to basic human needs (Amin, 2006). Juxtaposed to those that need access to basic human needs to begin with, are the economic elite minority that bases city and human advancement on, "high income consumer lifestyles and bourgeois escapes from the ugly or dangerous aspects of urban life "(Amin, 2006:1010). This juxtaposition between the privileged and less privileged can be understood as a representation of capitalist entrapment.

Cities of today are not places of happiness and prosperity except for those that are wealthy. For a substantial proportion of residents, cities are polluted, exclusionary, overwhelming and incite feelings of isolation. Together with this, there are many people that live in fear and anxiety which is linked to crime, feelings of helplessness and living and working near strangers (Amin, 2006).

From all the preceding literature, it can be deduced that these negative city experiences are reflected in the homeless population. The current urban political landscape seems to be rooted in globalised neo-liberal agendas. This results in many cities that have a vast and deep sociology of hopelessness and misery (Amin and Thrift, 2005). Politically, cities are not being translated into spatial manifestations that resemble good city form, citizenship and ideal public spheres.

According to Baubock, (2003:142), "we should conceive of the city as a political space inside the territorial nation state where multi-cultural and transnational identities can become freely articulated".

In relation to the above quote, a departure point in thinking about a good city for all should be that of forging progressive politics of well-being and emancipation that stems from the multiplicity and difference of society (Amin, 2006).

Urban planners and development practitioners need to assist in wielding a chain of urban solidarity that advocates for a politics of incremental gains and consistent truces with all stakeholders in society (Amin, 2006). This refers to a collective approach to development in which the more fortunate residents in the city are willing to accomodate the less fortunate. Instead of viewing the homeless as a hinderance to investment, safety and profitability, the homeless should be catered for through innovative micro architectural and urban design solutions that fosters more dignified and cleaner spaces for all spectrums of society. For this to happen, the state will have to relax city by-laws.

These small gains may contribute towards binding the difference and multiplicity. In the context of homelessness, the habit of urban solidarity can go a long way in addressing the negative connotations that are associated with the homeless in public space. The habit of solidarity can assist in changing the values that govern urban and political culture. These values are expressed through governments, development agencies, non-governmental organizations and the media. From an urban planning perspective, cities need to be designed to embrace difference and mob out the hostility and punitive nature of an urbanism of exclusionary and privatized interests. The latter part of this report will look at interventions aimed at addressing homelessness through a culture of care and generosity and social justice. The above piece aims at broadly explaining the nature and culture of contemporary cities. The global flow of capital, people and values and the increasingly privatized public realm all relate to the homeless population. The section below aims at showing how the contemporary city relates to the psycho-social experiences of the homeless.

2.7 Psychological characteristics of homelessness

Within the realm of psychology, homelessness itself can be considered as a risk factor for emotional disorder. The reason for this is because the homeless are in mental and physical spaces of social disaffiliation and learned helplessness (Goodman et al, 1991). Homelessness is characterized by a lack of belonging in mainstream society and access to mechanisms that provide necessary humanistic and social resources

(Goodman et al, 1991).

Looking at psychological trauma can aid in understanding homelessness. “Psychological trauma refers to a set of responses to extraordinary, emotionally overwhelming, and personally uncontrollable life events” (Goodman et al, 1991: 1219). The homeless sector of the population is among the most vulnerable and destitute in society. Losing one’s home and all the supportive networks that go with it is an extremely traumatic life event. Adding to this trauma is the perpetual state of being homeless (Goodman et al, 1991). It is therefore imperative to assist the homeless through psychological assistance. By illustrating the importance of psychological trauma experienced by the homeless, mental health professionals can contribute to interventions being more holistic (Goodman et al, 1991).

It is mentioned by (Goodman et al, 1991) an unending state of helplessness can result to disinclination for the homeless to fight for the meagre services available to them. The reason for this is because the homeless begin to view their situation indifferently and do not expect themselves to move out of their situations. The homeless population may have histories of acute traumatic victimization and homelessness may be intensifying already existing psycho-social difficulties (Goodman et al, 1991). Regardless of this, the homeless continuously cope with these traumatic life circumstances.

According to Aldwin (2011), in many cases people are not aware of behaviours they use to manage traumatic life circumstances. Coping from a psychodynamic stance can be understood as a complex relationship between conscious, semi-conscious and unconscious strategies (Aldwin, 2011). In relation to the homeless, problem focused coping and emotion focused coping has gained particular attention. Problem focused strategies can be described as resilience and savviness that revolves around rethinking traumatic situations to make them more bearable and liveable. Attempts are made to minimise the distresses of being on the street (Aldwin, 2011). Emotion focused strategies apply to individuals that partake in mindful activities. Within the context of this research, the above illustrates certain behaviours and movement patterns of the homeless are governed by defence mechanisms. An example of these behaviours can be taken from how the homeless become part of cliques. Each member of the clique will occupy space close to other members. Together with this, the clique will occupy the same shelters at night. Should the authorities expel them, they will move on to a new space as a unit.

At face value, around the University of the Witwatersrand, it is apparent many of the homeless engage in begging to sustain themselves. Lynch, (2005) defines begging as the act of asking someone for a solicitation of a voluntary one-sided gift, which is most often in the form of money, in a public place. Poverty and homelessness are understood to be the most frequent cause of begging. However, there are other factors such as substance abuse, mental illness and physical ability and social security inadequacies that are substantial contributors to the problem (Stones, 2013). Through qualitative data conducted in the Gauteng region, it was established in many cases beggars are too used to begging and prefer not to work as more money can be made by begging in public spaces (Stones, 2013).

In the same breath, for many street beggars, begging is a more acceptable means of satisfying immediate needs rather than resorting to crime. There are many individuals in South Africa that struggle to find jobs. It is noted by Stones, (2013: 160), “matters of poverty, unemployment, disability, lack of education and homelessness are specific factors that are associated with street begging”. Many street beggars believe they do not possess the skills to do anything other than beg. This introduces the idea the homeless have a limited self-image and practice learned helplessness (Stones, 2013). As time goes on, the street beggars find it

increasingly difficult to imagine alternative ways of earning an income (Stones, 2013).

Literature on psychology, street begging and homelessness demonstrates the importance of providing interventions that address the psycho-social needs of the homeless in ways that promote social connections and healthy minds. The homeless sector of the population has continuous feelings of distrust and, 'existential separateness' (Goodman et al, 1991). Hence, social support services to re-establish physcological well-being, self-esteem and a sense of connection would be key interventions (Goodman et al, 1991). Assisting the homeless in this way will make it easier for them to identify and take full advantage of housing and related opportunities when they arise (Goodman et al, 1991).

2.8 Resilience and Homelessness

The literature thus far has aimed at painting a broad picture of homelessness. This section of literature aims at presenting research that has been conducted on places and spaces of emotion and psycho-social relationships in the homeless. There is an array of embodied feelings and emotions that the street homeless apply to gain meaningful experiences in the city (Cloke, May and Johnson, 2008). These experiences are closely bound to the element of resilience and resistence found in this sector of the population.

Ungar and Liebenberg, (2009: 259) understand resilience to mean the following; "In the context of exposure to significant adversity, whether psychological, environmental, or both, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual's family, community and culture to provide these healthy resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways."

The homeless search for a sense of belonging and placement in a community (Cloke et al, 2008). In doing so, they need to apply their body and minds. Amongst the homeless, solidarity and social connections are forged through intricate relationships and survival mechanisms (Cloke at al, 2008). This report aims at understanding these concepts through the experiences of the homeless people.

Amin and Thrift (2002), advocate for urban planners to make more of an effort in understanding the neglected areas of the city. There needs to be a focus on, "the intermesh between flesh and stone, humans and non-humans, fixtures and flaws, emotions and practices" (Cloke et al, 2008: 241). Studying the city like this will make apparent the capacity of cities to serve as spaces in which these situations can exist. This is substantiated by Cloke et al (2008: 241), as they believe by understanding the performative and affective geographies of homelessness, enlightenment and rejuvenation can be found in research on the homeless city. Within the context of this research, unpacking the ways in which the street homeless make sense of the city through their experiences are the main objectives.

Institutional and regulatory values of homelessness that underpin responses to the problem through shelters and punitive management of open spaces does not leave room to explore the more humanistic aspect of homelessness and of cities in general (Cloke at al, 2008). Humanistic aspects such as micro-finance, social and spiritual freedom, caring, generosity, depression, charity, substance abuse, kindness and

many other qualities are important contours that shape the homeless city (Howley, 2001). The research aims at exploring these maps by the homeless.

2.9 Homelessness and the control of Public Space

Homelessness and open spaces are inseparable concepts. Due to the lack of a fixed residence, the homeless sector of the population turns to public spaces for a place to live. (Tosi, 2007). However, in recent years, the uses of public space have become increasingly restrictive which invariably, to a certain degree, criminalizes the state of being homeless (Mitchell, 2003).

Attempts at controlling and restricting public space is directed at removing undesirable elements from living in them. “Their presence, or their activity, is seen as constituting danger, or a disturbance to the normal activities for which public spaces are designed, or they are seen as contradicting the images and symbols of those spaces” (Tosi, 2007:227).Inevitably, these perceptions and controls have a severe impact on the lives of the homeless because of their reliance on public space for conducting day to day activities (Doherty et al, 2008:2). It seems to be a growing trend that approaches to addressing homelessness in public spaces is less social and more penal (Wacquant, 1999). This shift in balance, “seems to be emerging almost everywhere, the link between insecurity, the reduction in welfare policy and the ‘criminalisation of poverty’ takes on a different character in European countries.” (Wacquant, 2001:409)

The mentioned criminalizing poverty and thinking of it as common sense has emerged in America and is being internationalised through neo-liberal policy advocators (Mitchell, 2003). Theoretically and practically, public space presents itself as a means for the homeless to conduct basic human functioning (Doherty et al, 2006). Hence, “the reduction in the life spaces of the homeless is the most direct evidence and the most obvious indicator of how the new regulation of public impacts on the life of the homeless” (Tosi, 2007:228). The above regulation of public space effect the kinds of policies and interventions addressing the homeless. In the context of public spaces, homelessness is viewed as a principle of order/disorder rather than a social welfare issue.

The above piece of literature represents how neo-liberal governing systems are negatively affecting the principles that govern public spaces. Due to the capitalistic and superficial nature of some of the principles generated from this model, there is a drastic reduction in the life spaces for the homeless. This presents a challenge but an opportunity for researchers in the field of homelessness.

The context of this research is located around the University of the Witwatersrand. It is therefore important to understand how homelessness is addressed in this area. The homeless always find themselves having to face the punitive regulations that govern open spaces around the city. The section below zooms into the context of homelessness in South Africa.

2.10 Understanding homelessness in the context of South Africa and Johannesburg

TRACING THE ROOTS OF HOMELESSNESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Dating as far back as colonialism in South Africa, a vast majority of the population was suppressed, excluded and denied the opportunity to prosper. The legacy of apartheid planning and colonialism continues to thwart efforts of acquiring the much desired spatially just city (Tayob, 2014). The issue of homelessness presents dimensions which are related to issues of power, governance, the economy, human dignity and social justice (Phiri, 2014).

The above is re-iterated by Morrow (2010: 61), in a pertinent manner,

> "Any attempt to confront homelessness in contemporary South Africa must start with a sober recognition of the formidable, many-faceted and historically rooted nature of the problem".

A large proportion of the homeless are those that have never had a firm and steadfast foothold in developed society (Cross and Seager, 2010).

The bequest of socio-economic injustice that was inherited from the 1913 Natives Land Act is having a negative and lasting effect on many South Africans (Modise and Mtishiwela, 2013). Widespread theft in the form of land dispossessions resulted in acute poverty which is still pervasive in South Africa. The 1913 Native Land Act and apartheid planning policies have trapped many black South Africans in a vicious cycle of poverty and landlessness, which are amongst the most frequent causes of homelessness. This act deprived many South Africans of productively owning land (Modise and Mtishiwela, 2013). From a spatial planning perspective, this act had and still has grave consequences in a sense that it has created a lasting footprint of segregation, division, and black townships that are in peripheral locations and scattered in the countryside. These areas are located far from amenities that afford communities with access to sustainable and productive sources of income. Prior to the 1913 Natives Land Act there were very few black South Africans that experienced poverty and homelessness (Modise and Mtishiwela, 2013). Efforts to address homelessness need to have a wholesome understanding of land and poverty. Poverty in South Africa is inextricably linked to the loss of agricultural land. During the period in which the Natives Land Act was enacted, black South Africans were stripped of their right to own assets, agricultural land, and livestock (Modise and Mtishiwela, 2013). This is a key structural cause of homelessness in the context of South Africa.

Black South Africans were strategically driven out of land, with capitalist ideals being the driving force. Instead of naturally allowing black South Africans to cultivate, harvest and reap the rewards of tilling agricultural land, black South Africans were paid wages while colonialists benefited from the abundant wealth that came from owning land. This illustrates that black South Africans had moved from land exploration and economic independence to an acute reliance for jobs from colonialists (Modise and Mtishiwela, 2013). A similar

trait is evident in contemporary South Africa as a huge proportion of South African society is heavily reliant on the government, due to a lack of land ownership. The capitalist colonialists engineered poverty by forcing the native population to vacate the land of their birth and become labourers and dependent human beings on their own land. The Natives Land Act contributed a great deal to the disregard of human rights, dignity, compassion, ubuntuism and stark inequalities in the country (Modise and Mtishiwela, 2013). Below is a depiction of how the 1913 Natives Land Act negatively contributed socio-economic justice and equality.

This act prevented black South Africans from owning land and assets and restricted this sector of the population to only 7% of all South African land that they had owned prior to the enactment of the act (Modise and Mtishiwela, 2013). Thus, land had become inaccessible and the accumulation of assets was curtailed almost in its entirety. The economic welfare of the majority was severely disrupted. Making a living from livestock and agricultural land was imperative to the livelihood of the indigenous population. Due to acute conflicts over land as a result of the white population claiming vast agricultural land, the economic sovereignty of many rural African families was undercut (Davenpoort and Hunt, 1974).

Together with this, black South Africans were prevented from renting land from white landlords for the purposes of economic well-being and stability (Modise and Mtishiwela, 2013). This was stipulated in Section 2 of the Natives Land Act in which it became illegal for black South Africans to use/harvest/occupy white owned land. This indicates that the source of sustainable income for a majority of South Africans was almost totally eliminated. As a result, poverty became a harsh reality. The devastating Natives Land Act legislated black South Africans to be labourers that served the needs of the white population as opposed to being permanent residents in spaces that offered economic prosperity. Hence, a sense of displacement and lack of belonging in developed society has for a long time affected and destructed the potential of many valuable individuals in South Africa. Another negative impact of the Natives Land Act was that of the prohibition of crop sharing (Modise and Mtishiwela, 2013). Before this act, black South Africans could till the land on a sharing basis. Profits that were gained from agricultural activities were shared amongst the black and white population. This at least enabled black South African communities to sustain a livelihood and provide for their households. Through the abolishment of crop sharing, the socio-economic sustainability of a majority of the population was severely impacted. The Natives Land Act laid the foundation for racial discrimination and the denigration of indigenous ways (Phiri, 2014). Racial discrimination was vivid through the promotion of agricultural labour, in a sense that white farmers had gained control and power of black South Africans by unjustly and inhumanely making them reliant on the white man for employment. Through this, poverty became widespread and invariably resulted in many people becoming homeless (Phiri, 2014).

The above mentioned illustrates how colonialism intentionally created a poverty-stricken society. A minority of the population owned a majority of the country's wealth. In achieving this statistic, the oppressors displaced a majority of the population from productive land and reduced them to vagrancy and landlessness. As a result of not being able to live off the land in a subsistence manner, the homeless population gravitated towards urban areas in search of a livelihood. However, the exclusionary and elitist ways of colonialism made this a very difficult task. Due to extreme limitations in options to live and work, lack of land rights, expulsion and continuous displacements, a floating and alienated homeless population became apparent.

The consequences of the 1913 Natives Land Act lead one to deduce the current homeless population in South Africa could be a functional

descendent of the displaced rural population that existed during colonialism and apartheid. Having said this, key interventions to address poverty and its resultant effects would be to expropriate land in way that will benefit the public good, formulate inclusionary zoning models and devise comprehensive skills development programmes.

Followed by colonialism, the apartheid regime further rendered many South Africans homeless. Apartheid was a model that efficiently and effectively achieved racial segregation. Through this planning model, the state managed to harness the countries resources in a way that created very liveable and economically productive cities for a minority of the population. Various segregatory mechanisms were applied to suppress the lives of a majority of the South African population. In essence and in relation to the research at hand, it is worth acknowledging that the apartheid state subsidised policies that fostered homelessness.

