The Right to the City and the Realities of Homelessness in Inner City Pretoria

Masters Dissertation

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the right to the city and implications of this right on the lives of street homeless people in the inner city of Pretoria. Street homeless people are people who have made their homes on the streets; those that sleep on pavements and in parks and do not have any form of shelter. The United Nations has identified four different types of homelessness and my focus for this study is on street homeless people. The study is based on research done over a period of five months in the inner city of Pretoria, South Africa. The crucial objective of this dissertation is to show that the topics of homelessness and the right to the city present anthropologists and other academics a different perspective from the inner city of Pretoria on the lives of homeless people. I raise the case that recognising homelessness in our urban centres fortifies our perception of this occurrence so that we are able to come up with strategies that will inform new policies; policies that will make for a better future of everyone residing in our cities.

This research project is beholden to, and employs studies of the right to the city, social justice, power, homelessness, and the city. My arguments are grounded in the social justice approach which consigns rights and duties in the establishments of society, which then empowers people to receive the basic benefits and toils of cooperation. The applicable bodies associated with social justice, right to the city and power are not only limited to social security, education, labour rights, health care but to a wider structure of progressive taxation regulation of markets and public services as well to ensure just circulation of wealth, no gross social injustice and equal opportunity.

I use ethnography to touch on narratives of social injustices in the city and to highlight the socio-spatial traits of the right to the city and how they affect how space is utilised. I point to the fact that the history of migration in South Africa where people left their countries, rural and small town homes and moved to the cities in search of opportunities helped in increasing the numbers of homeless people on the streets. Another factor contributing to the large numbers of homeless people on the streets is that in developing countries, cities are known and perceived to be the economic hubs and from them money and opportunities flow to the periphery so people are naturally drawn to where there is an opportunity to gain. In a city it is clear to see the intensity of inequalities present in major cities. There is a distinct difference between those that have and those that do not. This leads to many questions about rights and justice both economically and socially. Small sizes of the population have their basic rights acknowledged whilst others have to struggle to have their voice heard and their rights acknowledged in the same space. Like in many places around the world; Pretoria's industrial

and political history has made it mainly vulnerable to the subverting consequences of present economic reformation developments, but fresh prospects for the elite have caused the city's specific histories of race, class and space.

The following study aims to contribute to wider debates about the current policy that is in place concerning homeless people and the right to public spaces in the inner city of Pretoria, by examining the extent to which the needs of the most marginalized population sector in inner city Pretoria are addressed. While my dissertation captures daily lives of homeless persons, in some parts it also relates the activities they are involved in to social injustices that are common throughout the world.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1: <u>Problem Statement</u>

Homeless people live in spaces and positions not of their choosing. They are compelled to experience the city as a site of radical ambiguity, instability and insecurity. Mbembe and Nuttall (2008:23) note that the homeless person is more than the loafer we expect him or her to be and is the inconsistent urban figure of modernity, the one who is both beneath the city and outside of its orders of visibility. There are a lot of homeless people in inner city Pretoria living 'outside the orders of the city's visibility'. This is mainly due to population migration accompanied by global economic growth which has concentrated people in cities (Sassen, 2000).

Statistics South Africa (2011) confirmed that there were 6 244 people who are homeless living in the City of Tshwane (54% male, 46% female; 55% black, 39% white, 3.1% coloured, 2.1% Indian, 0.6% other). Granting that the official figures show a high percentage of women, this research also exposed the concealed characteristics of female homelessness. In terms of age groups, the predominant concentrations amongst people who are homeless are between 20 and 29 (33.4%) and, people who are over the age 65 constitute (21.4%) of this population (De Beer and Vally, 2015: 67). The fact that cities are often characterised by concentrations of inequality in terms of allocation and distribution of resources, employment opportunities, education, space and housing has exacerbated the incidence in its vicinities. Their troubles are also aggravated by the fact that they are unwanted; shunned and ignored, bullied in police raids whenever a "clean-up" is ordered (Olufemi, 2000: 227). In the face of a developing inner city Pretoria; it is invaluable to incorporate any form of development and statutes to respond to the needs and basic rights of all its inhabitants including the "invisible" homeless person. The right to the city is fundamental to all of us, therefore how do we ensure that those without resources or dwellings can also share in that which we take for granted? How do we ensure that these rights can be accessed by all inhabitants of the city regardless of whatever precarious situations they are in? The city of Tshwane has rules and regulations that aim to exclude certain users, mostly poor and homeless people from using some public amenities and access to services like the use of ablution facilities, the ability to vote, ability to participate in decisions that

affect the city. Most of the time strict policing measures are employed in order to regulate the type of behaviour as well as the people that frequent public spaces in the city.