> "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 these objectives, a variety of policies were put in place. The Group Areas Act of 1950 and 1960 allocated different areas for different racial groups. Africans were omitted from economically prosperous areas and could only enter these areas as labourers (Turok, 1994). As a result, Africans had to reside in distant townships that were over-crowded, underdeveloped, poorly planned and lacked platforms to develop economically. As a result, those that were inhabitants in these townships had to commute long distances to city centres to put food on the table. The conditions found in the townships 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 (Tayob, 2014).

Informal settlements sprawled on the peripheries of cities. Often these settlements were unjustly and brutally demolished, until the end of apartheid. This was conceivable, as there was no security of tenure and no free holding property rights. As these displacements occurred, homelessness increased. 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 in a selfish, capitalistic and hedonistic way (Goodlad, 1996). The pattern of housing under the apartheid regime has contributed a great deal to the housing backlog in contemporary South Africa. Apartheid policy was characterised by limited housing for the poor, invariably enormous pressure was placed on townships that housed the oppressed. "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 Ramphele, 1989 ;125-126). Informal settlements on the outskirts of cities were characterised by a large concentration of inadequate structures. Residents of these settlements lacked the bare necessities and urban facilities and often found themselves in extreme poverty and destitution (Goodlad, 1996).

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 (Tayob, 2014). This shows poor housing conditions combined with rural to urban migration and a labour market that is unable to absorb migrants is a cause for homelessness in South Africa. An intervention directed at this cause would be to develop township economies and improve housing conditions in peripheral locations. The section below moves into the contemporary context of homeless in South Africa.

2.11 Current context of homelessness in South Africa

In South Africa, homelessness is a vicious cycle represented by destitution and resilience. Resilience in the context of homelessness is understood as the individual's ability to forge sustaining resources and develop feelings of well-being, a sense of community and belonging, even though they are exposed to significant adversity. At face value, the homeless are in desperate need of various kinds of assistance. Theory on community psychology states that in order for interventions to be successful, it is necessary to gain insight from the experiences of the homeless themselves (Kok, Cross & Roux, 2010). This observation has driven to understand how the homeless themselves feel they need to be assisted. South Africa today is faced with considerable economic and social problems which could be a reason for the lack of accurate and acute solutions for addressing homelessness. In South Africa, there is no clear distinction between the homeless and those that reside in informal shelters (Cross and Seager, 2010).

A synopsis of research on literature on homelessness in South Africa, shows the homeless comprise a relatively small and alienated group of mainly male adults. However, there are also women and children on the streets. Within this classification, there is a category of resilient and resisting individuals who, in many instances, reject the option of utilising shelters for the homeless for various reasons (Cross and Seager, 2010). Located within metropolitan cores in cities across South Africa, there are groups of the homeless predominantly unskilled, demoralised that stand slim chances of finding sustainable work (Cross and Seager, 2010). In addition to this, these individuals are separated from family members and live lives of survival on the streets.

This research will pay close attention to understanding the psyhco-social aspects of this category of homeless people in Johannesburg. In addressing the imbalances in locations available to the homeless caused by apartheid, South Africa has come a long way in devising anti-poverty programmes related to free subsidy housing and various human and social services (Cross and Seager, 2010). However, all these policies have not assisted in curbing the problem of homelessness.

All the literature is aimed at designing a scope for the research while simultaneously assisting in answering the research question. In doing so, results that will be gathered through semi-structured open-ended interviews and questionnaires will be compared to the theories and concepts presented in the literature review. In South Africa, informal settlements are sprawling and inevitably this attracts most of the policy attention that side-lines effective homelessness measures (Cross and Seager, 2010).

The core of this research is to examine the experiences of the homeless and find out where and how they live. It is important to recognise and know there are an array of definitions, classifications and points of views regarding homelessness.

This research will zoom into working definitions and classifications of homelessness. Urban cores are hubs for capital accumulation and therefore serve as the most ergonomic but still hostile spaces for the homeless to earn an income. Simultaneously, development is more aligned to economic growth rather than equitable economic and development distribution (Speak, 2012). As a result, municipalities and businesses wish to expel the homeless from public spaces through punitive regulation measures. The context of this research is located around the University of the Witwatersrand. It is therefore important to understand how and why homelessness happens in this area. The homeless always find themselves having to face punitive regulations that govern open spaces around the city.

This invariably plays a significant role in the mind-set of the homeless on a daily basis. As a result of living in poverty and experiencing various other de-stabilising life events, the homeless are often in a state of physcological trauma. Among the psychology fraternity, homelessness is considered the cause of emotional disorder. The reason for this is because the homeless frequent mental and physical spaces of social disaffiliation and learned helplessness (Goodman et al, 1991). Understanding this aspect of homelessness illustrates the importance of providing solutions that address the psychological needs of the homeless in ways that promote social connections, self-esteem and a sense of belonging.

Regardless of these difficulties, the homeless are resilient simply because they have to be. Among the homeless, relationships are developed through interactions with urban spaces and survival mechanisms (Cloke et al, 2008).



3 Context of geographic space in which research is conducted:

Street homelessness around the University of the Witwatersrand

This image was taken by the researcher and reflects the sleeping place of some of the street homeless individuals that have been interviewed.

3.1 The context of homelessness in Johannesburg and around the University of the Witwatersrand.

The focus of this research is on the homeless that live or work around the University of the Witwatersrand. The state of being homeless is transient in nature, therefore it is possible that the homeless travel and wander around Johannesburg before settling down in selected spaces, before they move on again. Johannesburg is the economic heartbeat of Africa and has for a long time attracted people searching for economic prosperity.

The University of the Witwatersrand is a cosmopolitan area in Johannesburg. As a result, the areas around the University experience a high volume of commuters and workers that come to the area to work, live, recreate and educate themselves. Including those that live on the streets. Johannesburg's outstanding characteristics are that of diversity, inequality and a divided spatial form forged along the social and economic lines (Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihood Study, 2008).

The end of apartheid presented Johannesburg with the opportunity to create a more equitable and inclusive city (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2000). Moving into the democratic era, the City of Johannesburg has the mammoth task of addressing acute backlogs in the delivery of basic services such as housing, water, electricity, social development and health services to the poor and marginalized (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2000).

Poverty, unemployment, violence, a high frequency of HIV/AIDS, a lack of food security and access to adequate housing are amongst the most pertinent social developmental issues that face the City of Johannesburg. The urban poor are particularly vulnerable and continuously struggle to access services and opportunities to improve their livelihoods (Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihood Study, 2008).
It can be said that the most vulnerable and destitute of the urban poor are those that live and work on the streets of Johannesburg. The City of Johannesburg is experiencing an influx of people that are unable to find accommodation and sustainable work opportunities. Due to this, many of these people end up on the streets. Homelessness in public areas around the city is often met with punitive regulatory mechanisms due to the negative perceptions of this sector of the population.

While the street homeless occupy public spaces in Johannesburg, more privileged urban residents feel homeless people are violating by-laws; creating urban chaos and fostering undesirable environments. Together with this, many government interventions to alleviate homelessness in Johannesburg seem to be 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).

By researching the psycho-social characteristics of the homeless through their opinions, there may be insight into the gaps present in current interventions. The homeless are acutely affected by the control ,governance and design of public spaces.

3.2 Spatial Context of the research area

The University of Witwatersrand lies along a key transport corridor in the City of Johannesburg. An illustration of this can be seen in the Bus Rapid Transport Station (BRT) that is located just outside the University. Empire Road is one of the roads that are included in the corridors of freedom plan for the city.

> The vision of this plan is as follows, "We envisage a future where the city will consist of well-planned transport arteries - the 'Corridors of Freedom' – linked to mixed - use development nodes with high density accommodation, supported by office buildings, retail developments and opportunities for education, leisure and recreation." (CoJ,Corridors of Freedom, 2014).

The plan hopes to transform ingrained settlement arrangements that have caused a number of Johannesburg's residents to live on the outskirts of the city, far from access to economic opportunities and growth. Together with this, the plan aims at creating accessibility, fostering social cohesion and creating a vibrant urban environment. The BRT station located just outside the University of Witwatersrand has transformed the area into one that is destination-driven as it is a starting and ending point for many residents that commute in Johannesburg (CoJ, Corridors of Freedom, 2014). The maps below aim at zooming into the research area, departing from a national perspective.

The BRT route that runs passed the University serves as a backbone to the corridor and has added substantial social and economic value to the area. However, the plan is proving not to have sustainable benefits for the informal and destitute sectors of the population. This is evident in the poor relationship between informal economies, public transport systems and the by-laws that govern open spaces in the City of Johannesburg. In theory, the rationale and benefits of Transit Orientated Development is to focus on mixed land use developments around the stations, feeder routes and along the public transit corridors. Simultaneously, the development of public and civic spaces should contribute towards more sustainable solutions to city living and commuting.

The Strategic Area Framework for the area emphasises the need to integrate economic activity into the existing infrastructure, this should be coupled with high density housing and support for SMME's and informal economies (CoJ, Corridors of Freedom, 2014). The transport corridors are expected to benefit the unemployed as it will be easier to get to places of potential work (CoJ, Corridors of Freedom). The plan also envisions wider pavements for pedestrians and informal traders to benefit, from the increased foot traffic (CoJ, Corridors of Freedom, 2014).

The location and regional accessibility of the University of the Witwatersrand has resulted in the area developing into a sought-after destination. Invariably, population densities have escalated along this corridor. This has added pressure on infrastructure, service delivery, a demand for low-income housing and for jobs. The multi-stranded movement system around the University of the Witwatersrand plays a vital role in accessing key locations in the City of Johannesburg. At face value, there is a visible presence of the homeless along the streets and bridges that bind the various movement patterns in the area.

The area of study falls within a significant movement pattern in the City of Johannesburg. This corridor has served as a long standing north-south link that runs from the densely populated Alexandra settlement in the north, to the south-western periphery of the City of Johannesburg. Due to apartheid spatial planning, these areas are deprived of employment opportunities, adequate housing and community, health and social services. Hence, many people from these areas travel along the corridor that passes through the research area in order to access

urban ammenities and opportunities. This part of the city plays an instrumental role in generating and sustaining a high influx of students, businesses, professional services, institutions, migrant labourers and job seekers.

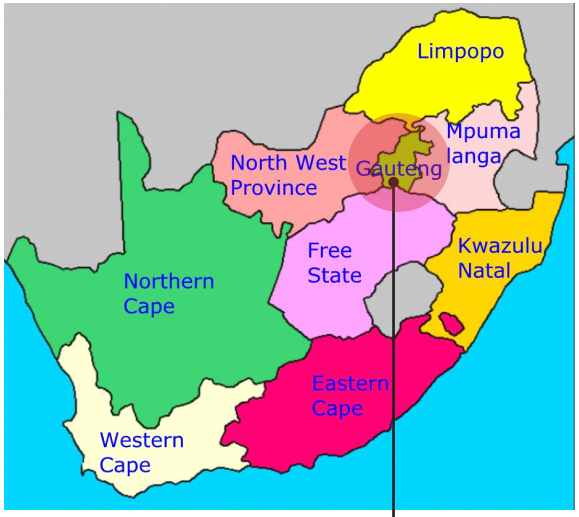


Figure 2: This map is used to illustarte the location of Gauteng in relation to broader South Africa



Figure 3: All illusstration of Johannesburg in relation to surrounding municipalities

Figure 4: An illustration of the corridors of freedom in the City of Johannesburg. A key structuting element with regards to spatial transformation

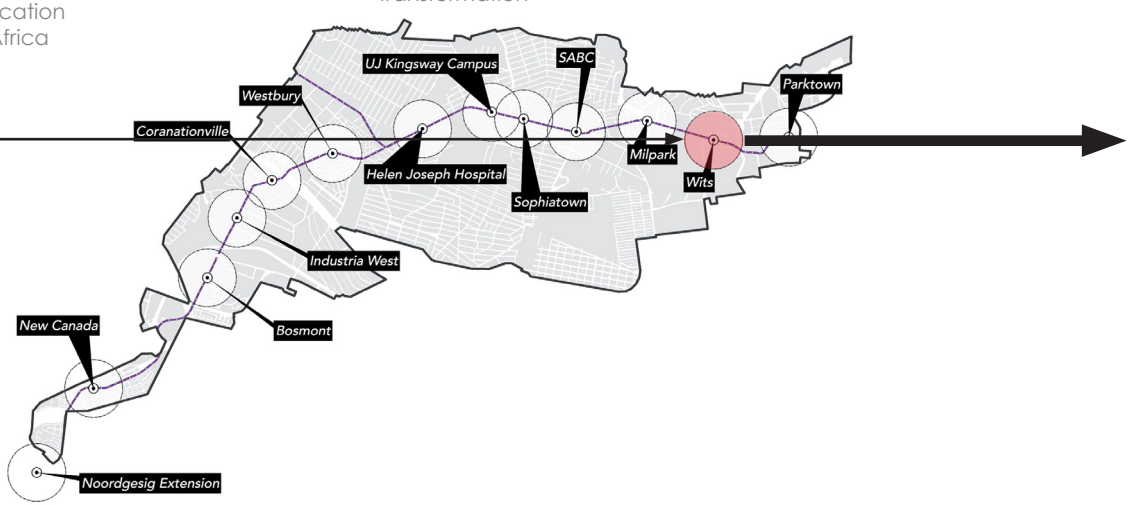




Figure 5: The above graphic, on a broad and non-binding level, represents the area in which the street homeless were interviewed.

3.3 Reviewing responses to homelessness in South Africa

A. THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

As was mentioned, in South Africa, on a national level, the condition of homelessness is being incorporated under the definition of people that have access to shelter but where the quality of these structures is deemed as inadequate (Naidoo, 2010).

> Olufemi (2002: 456) cited in Naidoo, (2010) illustrates there is, "remarkably little consensus among policy-makers, 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".

The varying definitions of homelessness in South Africa have made it difficult for policy-makers to distinguish between the homeless and those inadequately housed (duToit, 2005). In assessing government's responses to homelessness it is imperative to assess whether policy frameworks capture the complexity of the social, psychological, geographic and economic circumstances of homelessness.

Given that there is little consensus on the definition of homelessness amongst policy-makers in South Africa, there is a shared response in government with regards to addressing the problem. On a national level, interventions aimed at addressing homelessness revolve largely around the underlying causes of the problem (Naidoo, 2010). In South Africa, Olufemi (2002; 460) observes there are various social and economic factors that have caused homelessness, "poverty, non-affordability of rent, unemployment, family disintegration, physical abuse, lack of skills, partial education or none and violence".

The aim of this section is to understand what the response of the South African government has been in addressing homelessness. The analysis will move forward with a broad synopsis and then zoom into the specific responses that have been applied in the City of Johannesburg. A departure point in this exercise is to look at the National Development Plan. This is a long-term vision that aims to reduce inequality and eradicate poverty by the year 2030. This plan acknowledges the mammoth task of addressing the structural deficiencies in the country that are in fact a breeding ground for homelessness,

> "South Africa remains a highly unequal society where too many people live in poverty and too few, work. The quality of school education for most black learners is poor. The apartheid spatial divide continues to dominate the landscape. A large proportion of young people feel the odds are stacked against them. And the legacy of apartheid continues to determine life opportunities for the vast majority. These immense challenges can only be addressed through a step change in the country's performance" (National Development Plan, 2012: 24).

The NDP aims at tackling poverty and inequality through focused and interlinked priorities. These policies should be providing the impetus to municipalities strategically in order to tackle the underlying structural causes of homelessness. A priority that stands out is creating an integrated and rural economy (NDP, 2012) Successful land reform, job creation and stimulating an inclusive rural economy are key project areas when thinking about addressing homelessness. The NDP proposes to create more jobs through agricultural reform, growth in agriculture and land production. Together with this, the NDP states the government should prioritise the upgrading of informal settlements on suitably located land (NDP, 2012). Adjacent to this and a recurring theme, is geographical transformation as an emphasis is placed on the prevention of housing settlements mushrooming in peripheral locations

and the provision of incentives that shift jobs towards dense townships on the edge of cities. The NDP aims at transforming human settlements by creating more humane living and working conditions. This focus is located within a chapter titled transforming human settlements and the national space economy. Within the context of this research, these strategies could be understood to serve as prevention mechanisms to homelessness. The NDP responds to provisions made in the Bill of Rights in which an affirmation is made to the right of a healthy environment, access to adequate housing and access to basic services for all those that live in South Africa (NDP, 2012).

According to the NDP, 300 Billion rand is required to address a 2.1 million housing backlog in housing units. The plan acknowledges attention needs to be given to public infrastructure and the public environment in conjunction with delivering houses. Bulk infrastructure needs to be produced pro-actively to lay the foundation for houses and basic services (NDP, 2012). The lack of this is proving to be a hindrance to developmental goals. The above illustrates the NDP aims to address the housing backlog, stimulate the rural economy and create sustainable human settlements. Effectively and holistically addressing these challenges will serve as preventative mechanisms to becoming homeless. However, the approach is vague and there is no link made to the complex and intricate needs of individuals and communities that are devoid of adequate housing and sustainable means of income. This may be a result of the host of socio-economic challenges South Africa faces. Hence, it appears it is beyond policy-makers to view homelessness as a result of a lack of the above. Invariably, policies are ineffective or non-existent in addressing the consequences of homelessness.

Social Protection is a section that is worth investigating in the context of this research. This focus area aims to foster an inclusive social protection structure that addresses all areas of vulnerability and is responsive to the needs, conditions and livelihoods of those that are at most risk (NDP, 2012). Furthermore, the state wishes to provide support and harness the capabilities of communities, individuals and NGO's to promote self-reliant sustainable development (NDP, 2012). In rhetoric, the NDP understands the various elements of social protection are complementary and cannot exist in isolation. Coordination between various departments is a pivotal element of social protection. The fundamental focus here is to implement measures that assist people with prevention, management and overcoming situations that unfavourably affect their well-being (NDP, 2012).

However, no mention is made of the homeless and they are the most destitute sector of the population in most need of social protection. Instead, elderly, people with disabilities and children are those classified as vulnerable. Regardless of this, the focus on social protection has the potential to serve as a preventative measure to becoming homeless. The reason for this is because social protection is predicated on incorporating non-statutory and private measures with the rationale of providing social security actions such a social assistance, social insurance and social welfare services. This indicates non-governmental organizations and civil society should share in the responsibility of offering welfare interventions for those in need. Community work programmes and skills development programmes that build capacity and a culture of active citizenship are stressed (NDP, 2012). The developmental social welfare landscape has experienced severe constraints due to a lack of integration, co-ordination and inefficient funding and capacity. In order to address poverty, which is a key cause of homelessness, social, economic and urban policies need to be well aligned.

The above aimed at understanding whether the National Development Plan of South Africa covers the need to address the causes and consequences of homelessness. It can be shown they have failed to do so. This is evident in the whole plan not using the word homeless. However, there are intentions to address many of the structural causes that may have led individuals to becoming homeless. There is a serious lack of discussion with regards to the deep rooted and individual causes that lead to homelessness. Interventions will not be effective without addressing these issues. This could directly reduce the number of people living on the streets. The above exercise was important as the National Development Plan informs municipalities around the country on the development path to be taken in order to achieve the 30-year

vision.

B. JOHANNESBURG'S INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND THE HOMELESS

In moving towards understanding how homelessness is being addressed by the City of Johannesburg, this section will look at how the Johannesburg Integrated Development Plan views the issue. With regards to economic growth and employment generation, the IDP seems to have adopted a neo-liberal stance. There is a focus on creating a thriving private sector and a city that attracts foreign investment to tackle poverty, unemployment and inequality (CoJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2018).

In the City of Johannesburg, the homeless contribute towards the population that are counted when understanding the extent of the housing backlog. This shows housing is viewed as an important answer in addressing homelessness. Through the IDP, the city aims to upgrade informal settlements, providing homes along transport corridors and providing mixed income housing. More closely aligned to the homeless, the city aims at providing emergency accommodation and transitional housing to evictees (CoJ IDP Review, 2018).

The city's Human and Development Strategy aims at alleviating poverty and inequality by promoting pro-poor development. Again, this strategy adopts a housing stance towards addressing the problem of homelessness and landlessness.

The strategy views the following as key mechanisms to addressing homelessness;

- Increase the delivery of houses
- Speeding up of issuing title deeds
- Including bad buildings in the housing plan of the city
- Upgrading informal settlements.
- Creating partnerships with the private sector to develop low-rental stock (CoJ IDP Review, 2018)

The above interventions are one-dimensional and well beyond the immediate reach of the homeless. However, they do provide evidence of intentions to target the structural causes of homelessness There is no indication of a coordinated effort between housing, urban planning and psycho-social interventions. However, the food resilience programme in the name of pro-poor development will be beneficial to the homeless should they be made aware and accepted by the programme convenors. This programme has the potential to assist the homeless to become part of agri-zones in urban areas that will provide them a means to escape from being homelessness or at least have food. With regards to homelessness and the IDP, the above aimed at presenting the most direct linkages between the two. The section below aims at reviewing actual policy implementations directly targeted at assisting the homeless population.

C. EMERGENCY HOUSING PROGRAMME

With regards to housing policy, the closest reference made to homelessness is in the Emergency Housing Programme.

The Emergency Housing Programme aims to be responsive, flexible and a rapid programme to address homelessness, hazardous living conditions, and temporary or permanent relocation of vulnerable households or communities (HDA, 2012).

"The main objective of this Programme is to provide temporary assistance in the form of secure access to land and/or basic municipal engineering services and/or shelter in a wide range of emergency situations of exceptional housing need through the allocation of grants to municipalities" (HDA, 2012: 2)

Funding for this programme is in the form of grants given to

municipalities. These grants can be used for basic engineering services, basic shelter, land acquisition, basic settlement planning, design and surveying and relocation assistance. The key intention of the Emergency Housing Programme is to provide assistance in cases of emergency. This assistance can be proactive or reactive. The programme should complement larger housing and in infrastructure projects and integrate with formal housing delivery programmes and disaster responses (HDA, 2012)

The need for emergency housing stems from communities that experience emergencies that render them homeless and situations that are hazardous to health and well-being. Proactive responses to these situations are a challenge to the housing delivery system. The challenge lies in predicting and preventing emergencies and delivering formal adequate housing for all those facing emergencies. Formal housing programmes are not rapid enough to address the speed by which hazardous situations arise. It is the role of the Department of Human Settlements to implement short to medium term emergency housing responses that will eventually lead to permanent housing (HDA, 2012)

The programmes are designed to provide temporary relief to households in a state of exceptional housing need, living in unsafe conditions, or rendered homeless, through the provision of secure access to land, engineering services and shelter (HDA, 2012)

For the programme to take effect, the municipality must identify a case of exceptional housing need and the policy puts forward a number of circumstances constituting an emergency. Homelessness through extraordinary circumstances is regarded as a situation of emergency. As stated in the policy, this applies to situation declared a disaster or situations that are not declared but have caused destitution.

It is apparent that the emergency housing programmes does target destitute and vulnerable sectors of society. However, the definition of homelessness employed in the paper is limiting and only encompasses people that have become homeless as a result of the loss of housing. The Emergency Housing Programme excludes the street homeless and individuals that have been living and working on the streets for a long time.

D. DISPLACED PERSONS UNIT-ASSISTANCE AND MANAGEMENT OF PEOPLE LIVING AND WORKING ON THE STREETS

The goal of this policy is to reduce the number of people that live and work on the streets. A combination of enforcement and cycle breaking interventions are intended to assist in the transition out of a state of homelessness (Displaced Persons Units, 2010). The policy describes the homeless to be individuals that have no fixed residence and without a fixed formal or informal address. This policy also caters for migrants and refugees that are on the streets. It is important to note this policy does not aim to address and cover persons that are homeless due to natural disasters and people that have been evicted on a legal basis, (Policy for the assistance and management of people living and working in the street, 2010). Together with this, the policy does not deal with people living in informal settlements, except in cases where the lives of these people have been disrupted and as a result must live on the streets. This is an illustration the policy is streamlined and specifically targets those that live and work on the streets of Johannesburg.

At face value, it appears that the key focus of this policy is on the facilitation of a holistic, developmental, integrated and realistic approach to working with people living and working on the streets. The mission of this policy seems to be all-embracing in the sense it encapsulates many of the dimensions that constitutes homelessness.

The language used in the policy of the assistance and management of people living and working on the streets believes every individual should be granted an opportunity to develop their full potential, which is also applicable to people living and working on the streets. In conjunction

the city believes it is the right of all people to live their lives with the assistance of all concerned (DPU, 2010). This implies the policy wishes to get all citizens involved in addressing homelessness. Another goal of this policy is the desire to foster social upliftment, health and well-being of people living and working on the streets (DPU, 2010). The values that underpin this policy seem to encourage collective networking and responsibilities between role-players and stakeholders involved in work with people living and working on the streets. However, this is far from being realized in practice as there are very few government officials and residents of Johannesburg aware of, and willing to partake in initiatives targeted at the homeless (Tayob, 2014).

This may be a result of the lack of political will to implement the policy, which covers the values that underpin the blind-eye being turned at the homeless by more fortunate residents of Johannesburg. This policy aims at serving as a preventative mechanism to becoming homeless by minimizing the potential for those at risk to become people living and working on the streets. A valuable goal is the willingness of the policy to consult with the homeless themselves in addressing the problem.
The above goals and missions represent a sincere and compassionate approach towards addressing homelessness. However, homelessness is layered with multi-faceted components that require a productive collaboration between community development, urban and spatial planning solutions, social development, human development, housing initiatives, skills development programmes and the homeless. The private sector would need to invest a considerable amount of investment in these initiatives.

The experiences and input of the homeless themselves need to serve as the binding factor between the various departments and private entities. The homeless are a heterogeneous sector of the population with varied pathways into homelessness. Without effective co-ordination and alignment between the various departments, there will be limited effectiveness in achieving the vision of eradicating homelessness. At face value, it is apparent this policy is to a large extent failing. Evidence is found in the growing number of people that live on the streets in Johannesburg. The intentions of the policy are to a large extent in line with measures that could address the consequences of being homeless. The aim of this research is to try and better inform this policy, by providing inputs on the experiences of the homelessness.

The policy for the assistance and management of people living and working on the street tasks the Displaced Persons Unit and the Johannesburg Metropolitan Department with conducting weekly intake exercises for homeless persons. These exercises are largely experienced through enforcement by the JMPD in which the homeless are expelled from urban spaces. The homeless are understood to be contraveners of the city's by-laws by inhabiting these spaces. Together with the JMPD, city cleaning and urban management authorities are also responsible for this activity. Intake exercises also include enforcements against street beggars and entrepreneurs at robot intersections (DPU, 2010).

Should any individual be classified as a person that works and lives on the streets, they will be considered for a place in programmatic shelters and can apply for Johannesburg's Expanded Social Package. (DPU, 2010). This policy is mandated to provide overnight shelter for groups of homeless people. These shelters are only available to those that can afford the nightly fee. The above represents the fundamental responsibilities of the policy. There is an underlying tone in this policy representative of punitive measures and enforcement against the homeless instead of integrated and multipronged interventions. Within the context of this research, it is important to understand the responsibility of the various City of Johannesburg departments that have a part to play in effectively implementing this policy. On the ground, it seems these departments exist in isolation with regards to tackling homelessness.

Social Assistance (Community Development)

This department is responsible for the linking of a biometric database with the Displaced Persons Unit Database. Social Assistance is also responsible for identifying exit strategies for the homeless and assisting them in the process of registering and engaging with the Job Pathways programme and other welfare-to-work interventions. Together with

this, the department should assist the homeless with applications for social grants and identity documents.

Department of Housing/Johannesburg Social Housing Company

This division of the City of Johannesburg is responsible for the development of shelter stock as well as the development of low rental housing stock. The low-rental housing stock is aimed at serving as accommodation for the homeless once they leave the shelters.

Johannesburg Property Company (JPC)

The JPC is responsible for the sourcing of new shelter sites. This arm of the city should source suitable stock held by the city and the inner-city property and renovate them to be shelters for the homeless. The vision is to provide 1000 beds in each of the regions in Johannesburg.

Planning and Urban Management Department

This department is responsible for approving and fast-tracking rezoning and building plan applications for shelter developments.

JMPD

The police department is responsible for enforcement of by-laws relevant to the operations of the Displaced Persons Unit, including the removal of those willing to be escorted to processing centres in the course of enforcement activities.

Emergency Management Services (EMS)

EMS is responsible for facility inspections and consistent engagement with the Displaced Persons Unit with regards to requirements and compliance. This department is also mandated to provide medical services to the homeless. They are tasked with disinfecting hotspots and implementing by-laws that govern the shelters.

Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA)

The JDA is responsible for the regeneration of urban spaces once the homeless have been removed.

Department of Economic Development

The Department of Economic Development is responsible for devising livelihood strategies and economic upliftment programmes.

The above departments are expected to work closely in addressing homelessness. Without effective and consistent partnerships, the homeless will not have access to the offerings of the Displaced Persons Unit. The manner in which departments go about their work in practice, at face value, is representative of all the negative perceptions, values, and approaches towards addressing the problem. As a result, the homeless are removed from urban spaces and due to ineffective interventions, they move to another urban location to try and fulfill their basic needs. There is an evident widening gap between the language in the policy and what actually happens on the ground.

As a result, the public realm is declining concurrently with human well-being and efforts to liberate the homeless from harsh living conditions. Together with this, the manner in which the policy is practiced lacks compassion and generosity. Within Johannesburg, the Inner-City Property Scheme is done in a way that exacerbates homelessness. This scheme provides a platform for economic growth to be generated in the interests of private property owners. Large amounts of public subsidies are given to this entity with the aim of developing low-income rental for the urban poor. Unfortunately, the manner in which the city is regenerated does not create sustainable jobs or adequate shelter for the homeless.

The way in which JMPD carries out enforcements lacks moral, ethical and human dignity considerations. It is understood, through interactions with the homeless, that in the process of being expelled from public spaces, the JMPD confiscates their few belongings. In

many cases, identification documents are lost in the process. Showing the enforcement authorities view the homeless as non-citizens and underserving of respect and human dignity. The Department of Urban Planning and Management seems to be lacking political priority and will in addressing homelessness. This is shown in the limited number of shelters around the city.

The homeless turn to the street to survive. Regardless of this, the policy views the homeless as individuals that negatively contribute to the efficient and productive functioning of cities. This is reflected in the JDA's mandate to regenerate open spaces in the city. Instead of regenerating spaces for the homeless, with the homeless, the homeless are excluded and expelled from the process in entirety. Invariably, living and working on the street is criminalised through city by-laws.

Operation Clean Sweep that was conducted in 2012 goes against the goals of this policy. The urban poor were supressed instead of assisted. This programme's mandate was to clear the CBD of 'illegal hawking' and 'illegal occupation' of space. This operation failed to comprehend the developmental context of Johannesburg. In Johannesburg, there are many people that survive and generate income from economic activities that are deemed unfit by the neo-liberal paradigm (Roy, 2009). This is a vivid illustration of how controlling and managing the public realm excludes the poor and destitute. Similar to 'illegal hawking' is living on the streets. Certain areas in city centres recieve increased security, among other benefits, in efforts to make the city more attractive to investors and safer for residents and tourists. In the process, the homeless are removed.

With regards to the economic development initiatives stated in the DPU'S policy, there is a lack of alignment to the economic strategies of the homeless. Many people are on the street, due to it serving as a space in which sustenance is provided. In many cases, the homeless view the streets/urban public spaces as a platform for potential empowerment. Examples of this are the selling of convenience goods, art work and refuse collection. Many of these individuals move to the city with the need and desire to earn an income to support the families they leave behind. Programmes offered by the Social Works Package are very hard for the homeless to access. This is largely due to bureaucratic requirements that involve a lot of documentation.

There seems to be a lack of input generated from the experiences of the homeless with regards to sustainable livelihood strategies. Instead economic strategies should be carefully carved with the homeless, through micro-architecture and humanistic urban design interventions. The psycho-social characteristics of the homeless plays a big role in devising contextual and effective interventions (Goodman et al, 1991). The DPU seems to lack attention with regards to this.

4

RESEARCH METHODS:

Narritives and story telling

An image taken from a derelict building in the City of Johannesburg



Mark Brynes, 2013: Life in the Apartheid Era

“Examining the causes and experiences of homelessness around the University of Witwatersrand: A psycho-social and spatial perspective”

The research aims to study the experiences of individuals that live and survive on the streets and live around the University of the Witwatersrand. Bringing to surface the backgrounds, causes and consequences of living on the streets is the goal. Investigating the psycho-social experiences that shape the lives of the homeless is envisioned to fill a gap in research around this topic and to possibly assist in framing relevant and contextual solutions. Given the deep-rooted structural and individual circumstances that precede homelessness, it is important to interact on a personal and open-minded level with participants of the study. The homeless themselves play the biggest role in answering the research. Hence, this research serves as an instrument to synthesise, analyse and make recommendations based on the narratives that are generated through the experiences of the homeless.