1.1: <u>Homelessness in Anthropology</u>

Homelessness as a social problem is not a novel topic for social scientists. There is an extensive collection of studies that have been done on this subject (Milburn, et al., 1984). During the early 1900's, anthropological and sociological enquiry done as observational research began in North America and England (Anderson, 1923; Graham, 1927; Nascher, 1909). Research done throughout the Great Depression focused on the homeless as hobos, beggars and migrant labourers (Caplow, 1940; Sutherland and Locke, 1936; Outland, 1939). From the 1950's through to the early 1970's studies on homelessness focused primarily on homeless and chronically ill male alcoholics (Jackson and Connor, 1953; Levinson, 1963). The course of changing long-term psychiatric hospitals with fewer secluded community mental health services for mental patients during the late 1960's incited studies that studied the homeless as the habitually mentally disabled (Leach, 1979; Segal et al., 1977).

In other Anthropological studies in the United States, homelessness studies focused on smaller groups that are defined by status and people who spend their time in distinctive situations that nurture and prize expectations, standards, principles and guidelines for behaviour (Koegel, 1992: 1). Groups like Ghetto Street corner men that Liebow (1967) studied in Tally's Corner; inner city youth by Williams and Kornblum (1985) skid row alcoholics by Wiseman (1970) and mentally ill homeless people by Koegel (1992). Research on homelessness was also epidemiological in nature (see Weitzman et al. 1990; LaGory et al. 1990; First et al. 1990; Susser and Struening, 1990). From the 1980's to the present, homelessness in the United States has been described by anthropologists and sociologists in a variety of settings (Susser, 1996). Social Scientists like Sharff (1998) contend that the basic problem is the ever increasing disparity between the rich and the poor and the difficulty for the poor to find homes or a job which continues to contribute to homelessness. These studies also focus on why people become homeless and the lack of housing experienced by homeless people throughout the history of the United States.

In Anthropological studies of the city in the South African context, studies focused on public spaces and people that occupy them for informal economic activities, for social networking, on risk factors that led people to stay on the street, on lack of access to public amenities such as housing, and livelihoods and services (Cross et al. 2010; Cross and Seager, 2010). Other studies based in the city

of Pretoria concentrated on the global and national positioning of the city by looking at the changes that have taken place and the power structures and spaces that have shaped the Pretoria we know today (Mabin 2015). Webster (2014) looks at the construction of community in a Pretoria public park. He explores how the park residents negotiate street life and community through acts of sharing and illegal public gambling (Webster 2014). Studies on homelessness according to Du Toit (2010) who discusses the district government reactions to homelessness in South Africa, are separated into two groups: empirical and non-empirical. Most non-empirical studies stem from the USA and take a critical 'neo-Marxist' perspective (Du Toit, 2010: 113).They focus on the significance of taking into consideration the correlation between homelessness and urban spaces after regarding the metropolitan government responses (see earlier findings by Wright 1997; Lofland 1998; Mitchell 2001; Naidoo 2010). Empirical studies of homelessness concentrate mostly on the causes and socio-economic conditions of homelessness (see previous studies by: Cross and Seager 2010; Makiwane, Tamasane and Schneider 2010). This research intends to add on to the extensive discussions concerning the present policies that are in place concerning homeless people and the right to public spaces in the inner city of Pretoria by looking; at the lives of homeless people and how they live and the extent to which their needs from their perspectives in inner city Pretoria are addressed. It also investigates in what way an anthropological outlook is able to provide another viewpoint from which we can understand homelessness and the right to the city in the city of Pretoria. I hope that the study can sensitise the public and law makers in the inner city to the methods wherein serious social policy problems are able to gain from anthropological studies.

1.2: Study Objectives

The study is constructed on research conducted throughout a period of five months in inner city Pretoria. The research set out:

1. To investigate how the homeless currently access public spaces through formal and informal means with specific emphasis on inner city Pretoria locations and buildings.

2. To inspect the regulations and by laws of the city of Pretoria so as to establish the city's responses to the needs of invisible residents.