4.1 Research Design

The governing philosophy behind this study is qualitative, investigative and phenomenological. The approach focused on gathering data through interviews that relate to the psycho-social experiences of the homeless (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). The use of interviews as a research method presented a more natural form of interaction with participants as compared to questionnaires that needed to be filled in. Marshall and Rossman (2011) argue it is imperative to conduct the interviews in real-life natural settings as human behaviour is expressively influenced by the context or setting in which it takes place. The interviews conducted for this study took place in places that are part of the daily routine of the homeless.

The study avoided close-ended questions that would give responses more suitable for quantitative studies. Instead open-ended questions were employed to gather insights of their experiences. A qualitative approach has enabled in-depth understandings related directly to the causes and consequences of street homelessness. This approach has provided subjective interpretations of an area that is relatively unknown in the City of Johannesburg context (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Paniter, 2006). Story telling has offered the researcher a different way of investigating homelessness.

4.2 Research methodology

RESEARCH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A semi-structured interview guide that comprised open-ended questions was used. According to Marshall and Rossman (2011), qualitative research relies on in-depth interviews for data collection.
The interview guideway was more organised compared to the informal, casual type of interview, and consisted of a list of questions (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). The interview schedule was guided by the literature review, however, follow up questions were used to probe for deeper insights.

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The sampling procedure was prompted by the number of homeless individuals around the University of the Witwatersrand. This gave rise to the snowball sampling technique employed in this research. According to (Atkinson and Flint, 2001), the snowball approach is a valuable technique for sampling a population that is deprived, socially stigmatised or an elite population. The homeless fall within this bracket. “This strategy can be viewed as a response to overcoming the problems associated with sampling concealed populations such as the criminal and the isolated (Faugier and Sargeant, 1997, Cited in: Atkinson and Flint, 2001:4). Snowballing includes finding one research participant; this participant refers you to another participant, who then refers you to another participant and so on, (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). Trust was developed through referrals made by acquaintances rather than more formal and rigid identification methods. Given the difficulty in counting the homeless population, the snowballing technique has proved to be a valuable tool. This was attempted by locating those who are actually living on the street, to provide insight into homelessness.

DATA COLLECTION

Before the interviews were conducted participants were told that participation is voluntary and that no direct benefits would be generated from the study. They were told they were free to refuse to answer any questions that made them feel uncomfortable, and they were free to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. The participants were told should any of the questions cause them to feel uncomfortable, the researcher will provide the participant with access to a professional psychologist free of charge, should the request be made. Permission to audio-record the interviews was sought from each participant before the interview process began. Simultaneously, consent or lack thereof was obtained informally. Participants were told their participation would be completely anonymous if that was their wish. This was done by referring to participants using pseudonyms. The sample population was told the information that would be given would be held securely and presented to the research supervisor and examiners. Once the report is approved, it will be publically available via the Wits library. The University of the Witwatersrand's ethical committee provided ethical clearance for the research to go ahead. This certificate is attached as an annexure

By consolidating all the above approaches and measures, 7 street homeless individuals were interviewed, aged between 19 and 32. Interviews took place where participants felt most comfortable. They all worked and resided in areas around the University of the Witwatersrand. All participants were provided with food and drink that was consumed after the interview.

DATA ANALYSIS

The aim of the data analysis was to show the causes and experiences of homelessness by looking at the topic psycho-socially. Given these sentiments, The Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was adopted, due to its appropriateness for the task at hand. The IPA is designed to assist in making sense of individual's experiences and to illuminate subjective and personalised insights (Smith and Osborn, 2003).

Smith and Osborn, (2003) acknowledge that the IPA is unpacked as a two-stage process of interpretation, with input coming from the researcher's own perceptions and perspectives as well. The research participant's stories hold the most weight and the researcher should do his/her best to understand the topic from the participant's view alone (Smith and Osborn, 2003). The IPA is bound to understanding human beings as affective, linguistic, emotional, expressive and cognitive beings whose thoughts and responses are connected in a complex way. In analysing the data, the researcher engaged with the stories of the homeless in a sustained manner. The transcribed stories were studied in detail, case by case, with the rationale of developing themes. This was followed by making connections with the various themes to form superordinate themes (Smith and Osborn, 2003). During this process, the transcripts were reread to ensure the responses of the homeless were included to substantiate and add value to the analysis.

The chapter to follow aims at presenting the outcomes and practical implementations of all the above.

Researchers Reflections

Accessing and interacting with the street homeless was the most exciting and insightful part of the research. Invaluable bonds and learning experiences were fostered through the interviews. It was not difficult to source the participants as there is, sadly, a never ending supply of street homeless individuals in Johannesburg. I chose to interview the street homeless around the University of Witwatersrand and simply approached them by foot. Approaching them by foot instead of a car, was a seemingly a more authentic and bottom-up experience. It was important that I always had an open mind and a non-judgmental approach when I interacted with the street homeless. I had to remind myself that I was the one seeking insight and knowledge and that if I respect and show kindness to the research participants, I will gain what I set out to achieve.

The interviews took place in a space that was most comfortable for the participants at that point in time. The reaction of the street homeless was surprisingly forthcoming, they wanted to tell their stories. They were eager to interact with me. They were remarkably insensitive and didn't mind talking on any topic that I introduced. The conversations were recorded with my mobile phone and then transcribed and edited for verbal litter. Interviews and responses were in English and participants didn't appear to have difficulty in understanding my questions.
The richest experience was an interview that took place under a bridge at around 21 :00 pm. The participant was about to call it a night, so the reality of the harsh living conditions faced by the street homeless was experienced by myself first hand. The participants illustrated high levels of intellect.



The researcher with a close friend at the University of Witwatersrand just before the journey to conduct interviews with the street homeless began



5 Findings and Analysis

An image representing goods of informal recyclers in Fordsburg, Johannesburg

Findings and Analysis

As stated throughout the preceding chapters, the aim of this research is to examine the causes and experiences of the homeless around the University of Witwatersrand.

This chapter uses the stories of seven homeless individuals. The stories as they exist below are reflective of the experiences of the homeless around the University of the Witwatersrand. This will be followed by a detailed analysis that is packaged thematically and guided by the IPA approach to making sense of qualitative sets of data. This chapter is intended to contribute substantially towards answering the research question. The analyses of the findings are separated through themes. Collectively, the thematic analysis aims at presenting causes and consequences of homelessness around the University of the Witwatersrand.

Below is a map that indicates the spatial context and movement patterns of the research participants.



This map indicates the movement of participants from their resting place to the robots at which they work.

Legend

Participant name	Point of work	Point of rest
2 pac	●	○
Tshepo	●	○
Mdu	●	○
Itu	●	○
Edward	●	○
Simon	●	○

*James did not feel comfortable informing the reaearcher about his point of work and his point of rest

TABLES THAT PROVIDE BRIEF PROFILES OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Name	Race	Age	Background/Place of origin	Cause of becoming homeless	Consequences	Exit Strategy Generated from the street homeless
2 Pac	African	32	Rural area in Lesotho. Moved to an underdeveloped area in Vereneening when he became an orphan. Did not stay there long because his family were poor	Orphaned, Poverty, a life in homeless shelters and drug abuse	Condemned to life on the streets, addicted to drugs, cannot afford rehab, begging to survive and experiences high levels of police brutality	Drug rehabilitation, job opportunities, affordable accommodation
Tshepo	African	29	First lived in Soweto and than moved to Alexandra. Both of these areas lacked positive development platforms. However, Alexandra presented a better quality of life compared to Soweto	Lack of role models, Poverty, Crime and Drugs	Struggling to exit homelessness due to bad company on streets, lack of access to assistance, inevitable use of drugs to suppress harsh reality, a distrusting family, begging for survival. Sleeping in hidden spaces and police brutality	Affordable accommodation, drug rehabilitation, skills development that will assist in finding a job. Tshepo wants to serve as an example to other homeless people that it is possible to exit the streets.

Name	**Race**	**Age**	**Background/Place of origin**	**Cause of becoming homeless**	**Consequences**	**Exit Strategy** Generated from the street homeless
Mdu	African	28	Originally from Soweto	Poverty was a feature but it was crime and Drugs that led Mdu to the streets. He lacked role models that advised him to make the right decisions.	Addiction to drugs, begging for survival sleeping in hidden spaces and police brutality	Drug rehabilitation ,job opportunities and family re-unification
Itu	African	18	Originally from the North-West Province but than moved to Ga-Rankua in Pretoria after he was orphaned. Ga-Rankua is an underdeveloped area	Orphaned at a young age	Sense of helplessness, addiction to drugs, begging for survival and longing for a better life	Drug rehabilitation, re-unification with his grandmother and job opportunities

Name	**Race**	**Age**	**Background/Place of origin**	**Cause of becoming homeless**	**Consequences**	**Exit Strategy** Generated from the street homeless
Edward	African	30	Rural area in Limpopo	Poverty, orphaned, loss of job and drugs	Acute drug addiction, in ability to find a job and apply talent, police brutality and hidden spaces	Drug rehabilitation and job opportunities
James	African	27	Rural area in Port Elizebath	Totally disconnected from family. No money to get back home.	Lost in the city of Johannesburg, Drug Abuse and does not know how to get hold of family in Port Elizabeth.	Family re-unification
Simon	African	29	Ga-Rankua in Pretoria. This area lacks platforms for development	Loss of father, poverty and the need to provide financial ease for his family	Drug addiction, unemployment, hidden spaces, police brutality and a life that is characterised by unsafety and always having to look over your shoulder	Opportunity to finish school and an employment opportunity

5.1 Contextual Backgrounds and causes of homelessness

All the participants come from underprivileged backgrounds and once lived in areas that didn't provide many developmental opportunities, so they moved to Johannesburg in search of economic opportunities to sustain their families at their place of origin. Homelessness is precipitated by the loss of housing, it has become apparent that due to the loss of a parent, or both parents, individual's can lose their homes. They have to leave home to become bread-winners for their families. One of the individuals moved to Johannesburg to look after his grandmother, but now he is struggling to find his way home, a rural location in Port Elizabeth.

"I come from poverty, in Ga-Rankua people suffer and there are no jobs. I lost my father at a young age and everything went bad after that. I did not think I would end up on the streets, because when I left home I started selling some small goods at the robots. But I didn't make it. Than I just found myself survving on the streets" (Simon, 2018).

"I was born in 1984 and originally come from a rural area in Limpopo called Sterkrivier location. My parents died poor and I had to leave school in Standard 5 because myself and my siblings are very poor. It is not possible to find jobs in this area so I had to move to Joburg to become the bread winner for my siblings. In the rural areas there is no platform to make a living and therefore some people end up stealing and others move to urban areas in search of work opportunities" (Edward, 2019).

"My life was very hard my friend. Firstly, my mother and father did not care much for me and I stayed with my grandmother. The living conditions were very bad in Soweto; we were struggling to live. Sho, then I moved to Alexandra where my aunty was caring for me. Things were better here, but than at the age of 14 I became friends with with very naughty people. We used to smoke dagga and just chill and have a good time. Around 1994 when Mandela was the president we used to go and beg in Sandton. Back then, there weren't many people begging so they used to give us good food and money. Than I started taking heavy drugs like crack and herion and started robbing. From there I went to jail for 2 years and when I came out my family never trust me so I had live on the streets. It is my bad decisions that made me homeless" Tshepo, 2018)

"I am from an area in Port Elizabeth where everyone is poor. Than my grandmother in Johannesburg got sick so I came to look after her. I do not stay with her anymore and I cannot find a job so I am sleeping on the streets. When the police confiscated by belongings they took the paper that had the contact details of my family at home. I wish to go home but I don have money and I don't even know how my family is doing" (James, 2018)

The above quotes provide ground to apply the 'the new orthodoxy' view in understanding the causes of homelessness. This view points to structural factors, like the lack of housing and economic opportunities as the conditions in which homelessness will occur and it is people

with personal problems that are more vulnerable to these trends than others. All research participants interviewed, experienced personal problems and had low levels of material, social and financial capital. Possession of these resources could serve as a buffer to the negative effects of structural inefficiencies. Together with this, drug abuse and a lack of role models, is a common cause of homelessness. Individuals are exposed to drugs at a very young age which results in them falling into the trap of a downward spiral of dependence. Due to drugs, individuals don't earn money and achieve the goals they set out to achieve.

"I got a job as a queue marshal in Monte Casino, Fourways and it was during this bad period and bad decisions that I made friends that were bad influences in my life. I started to abuse nyaope and now I can't even support my siblings at home. Drugs is the biggest problem my friend" (Edward, 2019)

According to one of the respondents it is not poverty that made him homeless, but instead criminal activities which led him to abuse drugs which led him into homelessness.

"I am not homeless because of poverty. I was poor, but always had something to eat even if it was just pap and water. But I was influenced by the good life; money, fast cars and nice clothes, even though I could not afford it. Than the uncles in the neighbourhood that were part of a crime syndicate and robbed people made me join them. Than I started robbing and taking drugs and buying nice clothes" (Itu, 2019)

The interviews have made apparent that there are some wealthy people that have become homeless because of drugs. Hence, drugs are a problem across all spectrums of society, however the homeless population are more susceptible to them.

One of the respondents was orphaned at a very young age and as a result he moved into a shelter; however, once he completed matric, he moved out as he felt the shelter could not assist him in making a living. This shows shelters for the homeless are not effectively fulfilling a role of providing a way out of homelessness.

"Eish I am originally from a poor area in Lesotho. When I was around 11 years old my parents passed away and than I moved to some family in a location in Vereeniging but but because they were very poor, they could not afford to look after me. From there I stayed in homeless shelters in Joburg for a long time but the quality of life there is too bad. Sometimes they used to give us rotten food in the shelters and the people that run the shelters are stealing the money that they supposed to use to make it nice. That is why myself and other people are choosing to live on the streets instead" (2-Pac, 2019).

Based on the state of the living conditions of individuals before they became homeless, during their stays in shelters and during their stay on the streets, the development models in place are not getting enough of the state's resources to respond to homelessness. Amongst the homeless, there is a very negative perception of the metro police and the government in general.

"We suspect that the metro's are linked to drug dealers and they make money out of it. We see for ourselves the cops escorting drug dealers sometimes. Why is it that in the world the cops and government do so much much to stop people selling and using drugs in the middle of the city and here in South Africa the problem is getting bigger. It is because those ones with money and power are benefitting from the drug trade" (Mdu, 2019)

The above illustrates perceptions that institutions which are supposed

to be paragons of justice may be contributing towards crime and injustices in the city. The same law enforcement agencies criminalize the act of living and sleeping in public spaces in the city. The perceptions of Mdu alludes to pointing to the government for actually contributing to homelessness. The quote below supports this observation;

"We feel that the government cannot assist us because they don't care about poor people in this country. It is possible that the government has a share in the drug trade. There are not enough shelters and good programmes to help us with shelter and to leave the drugs and get a good job" (Itu , 2018).

There are many people that make conscious decisions to go homelessness as a trade-off for other benefits (Speak, 2012). In many cases, individuals choose to leave home to try and assist their families by making an income in urban cores. In numerous instances, these individuals are successful and manage sustainable livelihoods. However, due to a lack of resources many individuals are forced to live on the streets and in public places. The search for independence is driven by the desire to put food on the table and economically assist families in their places of origin. This is substantiated by the quotes below;

"My siblings are still back in Limpopo and I used to support them. I moved to Joburg in 2008 as a result of contract work that I managed to get. Once the contract work ended i met up with the wrong people and started taking drugs. Soon after that i became homeless" (Edward, 2018).

From the above, it is apparent the causes of homelessness (based on 7 participants) are vast and related to poverty, drugs, crime, a lack of sustainable human settlements, and a lack of social, economic, financial and infrastructural resources. Interventions need to speak to development in marginalized areas, development platforms in the place of origin, drug rehabilitation, and the adoption of social justice polices from government.

5.2 Understandings of home

Understanding the concept of home is inseparable from understanding homelessness. In its purest form, being in a state of homelessness is to be without a home. According to Sommerville (1993) there are seven key signifiers of home; shelter, hearth, heart, privacy, roots, abode and paradise. These words possess connotations of warmth, love, shelter, psychological and emotional security and relaxation, happiness and stable and consistent social relationships (Sommerville, 1993).

From the findings, it is apparent all of the participants do not possess the above qualities. Some from a young age, have not been part of a home and the positive bonds and feelings of safety that comes with a home. As a result, the homeless are almost always in a state of alienation, stress and instability. There is no sense of security on the streets.

"I understand home to be a place where there are no difficulties and you have the love and warmth of both parents" (Simon, 2018)

Regardless of not having a proper home, the homeless form intimate relationships with each other, which are likened to family bonds. This assists them to form a mental and physical idea of home on the streets. The quote below provides evidence of this.

"Ofcourse I would love to move back home and I would love if someone can help us to do that. But for now, the streets are our home. This is because the streets and the friends is the only thing we have.

The friends that we sleep with is like family. We care for each other. We share food and drugs" (Itu and Mdu, 2018)

For individuals that have been on the streets for a longer period, they have a much closer bond to the streets. They go as far as calling some of the areas around the University of the Witwatersrand their back-yard and protect it with their life.

"These guys isleep with, they are my family. We protect protect each other and all of these areas. We believe in God and have survived many challenges in our lives. This area around the University is my home but I know there will be no loved ones present to bury me. hope" (2-Pac, 2018)

5.3 Being homeless in the context of contemporary Johannesburg

None of the participants of the study expected to be living and sleeping on the streets. Instead they came to the streets embarking on entrepreneurial endeavours or searching for income opportunities. However, due to their low-levels of resources this was a difficult and unsustainable task for them. They all have the intention of moving back to their place of origin; however, a common thread is all participants say there are no economic opportunities at their place of origin. They regard the streets as a place to live and work due to not having any other options. However, it must be noted that drug abuse is hindering their ability and capability to get away from the streets.

In this context, "Urbanism highlights the challenges of negotiating class, gender, ethnic difference and heterogeneity placed together" (Amin, 2006: 1010). Johannesburg as a leading metropolitan city in Africa continues to attract migrants, from abroad and within South Africa, in search of economic opportunities, access to basic services and better living conditions and refuge (GDS, 2040). These patterns of migration have presented development practitioners with opportunities and challenges.

As observed from interactions with the homeless, they are the most destitute and excluded of all those in search of a better life and with the least access to urban opportunities and amenities. Due to a lack of resources, formal and tertiary education and a lack of identification documents, the homeless find themselves trapped in a cycle of unemployment, drugs and survival.

"The streets are very unsafe and it is a dangerous place to live and work. Anything can happen on the streets. Being bumped by a car is the biggest danger. There are crime syndicates that do robberies at the robots, sometimes using guns, we can easily get caught in the cross-fire" (IMdu, 2019)

"The streets are very dangerous and there is no such thing as safety. You have to be ready for danger all the time. You can be bumped by a car at any time. Sometimes the 'underworld' instructs people to kill somebody and retrieve a body part. Im sure people think this is a horror story, but it is a reality for me because I have seen it before" (2 –Pac, 2019)

"There are so many challenges that make it difficult to survive every day. Theft, dangerous people and drunken people are a big problem. Belongings need to be hidden away because they can get stolen easily" (Simon, 2019).

"Eish, my brother, everyday is a struggle. In my heart I want to exit the streets. But than because it is so hard to get a job it becomes very difficult to achieve this. If you want to do the right thing and stay aways from drugs. It is hard because the people around you are taking drugs. It is difficult to find good company. It is the worst habbit to beg, I don't like doing it and I need assistance to exit the streets" (Tshepo, 2018)

The above quotes represent the harsh realities of life on the streets. It is worlds apart from a liveable, inclusive, safe and sustainable existence. According to Amin (2006), urban progress is measured on a city's ability to provide access for the basic human needs of its populace. However, juxtaposed with the lifestyles of the homeless, there are the elite minorities that have advanced to high income lifestyles and are able to escape from the non-desirable and dangerous aspects of urban life (Amin, 2006).

For the homeless, Johannesburg is not a place of happiness and productivity. Instead the city is experienced through fear, anxiety, crime and sometimes feelings of helplessness.

"I feel old and condemned I don't know if I will ever exit the streets. Without the drugs I feel helpless. There is no one to care for me and to go back to, unlike you. People like you have a nice car, a house and food" (2-Pac, 2019).

"The man in his car and the metro's do not appreciate the good work that I do. I protect this intersection from people that smash and grab" (Simon, 2019)

"Everyday, I see atleast 3 people in their cars taking drugs. But unlike us those ones are using expensive drugs which is not as bad as the drugs we use" (Mdu, 2018)

"Eish, to be honest sometimes those in cars treat us like we do not exist. However, there are so many good people that help me. When somebody tells me that they do not have anything for me, I fully understand because they are human beings as well and they cannot have money or food for me everyday everyday" (Edward, 2018)

The homeless and their interactions with private motorists paint a vivid picture of inequality and of a city unable to absorb the growing number of migrants in search of sustainable economic and housing opportunities. From these interactions and perceptions of the street homeless it is apparent that there may be a large number of people that are oblivious to the problem of homelessness. The manner of private motorists may be reflective of the sidelining of interventions to address homelessness in main stream developmental policies.

5.4 Psycho-social characteristics

From the interviews it is apparent the homeless population are presented with daily disheartining social, psychological and spatial challenges existing in urban spaces. From the data that has been gathered it is true that; homelessness is characterized by a lack of belonging in mainstream society and access to mechanisms that provide necessary humanistic and social resources (Goodman et al, 1991). This is substantiated in the quotes below

"The homeless are not allowed to get water from Engen as they are

viewed as a nuisance to customers and employees at the garage" (James, 2019)

"Psychological trauma refers to a set of responses to extraordinary, emotionally overwhelming, and personally uncontrollable life events" (Goodman et al, 1991: 1219). Losing one's home and all the supportive networks that go with it is an extremely traumatic life event. Adding to this trauma is the perpetual state of being homeless (Goodman et al, 1991). According to Aldwin (2011), in many cases people are not aware of the behaviours they employ to manage psychologically traumatic life circumstances.

All the research participants rely on drugs as a key psychological and emotional coping mechanism. They use drugs to supress all hardships that are attached to living on the streets.

"Our living conditions are very bad, we feel sad and emberessed. We are addicted. That is why the first thing we do is to try and make some money to buy our first fix of drugs for the day. After that we will make money for food and if we make good money, we will buy goods like license disk holders and key rings to sell" (Itu , 2018).

"Many people living on the streets deal with their suffering through drugs and alcohol. There is no one on the streets that can say that they do not intoxicate themselves. When you are high, you do not feel cold, you do not feel dirty and you do not feel ashamed of sleeping on the streets" (2-Pac, 2018)

"I use a drug called "Ndunda" which has similar effects to that of heroin. This drug makes me feel ok and helps me to escape from the hardships of living on the streets. Otherwise I canr sleep at night because I can't stop thinking about everything in my life. This is a solution and a challenge and everybody on streets uses drugs." (Simon, 2018)

The above illustrates the homeless population cope with the difficulties presented to them through drug abuse. Coping with living conditions on the street - understood through the experiences of the sample population - requires various strategies. It is evident through the stories of the homeless, the unending state of being homeless adds to the trauma caused by events that resulted in them being without a home in the first place.

"We use drugs to forget our life on the streets. When you are under the influence you can smile and feel confident, without the drugs you feel helpless" (Itu , 2018)

Drug abuse is contributing towards the resilience of the homeless population. However, it is a negative and counter-productive kind of resilience. Private motor vehicle drivers also contribute to the resilience of the homeless by assisting them through money and food. It is apparent the homeless devise ways of navigating their way to resources, feelings of well-being, existing in a community and being part of a family. There is an element of solidarity and intricate social connections among the homeless, which contributes substantially to survival on the streets.

Often homelessness is coupled with negative connotations that perceive the homeless to be citizens that are unable to upkeep civil responsibilities and often on the wrong side of the law (Tipple and Speak, 2006). This is reflected in the quotes below

"The more fortunate residents treat us like animals sometimes" (2-Pac, 2018)

"There is no love and assistance for us. Yes, we have made bad decisions. But we need help" (2-Pac, 2018)

The homeless are often judged as being individuals that negatively

contribute to the functioning of cities. These judgements are passed without bothering to understand the circumstances that resulted in individuals turning to the streets to survive. Homeless people are perceived as those that do not possess that which is required to be part of society. A lack of citizenship amongst the street homeless is a key deterring factor that is preventing exit strategies. Almost all of the participants do not have identification documents, either as a result of not having the resources to acquire one or because the ID documents have been burnt or confiscated by the police.

"Eish, my friend, people don't see us as human beings and we are treated very unjustly. There is a man called Moses, he used to stay with us and he was an innocent beggar that was wrongfully and unjustly accused and taken to jail for a crime that he did not commit. The person that was robbed just took a chance and pointed her finger at Moses, now he is in jail for three years. We even gave evidence to the cops to say that it was not him but they don't take us seriously. And now he just found out that he has AIDS while he is in jail for no reason" (Mdu, 2018).

"The biggest challenge of living on the streets is a lack of justice. Sometimes other people commit crimes and then you get implicated for no reason" (Edward, 2018)

From the above remarks, it is apparent the homeless, in certain instances, are viewed as underserving of being treated and dealt with in a just and equitable manner. It is almost as if the homeless are viewed as individuals always on the wrong side of the law. A lack of citizenship makes individuals vulnerable towards remaining on the streets, this is combined with not possessing Identification documents.

5.5 Police Brutality, Control of Public Areas and Homeless Shelters

Due to a lack of a fixed residence, the homeless turn to public areas as a means of fulfilling their basic human needs. From the interviews, it is apparent the use of public spaces is imperative to survival. Public areas are becoming less accessible to the homeless and is reflected in the acute punitive measures adopted by the metro police against the them. It is obvious attempts at addressing the issue of homelessness is less social and more penal (Wacquant, 1999). This trait, "…seems to be emerging almost everywhere, the link between insecurity, the reduction in welfare policy and the criminalization of poverty" (Wacquant, 2001: 409). Inevitably, these measures and controls have severe consequences on the lives of the homeless because of their acute reliance on public space for conducting day to day activities (Doherty et al, 2008:)

However, in the context of areas around the University of the Witwatersrand, cognisance needs to be taken of the homeless population being heterogeneous and there are negative characteristics that persist in certain individuals that inhabit public places. However, perceiving the street homeless population to be homogeneous is feeding the one dimensional and penal approach to addressing the problem. It has been ascertained by the sample population that the causes to street homelessness vary and as a result, each individual applies different strategies to survive.

"Everyone on the street is different. We came here for different reasons and we survive differently. Some people have to rob to survive" (Simon, 2018).

"Everybody living on the streets is here for different reasons and we need different kinds of help" (2-Pac, 2018).

"We are different sometimes we end up fighting with other people that live on the street. This also makes the streets a dangerous place. Some guys 'own' particular robots. However, sometimes we have to go to that robot because we never make enough money, then we end up fighting" (Itu, 2018).

The above quotes illustrate those responsible for addressing homelessness would be wrong in viewing the homeless population in a homogenous light. There is, however, a level of organization amongst the homeless. The most visible and harsh manifestation of negative perceptions about the homeless is found in the manner of engagements with the metro police in the City of Johannesburg. Based on the experiences of the sample population, the Metro Police are brutal and unjust rather than advisory and helpful. Although the police have to deal with the negative elements that exist within the homelessness network, like drugs and incidences of crime.

"Theft, aggression and drunken violence happens too often, which makes it difficult to live peacefully. We have to hide our belongings because we are always worried to people stealing it. The people that sell goods on 7th street in Melville always come and fight with us when they are drunk. These guys are llinked to a group of people that partake in smash and grab missions against private motorists. So they say we come in their way when they want to rob people. Myself and my friends do not doillegal activities. Therefore, the intersection is a safer place with us around. The metro police still treat us like animals. They wake us up by beating us and throwing cold water on us, after that we are forcefully transported to distant locations. They drop us in Germiston a lot of the times" (Simon, 2018)

The above points to the need for the metro police to be involved in preventing crime on the streets. However, they do not make an effort to distinguish the good from the bad. As a result, they become oblivious to the positive contributions made by the homeless population to the safety and cleanliness around the University of the Witwatersrand. The quotes below are used to provide evidence of the above observation. The police are brutal and unjust in their approach.

"We experience high levels of brutality from the metro police. They confiscate our blankets and usually raid us when we are sleeping, especially in winter. That's why we always try to sleep where the cops cannot see us. We tell the metro's that we have been on the streets for a long time and we are struggling. Sometimes the metro's steal our nice clothes and the goods that we try to sell so that we don't have to beg. The metros are linked to the drug dealers and they make money out of it. We even see the cops escorting the drug dealers sometimes" (IMdu, 2018)

"I help the metro police to catch those that smash and grab at the robots. The metro police do not even acknowledge and appreciate the assistance. They do not offer me any sort of protection. Because when I assist the metro police to catch the thieves my life becomes in danger. The cops don't care" (Edward, 2018)

"The police wake us up in a very vulgar way and swear at us away. The homeless obey orders and don't know where to go. The metro police are not worried about catching real thieves but they treat us as if though we do not exist. Many people treat the homeless as if though they do not exist" (Edward, 2018)

The above quote highlights some of the metro police officers are committing crimes themselves. Due to a lack of citizenship the homeless

are belittled and treated in a derogatory manner. As a result, the metro officers deem it fit to trample on the human rights of the homeless by treating them as if they are not credible members of society. The winter months present the homeless with harsh conditions; it is very concerning that the metro police confiscate blankets during this time of the year. Even more concerning, is the metro police allegedly assist drug dealers. The act of police brutality, unjust practices and the confiscating of blankets may be creating crime among the homeless.

"Sometimes people intentionally commit crimes just so that they can go to prison. If you are a gang leader in prison you will have money and food all the time. But on the street you have nothing. The homeless usually do this during the winter because it is very cold" (2-Pac, 2018)

The above represents acute levels of destitution. Some individuals amongst this sector of the population, out of a need to survive resort to committing crime to acquire warmth, food and shelter during the winter. This is unfortunate, and points to the need for devising more holistic and sustainable interventions. The quote below supports this view;

"Once upon a time I was a real gangster and was involved in violent crimes. I spent 11 years in prison. Living conditions in prison are better than the street and my life story will make a good movie. I have four gunshot wounds and 1 bullet is still stuck in my body. I am currently using a colostomy bag because I cannot relieve myself naturally. I use pipes to relieve himself and I am in constant pain" (2-Pac, 2018)

The presence and activities of the homeless is seen as constituting a danger and disruption to the proper functioning society (the city). The reduction of areas for the homeless to survive, even though the designing and implementing of specialised nodes in the city, are representative of the states' failure in making responsible efforts to transform the landscape and turn Johannesburg into an inclusive city. The shortage of effective and contextually designed homeless shelters in the city provides face-value evidence of a reduction of welfare and a lack of social entrepreneurship.

Homeless shelters are places with the potential to holistically deal with assisting the homeless to become sheltered, healthy and productive members of society. Homeless shelters are largely provided under the mandate of the Displaced Persons Unit (DPU) - Assistance and Management of people living and working on the streets. The goal of this policy is to reduce the number of people that live and work on the streets. The policy states through the assistance and management of people living and working on the streets, every individual should be given the opportunity to develop their full potential.

From the respondents, it is apparent homeless shelters are not serving as a platform for them to exit the streets. However, as a result of the abuse of drugs, the homeless, do not even use the meagre resources available to them. Regardless, the interventions aimed at assisting the homeless are having a low impact on addressing the problem. Below are quotes that represent how homeless shelters in the City of Johannesburg are falling short;

"I sometimes use the shelter that is located on 3 Kotze Street to bath every morning; however, I also use the the tap located under the bridge to bath. I do not sleep in the shelter due to some of the rules and regulations and because there is a fee to pay if I want to sleep there. This fee is often unaffordable, because the homeless we have to use the little money we have to buy food. The homeless shelter closes its doors at 6:30 pm; this is not practical as many of the homeless often stop begging, collecting rubbish and selling goods at 8: 00 pm" (Simon, 2018)

"We do not use the shower facilities at 3 Kotze Street because by the time we get our fix of drugs the shower facilities are closed. We do not facilities at the shelters due to strict rules and regulations. The facilities are not very good. Also, if you are over a certain age you need to pay to use the facilities. The shelter closes at 19: 00 pm. Many we donot make enough money by then and have to continue begging past that time" (Mdu, 2018)

"When I moved to Jhb I stayed at the Twilight Homeless Shelter in Hillbrow. However, I did not stay there for a long time due to it becoming unfeasible. The shelter goes out to the streets and takes people under the age of 18 to rehab and then to school. However, these kids end up back on the streets, because they cannot be assisted further. Sometimes the shelter even goes into the township to assist kids that are being abused; however, they drop them back to the same homes once they are done with the interventions. I grew up in a homeless shelter and it is a poor quality of life. The shelters steal some of the money supposed to be used to assist in developing a good facility" (2-Pac, 2018)

Bases on the perceptions of the interviewees, it is apparent the DPU is not granting opportunities to the homeless to develop to their full potential. This implies the policy is not harnessed towards the culture and practice of urban solidarity in implementing the vision and mission of the policy. This is most vividly apparent in the disconnection between the metro police and the homeless shelters. Instead of being abusive and dropping homeless individuals off in distant locations, the metro police should assist in finding adequate shelters and put them there. There is no collective networking between the responsibilities of various stakeholders involved with people living and working on the streets. The lack of political will is resulting in an approach that is regressive rather than progressive and innovative.