3. To investigate how homeless people live on a daily basis.

1.3: <u>Background and Context</u>

There are a number of studies that document the variation in the circulation of income among people and this points out to a trend, that has had a critical effect on many countries in the last two decades (Baudot, 2006: 1). By the 1980s, since after the Second World War there have been differences in the variation of income available to different people (Baudot, 2006: 1). There is a big difference in the allocation of prospects for salaried employment, as well as the decreasing employment opportunities of the world and this has a direct impact on a disparate number of people at the lower end of the spectrum of the socio-economic scale (Baudot, 2006: 1). The popular assertion according to Baudot (2006: 1) that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer" seems to be mostly grounded on these facts, when looking at the current global environment. A great amount of people are affected by poverty, attempts by Governments and international organisations to lessen the effects of or eliminate poverty have not yet begun to make a dent in making the world slightly less poverty stricken than it is (Baudot, 2006: 1). People living under the effects of poverty do not share with the others essential rights stated in the Charter and catalogued in the Universal Declaration (Baudot, 2006). As cited in the document hunger, discrimination, poor health, vulnerability, insecurity, and a lack of personal and professional development opportunities are in addition to other obstacles encountered by people living at the lower end of spectrum of the socio-economic scale on a daily basis (Baudot, 2006). All of this leads to the breaking down and destruction of homes; leaving people who once had a stable roof over their heads homeless; with nowhere else to go but the pavements of cities, bridges of urban areas, abandoned buildings and illegal inhabiting of land. Although poverty is not the only factor that contributes to homelessness, it is one of the major ones. Homelessness also comes with a whole lot of injustices that the people caught up in this phenomenon have to endure on a daily basis as mentioned above. Do they have the right to demand the help they ask for? Do they even have the right to inhabit the places that they end up in? If not, where do they belong?

1.3.1 <u>Beginnings of Homelessness in South Africa</u>

Homelessness occurs to many individuals and for different economic and social reasons. Any initial step in reviewing the topic of homelessness is consequently to a degree subjective. Looking at South Africa like many other countries has people who have made their homes on the streets. According to Morrow (2010: 54) 'South Africa has a history of state-sponsored homelessness' by this Morrow is referring to the eviction of people from their neighbourhoods by the government from overcrowded and unhygienic 'city-centre buildings or from land reserved for structures other than informal

dwellings. In addition to the principal socio-economic characteristics such as agricultural change and migration that can lead to homelessness, the South African government, keeping to its ruling on dividing people of colour and tribal groups through the Group Areas Act of 1950 and other statutes, relocated societies from their lived districts and all over the country into places allocated for different tribal groups called 'homelands' that seldom had provisions for the people who were relocated (Morrow, 2010: 54). Even though the moving of people to homelands did not create homelessness, it displaced populations that had set up shop in their previous dwellings and as a bonus, created other types of instability to communities that were already experiencing crisis caused by the relocation (Western, 1981; Platzky and Walker, 1985; Morrow, 2010: 54).

Again Morrow (2010:54) credits the narrative of homelessness to shifting agrarian patterns. He contends that when the then National Party in the 1970's began to lose its grip on the black population, it resulted in people of colour moving out of the homelands that they had been placed in to look for better opportunities elsewhere (Morrow, 2010: 55). They settled themselves in numbers in townships, often in situations of extreme poverty and lack (Morrow, 2010: 55). Some failed to obtain even the most basic levels of housing and security (Morrow, 2010: 55). Today these movement and migration trends have increased. There is nothing stopping people from leaving their homes and relocating to 'greener pastures'. This has resulted in the speedy development of a poor urban population; were a lot of people are dwelling in informal settlements and some are living on the streets which makes it harder for the authorities to deliver services such as the provision of water, electricity, the removal of waste and sewerage. (Morrow, 2010: 55).

1.3.2 The History of Displacement

Lemon a geographer who edited the book; *Homes Apart: Africa's Segregated Cities*, in a preparatory summary of his article; *The Apartheid City*, sketches four historical phases of urban segregation in South Africa (Gerhart, 1992: 439). The colonial phase, lasting through the period of World War I, saw the opening of various controls on African urban development and spatial distribution, the then standards involved comparatively few efforts to achieve firm racial separation. In the second phase, following the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act, more measures that were definite were applied to regulate urban influx, isolate Africans in self- financing townships, and appoint black collaborators into a system of administrative control (Gerhart, 1992: 439). The beginnings of the apartheid regime came with the Group Areas Act of 1950, although fashioning the completely racially standardised residential areas that the act authorised became a long process because a considerable amount of the