The DPU policy illustrates that opportunities are available. Howeve, none of the research participants were presented with the opportunity to be part of drug rehabilitation programmes, social assistance programmes and have never engaged with the Job Pathways Programme

5.6 How the homeless feel that they can be assisted

Assistance through the provision of drug rehabilitation and job opportunities are most important and immediate interventions are required, as reflected by the homeless. Together with this, it is apparent psychological help is required. Individuals are so entrenched in their life on the streets they find it hard to view themselves in any other way. With regards to curbing the presence and availability of drugs on the streets, law enforcement authorities need to do their jobs and play a more progressive role. It is evident that drug rehabilitation and employment opportunities needs to be developed in with sustainability in mind. This is due to the vulnerable state the homeless are in. Below are quotes that provide evidence for the above observations.

"I still have hope and I feel that completing Matric would assist me a great deal in exiting the living on the streets" (Simon, 2018)
"With regards to exiting the cycle of homelessness, we still have hope and feel it is possible. We need to want to change from your heart.

To exit the streets, you first need to leave the drugs and you need to stop feeling helpless. Rehabilitation and some shelter followed by employment opportunities will be a good way to assist the homeless" (Itu , 2018).

"For me, a departure point for getting assistance is drug rehabilitation. I wish that I can get this opportunity because it is very costly. I grew up abusing drugs. There is not a drug on the streets that I did not try. With nyaope you can stay away from it for 10 years but then you can relapse in an instant, if you are not rehabilitated in the correct way. I believe education and a decent shelter is key to programmes for the homeless" (2 Pac, 2018)

"All I want is the opportunity to restart my life through drug rehabilitation a, roof over my head and access to a skills development programme so that I can get a job. If this can happen I can get my family's trust again. I thin we need to get the guys together once a week so we can talk to each other and hear what the problems are so we can understand how people need to be assisted. The guys on the street have many talents. Even to begin with if there is a facility where people can go and keep themselves busy and learn about different skills they can develop, it will be a good start. Because when you are on the street doing nothing, that's when when you think and negative and end making the wrong decisons" (Thato, 2018).

"Drug rehabilitation is the first intervention that is needed. I am an intellectual and did not think I would get addicted to drugs However, assistance in setting up a small scale construction company will be of great assistance" (Edward, 2018)

The above section aimed at presenting the findings and analysis of the causes and consequences of homelessness around the University of the Witwatersrand. The section below outlines recommendations to address homelessness.



Kolabhai and Tayob, 2017



Arch Daily, 2017:WE architecture + Erik Juul's Urban Garden

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

This research has by no means done justice to understanding the entire homeless population in Johannesburg. Achieving this would require extensive qualitative and quantitative research. Instead, this research obtained insight from a very small sample size. Regardless, collecting data through enquiries into the experiences of the homeless has provided valuable insight into the causes and consequences of being homeless around the University of the Witwatersrand. This chapter will depart by summarising the findings which will invariably produce the recommendations and also provide some impetus for further research to be conducted on the topic.

6.1 Summary

A. CAUSES OF HOMELESSNESS

From the findings, it is apparent the homeless population is heterogeneous with varied pathways into their current state. However, the homeless are similar in a sense that they all come from backgrounds that reflects poverty, marginalisation and a lack of access to development platforms. Bernasconi and Puentes, (2006: 6), comment on this by stating, “Homelessness may be precipitated by a housing problem, but there are other factors that define it and substantiate it, such as the lack of income, insecurity, vulnerability, lack of choices and the inability to plan ahead”. All the research participants have experienced traumatic life events which contributed towards them becoming homeless and also form part of the consequences of being homeless. About 90% of the participants have lost both their parents, or one of their parents. Other traumatic events such as being part of crime syndicates, taking drugs from a young age and not knowing where the next meal will come from all lead to homelessness. Tipple and Speak (2014) in their suggestion that homelessness transpires when central social relations have undergone sweeping alteration that makes it intolerable for traditional households to function adequately and sustain themselves. These events necessitated the homeless to start fending for themselves

and becoming breadwinners, and unfortunately as reflected in the findings, there are no job opportunities in the places they originally come from, and this forced them out to search for ways to sustain themselves and their families. The extreme forms of poverty and the inability to find jobs in places of origin is a manifestation of the lack of economic development platforms in the less privileged parts of the city. Sadly, once the individuals gravitated towards urban cores - like the University of the Witwatersrand - they were unable to find sustainable jobs, affordable accommodation and platforms that assist in forging a dignified quality of life. This shows not enough resources are directed at assisting the poor. In developing countries, a large sector of the population is dependent on welfare safety nets and the lack thereof is contributing to homelessness. In the context of this research, these are key structural issues that need to be addressed.

B. PSYCHOSOCIAL EXPERIENCES OF HOMELESSNESS

A recurring topic in the findings is of drug abuse, the absence of dignified shelter, a lack of citizenship and justice, police brutality and negative city experiences. These findings relate closely to understanding the experiences of homelessness around the University of the Witwatersrand. Individuals part of the study first moved to the City of Johannesburg because they viewed the city as a place for potential empowerment and employment. However, the reality is the economy is unable to absorb all those that move into the city. The inability to find work and affordable accommodation results in individuals having to occupy public places in the city. As a result of the harsh conditions and the negative influences found on the street, the homeless turn to drugs. The sad reality is drug abuse is contributing towards the resilient nature of the homeless in a negative way. This makes it even harder for the homeless to find jobs and assist their families back home. According to the homeless, it is almost impossible to exit the state of homelessness while you are addicted to “nyaope”. This inevitably contributes to the unending state of helplessness, which in turn results in the disinclination of the homeless to use the meagre services that are available to them. The homeless have experienced traumatic life events and homelessness is intensifying these psycho-social difficulties. Drug abuse emerges as a key coping strategy to life on the streets and contributes substantially to the resilience found in this sector of the population. However, the social bonds that are created amongst the homeless illustrates a key survival strategy that is deployed. It is apparent that a sense of community is created in the way cliques are formed. These ‘families’ occupy the same areas at night and endure police brutality as a unit. Having a sense of family and unity assists the homeless to develop feelings of well-being and meaningful experiences in the city. Together with the drugs, this contributes to the resilience and resistance found in this sector of the population.

It is due to the lack of a fixed residences homeless turn to public areas as means of fulfilling basic needs (Tosi, 2007). From the findings, it is apparent that through the acts of police brutality and the denying of the homeless to get water from filling stations close by, homelessness is criminalized to a certain degree. Furthermore, based on the way the homeless are treated by private vehicle owners, it is apparent the homeless are viewed as an unattractive and undesirable sector of the population. The punitive perceptions and regulations of city authorities and more fortunate residents of the city affect and alter the psycho-social characteristics the homeless need to apply in order to survive. Simultaneously, these perceptions and values are resulting in regressive responses, to a large degree. The section below illustrates the role that development planners can play in addressing the persisting problem of homelessness.

6.2 Recommendations

Interventions designed to address street homelessness require focused attention and investment in a few areas that cover the causes and consequences of being homeless. A spread of programs is needed for the homeless. It becomes apparent that designing for inclusive cities, job creation, drug rehabilitation, better planned shelter programmes and changing perceptions of city officials and urban residents at large should be key focus areas. Attention needs to be given to effective development programmes targeted at locations in which the homeless originate from; also effective skills development, effective psychological and social assistance needs to be given in homeless shelters to enable the homeless to leave the streets. Addressing and eradicating homelessness is a long-term goal and interventions need to be rolled out accordingly.

Family re-unification is a desire for all of the research participants, and this can only be achieved once individuals are rehabilitated from drugs and assisted in securing jobs. The reason for this is because poverty is so acute in places of origin, the individuals are ashamed to go back home without providing any economic and financial support to family members that are experiencing poverty. From the findings, it is clear the homeless population leave their homes in marginalized settings in search of job opportunities in urban settings. This is a trend across the globe. The high influx of migrants coupled with the challenges of rapid urbanization is felt hardest by those with the least available resources. At a strategic level, South African towns and cities need to be designed to be more inclusive, spatially efficient and socially cohesive. Together with this, planning for transformation has the potential to alter perceptions of investors to address social concerns through profitable developments.

Addressing homelessness, in the above context, will require a three phased approach. The recommendations will first look at ways of addressing the causes of homeless. All the research participants come from rural, marginalized and underdeveloped settings that lack economic opportunities and as a result moved to urban nodes around the City of Johannesburg in search of jobs. Once they get to the urban nodes, they are presented with hostility in the job market and are unable to make inroads with regards to finding sustainable work opportunities. The above forms part of the first set of recommendations that will be proposed. These interventions revolve around addressing poverty through rural and community development and providing skills development programmes, job opportunities, educational opportunities and assistance with regards to setting up micro-enterprises. Should the migrants moving to Johannesburg be presented with these opportunities they may be better placed to generate an income for themselves and manage to support their families back home. However, individuals often find themselves stuck in a web of depravation by living and ‘hustling’ on the streets.

Unfortunately, a majority of those that are homeless use drugs and alcohol to cope with these harsh living conditions. The second and third phase of recommendations; revolves around the development of shelters that effectively cater for the immediate needs of the homeless through the design and function of the shelters. Added to the provision of sustainable shelters should be the provision of psychological assistance that deals with drug rehabilitation, providing mentorship and guidance through motivational and role model figures and re-instilling a sense of belonging, self-esteem and responsibility amongst the homeless.

A. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MARGINALIZED AREAS

The landscape of marginalized areas in South Africa is represented by a lack of access to adequate housing and amenities such as education, health, economic opportunities, financial institutions and developments that contribute to positive community development. All of which are important to a quality of life for individuals to prosper and achieve their full potential. Many marginalized areas in South Africa do not have access to government opportunities and are subject to amongst the poorest levels of service delivery. As a result, inhabitants these areas are unable to sustain even a minimum standard of living. The needs of marginalized communities vary, for example, "The small farmer may need support in getting access to credit while the landless will not benefit from such a scheme. He needs, perhaps employment. Similarly, the tenant may need tenancy rather than employment opportunity" (Khan, 1994: 9).

Poor people do not have access to improved technologies and do not have resources to invest in infrastructure and machinery. In many cases they do not have access to credit (Khan, 1994). The reduction in welfare policies further contributes to this problem. Urban Industrialisation shifts resources from the rural to the urban. Underdeveloped financial structures perpetuate poverty in rural and marginalized areas. As a result, the people that have the potential to save are unable to harness their sayings towards productive uses and those that need finance for initiatives cannot access it due to the nonexistence of financial sources in these areas. These deficiencies require a comprehensive programme to address poverty.

The productive ability of marginalized communities has to be guided through policies that are aligned to market related incentives and social infrastructure (Khan, 1994). To lay the foundation for the above, rural and marganilzed communities need to be provided with, "roads, educational institutions, health care centres, drinking water, sanitation, sewerage and a fair marketing system" (Khan, 1994: 11). Rural finance must improve the lives of the poor, hence financial institutions have to be located in the heart of these communities.

- Mobilise savings of the poor.
- Train inhabitants of rural settlements on how to deal with. financial institutions and provide insight on available services
- Finance income-generating and job-creating initiatives.
- Direct savings of prosperous individuals that have left the rural setting but would like to invest in uplifting places of origin.
- Finance should be provided to develop infrastructure.

(Khan, 1994)

A key obstacle in achieving development through finance is the interest that must be paid on loans as it adds substantial amounts to the cost of production. Interest rates limit investment opportunities due to the inverse relation between investments and the rate of interest (Khan, 1994). Islamic finance presents an opportunity to provide loans without interest and can foster healthier financial institutions in the following ways;

- Interest on loans should be dispensed with
- Financial institutions must function in an open market and competitive landscape
- Return on capital should be determined by the yield of the capital in the real segment
- Finance must be easily accessible for the needs of rural

B. MOBILISATION OF SAVINGS WITH THE RATIONALE OF INVESTING

Islamic banks should enter the sphere of investing savings of rural and marginalized communities by assisting in the formation and regulation

of saving societies. These funds should be invested with the banks on profit-loss-sharing basis (Khan, 1994). Investment Trusts should be set up to promote and advise the rural population to invest in agricultural and rural enterprises and industries.

There is an essential need to market and assist small scale enterprises in both urban and rural settings for the poor. However, it is worth pointing out that a lot of raw material produce occurs in marginalized areas and then is sent to the urban areas to be turned into a final product. With regards to generating employment opportunities, there should be initiatives that encourage the location of manufacturing businesses in these areas. The local community should invest their savings in these industries on a profit-loss-sharing basis. The savers/investors would be able to generate a return on investments and simultaneously invest in their own areas, generate employment opportunities and foster economic growth.

A pressing need in marginalized communities is to generate jobs for people that are landless and do not possess assets. Their key asset is labour. Establishing industries that process raw materials is imperative in bridging the economic gap. However, there is a lack of resources, infrastructure and access to technology in marginalized areas. Should finance be available, these issues can be tackled. It cannot be left to the government alone to stimulate inclusive rural economies. Islamic institutions are well placed to generate jobs for the poor communities. A proposal developed by Muhammad Akram Khan, listed in his book titled Rural Development through Islamic banks, is well placed to address the lack of job opportunities in rural areas. Within the realm of Islam, it is mandatory to give charity for those that can afford to and it is these funds that can assist in investing in rural communities. Islamic banks should set up Zakah Investment trusts for this purpose. The key elements of this scheme are outlined below (**Zakah- obligatory charity that muslims have to give)**

It is envisioned that the private sector should be encouraged through attractive fiscal and commercial incentives to set up businesses in marginalized areas. They should provide capital that ranges between 10% and 50% of the business operation. The Islamic Banks can co-finance on behalf of the inhabitants of the marginalized area that choose to invest their savings in a business. This would invariably bring business skills, management skills and technology into the rural areas (Khan, 1994). The mode of investment could be the purchase of equity in an enterprise. **The balance of the capital needed to fund the enterprise can come from Zakah Investment Trusts. These trusts give money to those in need, and in this case will invest the money for them in the enterprise. This will give the poor a share in an enterprise and also include them in the management and running of the enterprise.**

Essentially, the above model envisions the creation of job opportunities for the most destitute sectors of the population and for those that are landless but possess the ability to work. Interventions of this nature will address some of the fundamental causes of homelessness through job creation. All the research participants come from rural areas that are poor and areas that lack opportunities to generate sustainable incomes. Should inhabitants of these areas be presented with job opportunities, there will be no need for them to migrate to urban areas, and in many instances, become part of the homeless. However, migration to urban areas is inevitable, as is reflected in global trends. This is largely due to the variety of opportunities available in urban settings and it is often thought acquiring a job and adequate shelter is more readily available in urban settings.

Stimulating The Economy In Marginalised Communities

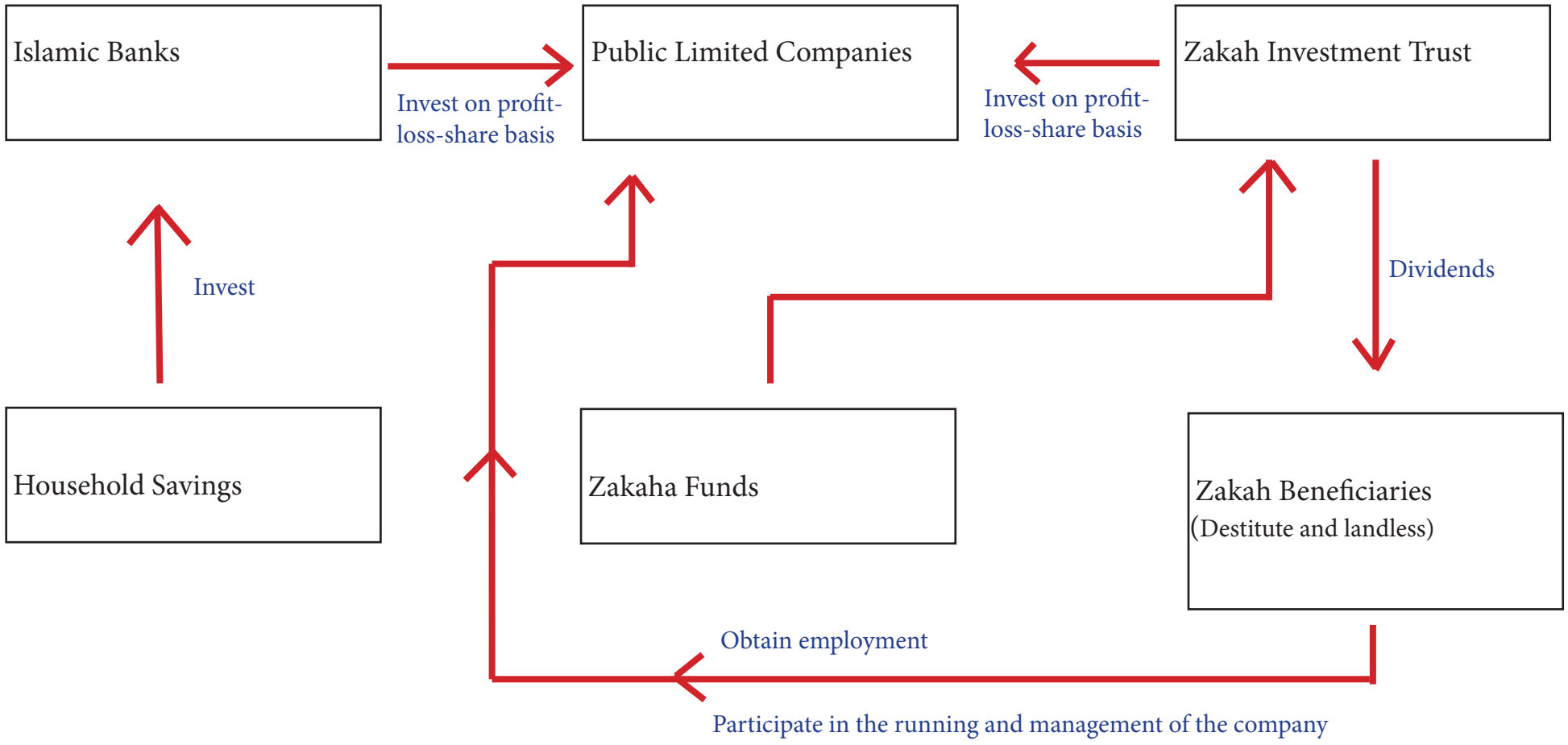


Figure 6: An illustration of the relationships that are needed to stimulate the economy in marginalized areas.

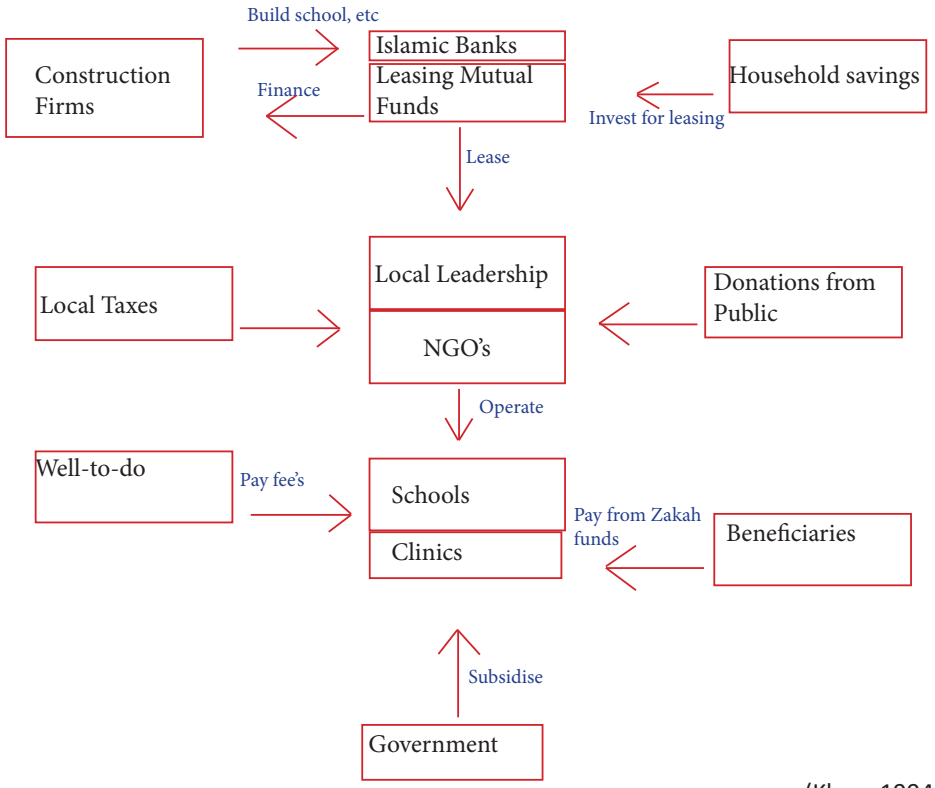
C. FINANCING OF INFRASTRUCTURE

To create a landscape that attracts private sector investment, bulk infrastructure needs to be financed and developed in rural and marginalized areas. Investments in roads, electricity, education, sewage and health facilities are needed to create a better quality of life. Not enough government funding or attention is given to strategically and efficiently developing economies in poor communities. Together with this, the poor find it difficult to pay for the services offered to them like water and electricity (Khan, 1994). However, even within these areas of poverty, there is scope for Islamic Banks to provide the necessary impetus for infrastructure. Education lies at the heart of providing a better quality of life for the poor because it increases the earning capacity of individuals. This should be a start in delivering social infrastructure. The primary financer of educational facilities should be the government; however Islamic banks can play a robust role in making social infrastructure projects happen (Khan, 1994).

Islam Banks in collaboration with construction companies should build schools with equipment and facilities and lease the schools out to either NGO's, the private sector or the local community leadership structures. The organisations should run the educational facilities on a dual basis (Khan, 1994). For beneficiaries that are entitled to receive zakah (charity), their fee's will be paid for through zakah funds. The rest of the students will pay school fees. Together, these funds should be enough to pay the Islamic bank for the lease. However, should the funds not be enough, the government should provide subsidies. NGO's are in a space where the collection of charity can be used to fund the leases. This proposal differs from others, because Islamic banks are mandated to provide interest free finance with regards to the construction of a good quality school (Khan, 1994).

Islamic banks would provide the funding for the developments through Leasing Mutual Funds which they manage on behalf of the people that have saved and invested with the bank. Should the investors which to earn a return on their surplus funds, they could place the funds in a variety of mutual funds (Khan, 1994). In the future, the private sector, local community leadership and NGO's will have the option to buy the facility from the bank. The graphic below illustrates the involvement of the various stakeholders.

Finance model for Social Infrastructure



(Khan, 1994)

The above recommendations can be adapted and developed in poor urban areas in need of social infrastructure and job creation. The finance model is borderless.

Figure 7: An illustration of the relationships need to finance infrastructure.

D. SKILLS DEVELOPMENT IN MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES

An important recommendation in the context of rural development is skills development. Islamic Banks should forge partnerships with NGO's in this regard. With the introduction of various industries and facilities through Islamic finance, the participants in these developments will need to be trained accordingly to ensure sustainability. NGO's that provide services in rural areas should spearhead skills development programmes guided by the needs of the industries and the needs of the community at large. Interest-free loans can be obtained from Islamic banks together with cash donations and scholarships. This act of social entrepreneurship will through the up-skilling of the rural population, will inevitably be a value add to projects the bank has invested in.

E. CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS WITH VERY LOW OR NO RESOURCES

It is apparent the homeless population acutely lack access to programs that will give them a better quality of life. After moving to urban areas, their priority becomes more about survival than productivity and prosperity that would be generated through sustainable jobs. To recommend ways of creating jobs for migrants into the city, with low levels of education and low financial resources, creating a more inclusive city through transformation plays a big role. If people can find jobs and affordable accommodation in the city, they are less likely to become part of the cycle of drugs and homelessness. The need to transform Johannesburg is a necessity in effectively addressing homelessness. The process of urbanization and the attached benefits and advancements have not been equitability distributed across cities. This unequal distribution of space has for a long time and continues to produce, a city unable to fulfil the optimum potential of all its residents and address the acute challenges coupled with urbanization.

Strategic spatial planning can harness economic growth and competitiveness in ways that enhance city form and function, for all spectrums of society. The quality of life in cities depends on areas that provide accessibility, inclusivity, productivity, profitability, liveability, and affordability. This would require mixed-use and mixed income land uses that are located in close proximity to transport nodes and in easily accessible areas of the city. Within these land parcels, space should be allocated for addressing the needs of the homeless. Creating pockets of space will be important in connecting the homeless and migrants with low resources, to development programs.

Land Use authorities will need to cater for a more affordable, mixed use and micro approaches to shaping the city. Allowing for parts of the city to be inhabited by small scale entrepreneurs and low-income people through innovative micro-architecture will go a long way to addressing homelessness. A multi-pronged approached is required, and designated areas in the city are needed to integrate all interventions that target the causes and consequences of homelessness. As was mentioned earlier, interventions need to be interlinked to ensure sustainability. The section below aims at presenting a skeleton framework for the kind of responses that can be applied in tandem with the rationale of reducing and ultimately eradicating homelessness in the City of Johannesburg.

Offering day jobs to the jobless and landless is a key intervention in addressing homelessness. A culture of social entrepreneurship that is targeted at investing in this sector of the population needs to be adopted. This approach should replace the punitive approach that is currently implemented in the city of Johannesburg. Simple day jobs need to be offered to the homeless. The City of Johannesburg should be the driver of these simple jobs, as there is a lot of ground work that is done by the municipality. Earmarked vehicles that are driven by compassionate and open-minded individuals should do daily rounds past all areas inhabited by homeless, and well-trained individuals should approach the homeless and ask them if they would be interested in doing day jobs. Together with offering day jobs, the homeless should be presented with the opportunity to connect with all social, housing and welfare services that are available for them. Amongst the homeless, urban recycling is a key survival strategy, so the city of Johannesburg could link up with the homeless in this avenue. This may assist in

preventing the homeless from begging at intersections and rather spend their days productively. Through these jobs a sense of self-worth, morale and belief in one's self to make money other than through begging may be instilled in the homeless.

Partnerships should be formed with NGO's and social entrepreneurs in developing this programme as they can complement this initiative through the provision of further job opportunities, psychological counselling and affordable accommodation. The way the NGO's build and maintain the actual infrastructure and design programmes to assist the homeless is important. Using the NGO's and social entrepreneur's facility should come at a price and the homeless themselves need to foot the bill for these services. Amongst the homeless, there are many that are skilled in the fields of carpentry, woodwork, boiler-making and painting. These skills put together can be used, with the guidance and mentorship of established and experienced professionals, to build self-sustaining and off the grid homeless shelters. An example of this can be taken from a project that was done in India, Mumbai. This case study presents an unorthodox and innovative approach to developing sustainable and affordable accommodation that can be inhabited by the homeless and those with low financial resources.

F. CHOTOTEL, MUMBAI (RHEA SILVA)

This is an existing project located just outside Mumbai in the centre of a vibrant industrial area called Nagothane. There are 50,000 unskilled labourers within a 20km radius, and they earn about 5 dollars a day (about R70), they do not appear on pay rolls and are not part of any government benefits (Silva, 2017). Most of the residents that will inhabit Chototel work in factories and industries in Nagothane.
This model bred from the desire to end homelessness and to provide dignified and affordable housing for the lower income sector of the population, while simultaneously presenting the world with a model that changes the way the world houses its people. Chototel is an example of how social entrepreneurship and market solutions have the potential to address social issues (Silva, 2017). This development is centred around an off the grid housing model that is designed to offer co-living spaces with the rationale of increasing communication and interaction between the various tenants. A micro and compact approach to design was adopted for the efficient use of space. A closed loop utility system is developed to ensure a completely off-grid solution (Rhea Siva). Accommodation is provided at $2, equates to about R28, per night for 280 square metres. The rooms are fully equipped with kitchenette, study and bathroom and can be shared between 4 people. There is an on-site crèche, community kitchen and garden space that allows residents to plant and harvest for sustenance and income generation. Hypothetically, people could be paying R7 a night for hygienic and dignified accommodation. This is a private development in its entirety. The lack of access to affordable accommodation is a cause of homelessness and this model will assist in addressing this cause. The income generated from rentals will be used to re-pay investors in dividends and the income that is generated from utilities e.g. sales of electricity generated through solar panels will be used for the up-keep and maintenance of the facility (Silva, 2017).

Technology plays a big role in the way this model is developed and results in a cheaper and greener development. This model is expected to take just 100 days to construct. The accommodation is partly run by micro-robots and is unmanned, as a result there is minimal manual labour required, apart from the gardening and harvesting of food. This is where the homeless and low-income earners are offered a platform to getting a job. A day centre is provided as well. An outstanding feature of this model is it allows guests to pay for utility services on a consumption basis, this prevents wastage and reduces utility costs (Silva, 2017).

The homeless have the worst and most degrading experience of being in the city and something needs to be done to assist in changing this. Housing developments like the one mentioned will instil a sense of dignity and pride. It is imperative that the the homeless population are thought of when transforming city areas through developmentsthat are be inclusive, affordable and economically sustainable. Market solutions directed at addressing homelessness have the potential to foster win-win situations.

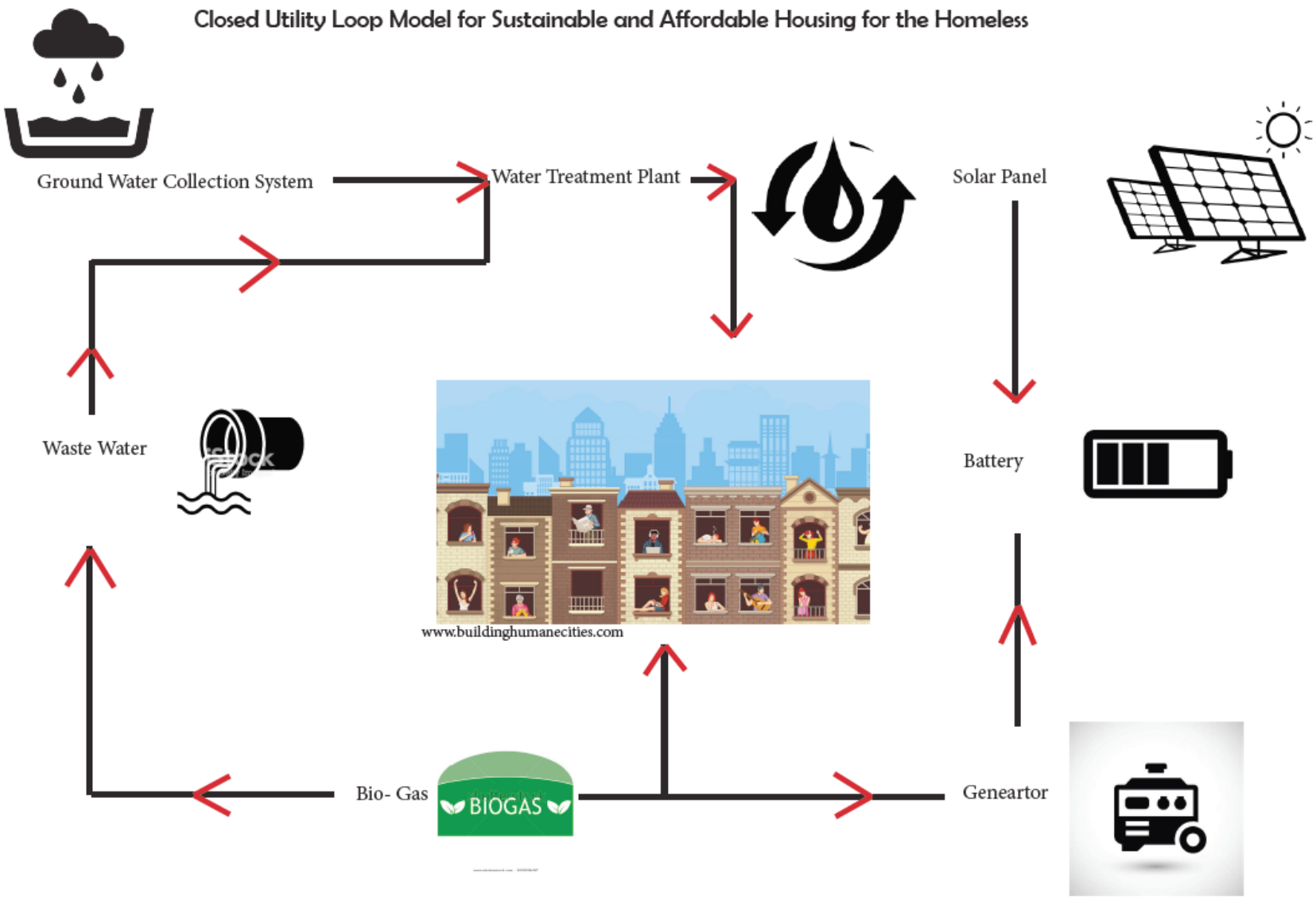


Figure 8: A graphic representation of the closed utility loop that presents a completely off-grid solution



Figure 9: Rendered images of Chotel as it is planned for implementation in Mumbai, India (Silva, 2017)

G. DRUG REHABILITATION, SHELTER AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

In the City of Johannesburg, there is a need for facilities that provide holistic and sustainable drug rehabilitation programmes, shelter provision and skills development programmes. All of these programmes should be underpinned by the rationale of reducing homelessness and promoting economic development in the city. The homeless should pay for the services through the income they could generate through the application of knowledge gained from the skills development programmes. From the findings, it is apparent the homeless are skilled in small scale trading and work that involves construction and craftsmanship and agriculture, therefore opportunities should be presented along these lines. Based on the perceptions of the interviewees, the Displaced Persons Unit is failing to intervene along the above mentioned lines.