population had to be population relocated to achieve the intended grand scheme (Gerhart, 1992: 439). During the apartheid era; the group areas Act and the Pass System made it almost impossible for the inner city to be inhabited by the homeless. The difficulty in finding housing for black people did not end even though the pass system was abolished in 1986. At the end of apartheid; as rentals increased (Olufemi, 1998: 226), people who could not afford to pay rentals were increasingly pushed out of their formal settlement areas, into less formal and sometimes informal dwellings. The alternative to not staying in informal dwellings was constant relocation from one deserted building to a different one as people were afraid of running into the authorities who harassed them out of these buildings that they were occupying illegally (Olufemi, 1998: 226). For the disregarded minority, the limitations they had on finding liveable serviced shelter transformed into homelessness (Olufemi, 1998: 226). Not much has changed for many homeless people since the end of apartheid and the promises of equality amongst the inhabitants of South Africa (Olufemi, 1998: 226).

The city's history gives us a background on displacement, lack of access to spaces and the ever on-going rise of inequalities. Homelessness increased in the city after the independence in 1994. People that had originally been forcefully removed from the city, could now venture into it and fight for the same resources and economic opportunities as everybody else. Equal opportunities in the homesteads, townships, and rural areas were scarce since they were not developed well to accommodate everybody in them. The influx to the city posed a real problem since there were more people than the city was developing. This intensified the increase of squatter camps, people moving into abandoned buildings as well as sleeping on the street pavements in the city. With so many people left without proper homes, a working definition of what it meant to be homeless proved to be difficult because people that fell into homelessness were different depending on their needs. The definition that was first drafted encompassed all those who lived in shanty housing, abandoned buildings, on the streets and in shelters. Solutions to combat this phenomenon were lacking in their impact because they did not have a specific target that they would bring relief to. Policies that were drafted focused mainly on shanty inhabitants by providing housing and services in order to eradicate the phenomenon. They did not cater to all who were homeless. However, the United Nations Statistical Division grouped people who are homeless into two classifications of; primary and secondary homelessness. In the next section I will discuss further the different definitions of homelessness and their implications (www.ohchr.org).

1.3.3 Defining Homelessness

(a) Primary homelessness (or rooflessness). This classification comprises people living on the streets or without a shelter or living quarters (www.ohchr.org).

(b) Secondary homelessness may include people who do not really have a place to stay and are constantly on the move staying in a number of accommodations (including make-shift dwellings, shelters or other living quarters); these people sometimes stay in 'transitional' shelters or similar arrangements for the homeless for long periods of time (www.ohchr.org). This classification similarly consists of people living in private residences without a specific address jotted down on their census form (www.ohchr.org). With this working definition in place, academics and policy writers had a better grasp on what homeless persons needed in order to eradicate the phenomenon of homelessness. Most literature agrees with the UN definition as I will show below but a working definition differs from country to country.

Rogerson speaking about South Africa (1998: 15) stresses the necessity to distinguish the people who are street homeless from the community of the people who are urban poor and living in places and dwellings that are not authorised to be occupied. This profundity in distinguishing the type of homelessness includes the enquiry of what kind of people are included in the working definition of homelessness within and across the country. Statistics South Africa according to Naidoo (2010: 131) referenced the difficulty they found when they used the available working definition of homelessness during the 2001 Census. Naidoo (2010: 131) discovered that Statistics South Africa did not provide data from this specific census that represented the amount of street homeless individuals who lived on the streets with no shelter. The declaration to the lack of data is referred to by Tipple and Speak (2005: 350) as the explanation of an unclear and theoretically ever-changing boundary between being homeless and living on the streets and being homeless and living in shelters that are not seen as proper housing structures. This consequently presents problems when deciding on which policy interventions to use to combat the different kinds of homelessness. Explanations or lack of explanation between the definitions of homelessness trigger enquiries on policy responses in addressing street homelessness and other kinds of homelessness (Naidoo, 2010: 131).

Granting that the terms slum, squatter and homeless are regularly employed to describe the same thing, they have several social, cultural and economic characteristics that need distinguishing (Olufemi 1998: 226). At the same time these terms embody the disregarded people who are not wholly incorporated socially or economically into the national progress procedures (Olufemi1998:

226). This wide-ranging explanation of homelessness, taking on both the lack of and meagre lodgings, has been applied by researchers when studying homelessness in the South African context. Olufemi is one of the well-known researchers who used this definition when studying the inner-city survey of Johannesburg which interprets homelessness as, "those living in squatter/shack housing; along with those living on the streets or pavements (chronic or transient homeless)" (Olufemi, 1998: 227).Olufemi also mentions that certain social and economic factors intensifies the risk of homelessness, "factors like: poverty, non-affordability of rent, unemployment, family disintegration, physical abuse, lack of skills, partial education or none, and violence" (Olufemi, 2002: 460).

The country's history gives us a background on displacement; lack of access to spaces and the ever-on-going rise of inequalities. One of the major characteristics of homelessness in any city in South Africa has its roots in the apartheid policy of restricting certain populations; for example: people that were identified as non-whites in participating in formal skilled activities that were beneficial to the expanding of the economy of the Country as well as inhibiting the building of new housing on a large-scale in cities. (Olufemi, 1998: 225)

Aliber (2002: 12) likewise defines the homelessness as an 'unstructured category' among the poor, generally which encompasses all who are homeless including people dwelling in squatter camps. He states that the economic situation in South Africa is made of former farm workers and wage earners who do not have enough money to own houses or pay rent in the cities, and who cannot afford to commute between the city and their place of residence (Aliber, 2002: 12). Similar to Olufemi, Aliber mentioned the same social and economic factors that exacerbate homelessness. He further added that even though the people who live on the street possibly represent a separate category of homelessness, there is no clear line differentiating homeless individuals dwelling on the streets and those in informal settlements (Aliber, 2002: 12). Within the context of my study, the homeless in South Africa in my opinion are represented by those living on the streets or pavement, those rendered homeless by socio-cultural and economic factors; and those who are homeless by choice. The street homeless in Pretoria are those who do not have real homes; who sleep on pavements; who have no access to safe water or sanitation; and who usually lack self-determination, dignity, expression and voice. There has been a gradual encroachment of the inner-city by people who, because of the lack of affordable housing, overcrowding, social and racial tension, and economic factors, among others, have resorted to sleeping on the streets and in any available open space, thus constituting a threat to the substantial commercial and economic activities in the inner-city. They do not have access to a lot of things that they are supposed to have access to; for example: someone with a proper fixed address

in the city can open a bank account, apply for an Identification card1, send their kids to school or the most important of all: being able to vote and having a say in how they want their city and country to be. They are in the city because the city does not have any physical barriers; it accepts anyone no matter what background they are coming from. It is only when a person is residing in the city that they find that in order for them to be recognised as a resident of the city and be able to exercise their rights in it, there are conditions that requires them to do so. If they do not meet these sometimes unspecified requirements they find that they are now excluded and cannot practice their rights in and to be in the city. This feeds into a larger debate on the relationship between structure and agency, or individuals' ability to change existing frameworks; what is clear, however, is that the need for continued struggle and demands by all urban dwellers within invited spaces of power (such as public forums related to urban development, planning, budgeting and so forth) and the need to continuously use created and/or claimed spaces to challenge and transform power relations, to push for these deeper rights to the city. Above all we must constantly question, as Peter Marcuse (2009: 185) notes, whose right, what right and to what city?

1.4: Framework

In this section, I consider different definitions of the Right to the City, and discuss literature on social justice in order to bring to the forefront further interpretation of these concepts as they are presently used and how they fit in this study.

1.4.1 The Right to the City

The notion right to the city was devised by Henri Lefebvre, a French Marxist sociologist and philosopher, in 1968 and is about the rights of all urban dwellers, regardless of citizenship, ethnicity, ability, gender and so forth, to partake in affecting decisions of the city they are living in. It is about the rights of the excluded and invisible in the city to be part of the production of the city, for their needs and aspirations, rather than exclusively those of capital as occurs in most urban development, to be met in the process. The right to the city thus primarily challenges prevailing power relations in the capitalist structures that drive urban development and the production of urban space, including social, political and economic relations.

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1 An Identity document is a document that verifies an individual's identity (www.dha.gov.za). The green bar-coded Identity book (ID book) or the smartcard is also an authorised document used when participating in public and private institutions (www.dha.gov.za).

The right to the city as an ideology has become synonymous with people who are trying to combat issues of inequality and marginalisation. This ideology is affiliated with different organisations around the world who are working to decrease and eventually eradicate inequalities within nations (Görgens and Van Donk, 2012: 3). In the South African context, the ideology of the right to the city is used to assess urban management approaches that are illustrated by policies that are "state-centric, housing-driven and tend to safeguard individual property rights over the social function of land and the city" (Görgens and Van Donk, 2012: 3). Even though the right to the city concept has a strong manifestation in the idiom of the public and social movements around the country, it is still to be given a tangible and definite framework (Görgens and Van Donk, 2012: 3). To further develop this concept in this study, places like Berkeley, Cape Town, Brazil and Mumbai provided rich literature on how the right to the city has been documented over the years.