All interventions targeted at assisting the homeless should exist in shelter and housing developments like the one mentioned above. Once the homeless have opened up and have established enough trust with service providers to stay in the shelter accommodation, the various programmes then begin. A phased approach should be adopted, that begins with addressing the basic needs of the homeless like providing food, clothing and all attributes that make an individual feel they are part of a home. This should lay the foundation for drug rehabilitation and psychological counselling sessions. The programme should be concluded with a skills development programme that lasts for at least two years. The skills development programme should nurture the individuals personal, occupational and life skills in a way that leaves no room for relapsing. The programmes should be related to skills required in the market and skills that will assist in setting enterprises in places of origin. The end goal is for homeless individuals to be employed well enough to house themselves and support family members in need of monetary assistance.

The skills development programmes should serve as the nucleus for exit strategies (from life on the streets). These models should turn into scalable interventions and business models that can be applied nationwide in varied contexts. The former homeless individuals should be trained to become specialists in constructing closed utility loop housing models that are cheap, green and quick to construct. Coupled to this, they should be trained to do carpentry, boiler making and to grow agricultural products and services. Together with this, individuals can grow into becoming designers, managers and facilitators of programmes that aim at assisting the homeless. Assisting the homeless to obtain these vocational skills will reflect substantial strides made towards addressing the problem of homelessness as these individuals will become role models and beacons of hope for those to exit the trap of homelessness. The above intervention aims to fills the gaps in the current approach to addressing street homelessness in Johannesburg. By adopting a market related approach, more stakeholders will come to the table.

Below are examples of how a culture of skills development can be fostered among the homeless that become part of the programme. This may provide some insight into the kinds of partnerships, skills and methodology that can be employed in the vision of eradicating homelessness.

A SKILLS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME CONDUCTED BY THE BIG CITY URBANISTS IN PARTNERSHIP WITH JOHANNESBURG CITY PARKS AND THE JOBURG ZOO

Unique Outdoor Furniture Design

In the context of Johannesburg there are many people who do not know what to do with their future and come from poor backgrounds in which there are a lack of role models with skilled jobs. The Big City Urbanist Team recently conducted a skills development programme in the field of designing and manufacturing unique outdoor furniture that was placed at The Joburg Zoo. This programme was piloted in collaboration with Johannesburg City Parks and the Johannesburg Zoo.

The aim of the project was to maximise the potential of poor and marginalised individuals through skills development. Through the skills development programme the Big City Urbanist Team contributed towards the improvement of sector skills. In doing so, the team hoped to have ensured that new entrants into the labour market were adequately trained. The underlying desire to drive a project of this nature was to support inclusive growth and development and to contribute towards addressing the challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality
In relation to the above, the skills development programme has equipped individuals with the ability to design unique furniture, bring plans into fruition and sell these products in the market. Together with this, key elements of wood and steel work were conducted in a practical manner. The outdoor furniture programme developed physical dexterity, good hand-eye co-ordination, physical strength and stamina. The unique furniture design programme assisted individuals in developing positive social, entrepreneurship and decision-making skills. The ultimate vision was to change lives through skills development. In doing so, individuals should have the ability to set up their own furniture enterprises. Individuals were equipped with the relevant skills - hard labour, academic and business - to transfer their knowledge base to individuals who were once in their shoes.

Methodology employed

Five skilled mentors were responsible for conducting the skills development programme from start to finish. The programme lasted for a month in total. The first two weeks focused on theoretical knowledge, while the second two weeks focused on hands-on practical application. The team boasts a blend of skills that include entrepreneurship, artisan skills (carpentry and steel work), business management skills, quality control, hands on practical understanding and urban planning and architectural knowledge.

The mentors were responsible for training and developing 10 unskilled individuals. These individuals were handpicked from poor and marginalised neighbourhoods. A prerequisite was for them to illustrate a passion and desire to want to learn, grow and become economically independent. The products produced through the programme can be viewed at the Johannesburg Zoo. Through this programme the Joburg Zoo was enhanced in terms of aesthetics, comfortability and sustainability.

The above mentioned reflects a kind of approach that can be adopted by the homeless shelters with regards to skills development programmes. The researcher is a managing director of Big City Urbanist and served as one of the mentors in the skills development programme.



Figure 10: Images that reflect the process of conducting the the skills development programme (Kolabhai and Tayob, 2017)

6.3 Concluding remarks and scope for further research

Homelessness in the City of Johannesburg is pervasive for a variety of reasons. Constituted by destitution and the absence of all qualities that define a home, the homeless are struggling to escape negative psychosocial and spatial experiences in the city. It has become apparent that the causes and experiences of homelessness are shaped by and interspersed between individualistic and structuralist incidences. This alludes to the opinion that interventions need to address the individual and the structural space in which money is spent and services are delivered.

All the above recommendations could be valuable because they represent a shift away from how the problem is currently being addressed. Firstly, providing platforms for financial development in the places of origin- breeding ground for homelessness - may assist in reducing the amount of people that become homeless in urban centres. There are services and shelters available for the homeless, however the interventions seem to be unpacked in a disjointed way which may be contributing to inaccessibility and disinclination from the side of the homeless. The issue of police brutality can be replaced by initiatives taken by the city to pick up the homeless and request that they do day jobs. This will assist them to pay for services that they can receive from shelter accomodations. Providing shelter, drug rehabilitation, psycho-social counselling and contextualised skills development under one roof in well-located spaces appears to be an innovative step towards addressing homelessness. In the same breath the infrastructure model for these shelters should revolve around low-cost prefrabricated structures that are of the grid. Designing a closed-utility loop system will result in a model that is self-sustaining and attractive to the market and social entrepreneurs. Hence, reducing the burden on government to address the problem.

The problem of homelessness in Johannesburg is vast. Encapsulating the entire homeless population would require extensive qualitative and quantitative research. Quantifying the amount of homeless, where they exist and what they experience, and where they originally come from could be done through the application of ArchGIS. This data can be be used to prioritise interventions and the locations thereof. The results generated from ArchGIS studies can be used for public awarenes and education ,operational improvements and policy discussions around all spectrums of society.

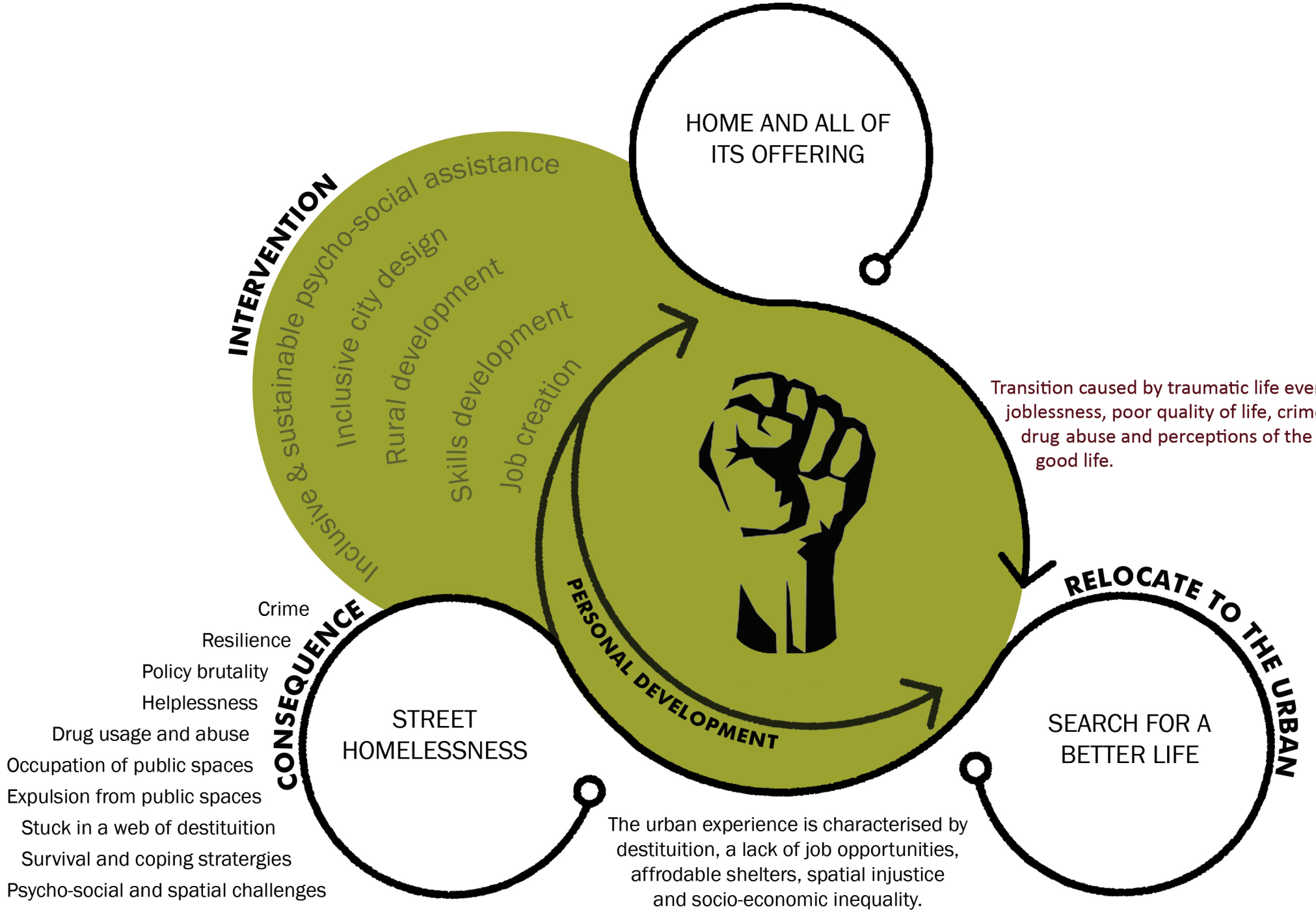


Figure 11:Graphic Summary

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FIGURES

Figure 1: Concetual Framework

Figure 2: Map of South Africa
https://www.southafrica.to/provinces/provinces.php
Accsessed: 14 September 2018

Figure 3: Map of Gauteng
https://www.mapstudio.co.za/product/gauteng-provincial-wall-map-2/: Accessed 14 September 2018

Figure 4: Map Illustrating Corridors of Freedom
http://metroplan.net/project/city-of-joburg-corridors-of-freedom- Accsessed: 14 September 2018

Figure 5: Map illustrating site of research

Figure 6: Stimulating economies in marginalized areas- Khan, M. A., 1994. Rural development through Islamic banks. The Islamic Foundation, Nairobi.

Figure 7: Finance model for social Infrastructure
Khan, M. A., 1994. Rural development through Islamic banks. The Islamic Foundation, Nairobi.

Figure 8: Closed Utility loop system

Figure 9: Rendered images of Chototel
Silva, R., 2017 Innovative housing for the urban poor. TEDxGSMC, Mumbai, 13 July 2017.

Figure 10: Big City Urbanist Skills Development Programme
Kolobhai, M., & Tayob, M., 2017- skills development images

Figure 11: Summary of Rresearch Graphic

APPENDIXES

A. ETHICAL CLEARENCE

B. PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

C. CONSENT FORM

D. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

E. DECLERATION FORM

A.

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Tayob

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H18/10/30**
PROJECT TITLE	Examining the cause and experiences of street homelessness around the University of Witwatersrand: A psycho-social and spatial perspective
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr M Tayob
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Architecture and Planning/
DATE CONSIDERED	19 October 2018
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	04 February 2022

DATE 05 February 2019 **CHAIRPERSON** J. Knight
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor T Leuta

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

B.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

TITLE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE & PLANNING

Greetings

My name is **Muhammad Shabier Tayob** and I am currently a full time student studying towards a **Masters Degree in Development Planning** in the School of Architecture and Planning (SOAP) at the University of Witwatersrand. I am currently investigating the causes and experiences of street homelessness.

I am inviting you to be part of the study through an interactive interview process
The interview will take no longer than one hour of your time to be conducted and a time and place that is most suitable to you**.** During the course of the interview you will be asked questions regarding the causes and experiences of being street homeless.

The interview will be recorded using an audio recorder and hand written notes.

You have been selected to participate in this study due to your living conditions and circumstances…
Your participation is voluntary, you may refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. You will receive no payment or other incentives for your participation**.**

Your participation will be completely anonymous if that is your wish. This will be done by simply regarding you as a participant of the study and you will not be personally identified in the final report.

The results of the interview and your personal views **will not be linked to you in the final report.** *In the event that I use direct quotations from this interview, please note that your identity will not be revealed. Any comments that you make that you deem "**off the record**" or similar, will not be quoted. Further, any information that you share will be kept **confidential** and can only be accessed by me on a **password protected computer**. There are also no foreseeable risks associated with your participation.*

The research undertaken is **solely for academic purposes** and once completed will be available electronically and can be accessed publicly.

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at Tayob@bigcityurbanist.co.za or my supervisor at tsepang.leuta1@wits.ac.za

C.

FORMAL CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY ON STREET HOMELESSNESS

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE & PLANNING

I_____ hereby confirm that I have been informed by Muhammad Tayob of the purpose, procedures, and my rights as a participant. I have received, read and understand the written participant information sheet. I have also been informed that I will be answering questions that relate to the causes and experiences of being street homeless.

- □ I will be required to answer questions that relate to the causes and lived experiences of living on the street in the form of a written survey
- □ The Interview will be conducted at the University of the Witwatersrand
- □ I understand the reasons for why I was selected to participate in the study
- □ I understand that this interview is voluntary in nature, refusal to answer, and withdrawing from the study will not have any consequence on myself
- □ There no payment or incentives
- □ There are no loss of benefits or risks
- □ Anonymity will be guaranteed
- □ Confidentiality will be guaranteed
- □ I have been made aware of how the research findings will be disseminated

I therefore agree to participate in this study by completing the interview that will assist the researcher in understanding the causes and experiences of being street homeless.

Please circle your answer below

I AGREE OR DISAGREE to audio-recording during the interview process.

PARTICIPANT:

_____
Printed name

_____
Signature **Date**

D.

Interview Schedule

Examining the cause and experiences of street homelessness around the University of Witwatersrand: A psycho-social and spatial perspective

Muhammad Shabier Tayob

376510

1. What is your age?
2. Which are do you originally come from?
3. What is your highest level of education?

4. What does home mean to you?
5. What does street homeless to you?
6. Would you like to move back to your place of origin?
7. Do you regard the streets and public spaces to serve as a working place and a home for you?

8. How do you make a living on the street?
9. Do you have a system of sharing what you have earned?
10. What kind of relationship do you have with fellow the street homeless and how do you forge relationships?

11. Where do you work in the day?
12. Where do you sleep at night?
13. Do the police hassle you?
14. Do you have to sleep in spaces that are hidden from the public?

15. Can you please explain the main challenges of living on the street?
16. How do you cope with the conditions on the street
    Probe survival strategies and spatial movements
17. What are who helps you with the challenges of living on the street?
18. Do you think you are a strong person?
19. What kind of structures/resources do you rely on, on the street?
20. How do other people cope with the challenges of living on the street?

E.

Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa * Telephone (011) 717 – 7007 * Fax: (011) 717 7009 * Email: febe.pg@wits.ac.za

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED BY ALL HIGHER DEGREE STUDENTS

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY: APPENDIX ONE

I Muhammad Tayob (Student number: 376510) am a student registered for the degree of MsC DP in the academic year 2019.

I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this in not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature: _____ Date: 27/03/2019