Don Mitchell (2003) city asserts that the right to be in the city by different groups is a great effort and through that effort the people in the city have produced new ways of surviving and inhabiting. By description, urban centres are diverse public zones. Any number of contacts and relations may take place within the city zone. Some of those actions are likely to cause alarm, annoyance, trepidation and even fear. Fear and aesthetic reasons have been the initial approach used in formulating policies; as a result the basic human rights of individuals living on the streets in the city are infringed upon and looked over. Mitchell (2003) argues that public spaces are being controlled and limited by physical barriers, behaviour alteration techniques and strict policing methods including surveillance cameras. Mitchell (2003) also argues that capitalism and neo-liberalism are the primary causes for recent changes to city spaces and that public space must be made democratic. The city should be legally taken as a space that is accessed and utilised by all citizens including homeless people, who deserve the right to find housing in a public space (Mitchell 2003). This creates a dichotomy of some sorts, the rights of the individuals who contribute to the general well-being of the city take centre stage and those of the invisible peoples are looked at last. Considering the fact that people do not really understand or really know what homelessness entails, they will not be quick to accommodate or acknowledge the rights of people who are homeless in order to make them comfortable.

Lefebvre's conceptions of the right to the city and the production of social space are contrasted by Harvey (2008: 23); who conceptualises the right to the city and the production of social space as "a political platform and an inspiring slogan than a legally codified practice". The right to the city according to Harvey (2008: 23) is by far beyond a person's right to use city resources: it is a right to

alter ourselves by altering the city. The autonomy to create and re-create our cities and ourselves is valuable yet overlooked when referring to our human rights (Harvey, 2008: 23). In as much as Harvey is in contrast with Lefebvre's argument, he still echoes the main points that Lefebvre made. Lefebvre argues that the use value of the urban environment's products like urban land and public space is progressively being overcome by its exchange value, thereby shattering and corroding the social life of urban centres (Lefebvre, 1991). The notion of the right to the city then sought to draft an outline for urban social strains that could encompass beyond traditional ideas like race and class struggles. For Purcell (2003: 564), the Right to the City represents the favourable direction to liberating the perception of citizenship from expiring. He enquires on the effectiveness of long-established perceptions of citizenship, associated with the nation and the nation state, during this time globalisation and capitalism (Purcell 2003). The Right to the City should be perceived as a right to reconstruct the urban space (Purcell 2003: 578). In its traditional form, this right would comprise, for example, the partaking of all the inhabitants of the City of Tshwane in the making and implementation of policies that benefit the city because these policies ultimately affect every single person living in the City of Tshwane. Purcell (2003) conceptualises the Right to the City:

1.   The right to participation is the freedom accorded to residents in making decisions in the spaces they inhabit (Görgens and van Donk, 2012: 4). Not like the "circuitous way of liberal-egalitarian institutions" in which the vote of citizens go through many establishments which result in them impacting the spaces they live in indirectly. On the other hand the right to the city would see citizens have a candid say to all decisions that concern the spaces they live in (Purcell, 2003: 102). So instead of going to vote so that the people voted for decide what is to be done in our cities, everyone in the city directly decides through public participation what is to be done and how they want the city to function.

2.   The right to take over urban spaces which will be expanded on in 4.2 of this chapter asserts that space should be made in a way that allows for total utilisation by citizens as they go about their daily idiosyncrasies (Görgens and van Donk, 2012: 4). The idea of urban space being used as personal space or as a product to be improved or used to improve the status of other products by the industrialist construction procedure, is exactly what the concept the right to the city repels (Purcell, 2003: 103). The precise rights to appropriate and to participate are received by meeting particular responsibilities and obligations of inhabitants, mostly their commitment to active participation in the remaking of their cities. The Right to the City, therefore, is a collective right that can only be realised through collective action, and

it demands solidarity and new forms of alliances between different stakeholder groups within society (Horlitz and Vogelpohl, 2009). Moreover, this outlook develops the discussion on citizenship by looking at it as a "spatial strategy" whereby identities, boundaries and constructions of belonging are permanent and then appraised (Fenster, 2010). Lefebvre's slightly vague utopian call to combine issues of voice, spatial exclusion and gross inequalities in resource distribution has proved to be a powerful rallying cry for organisations facing the effects of neoliberalism across the First and Third Worlds. Saule Júnior (2008: 56) provides an overview of these issues Lefebvre brought to the fore front. He asserts that the right to city rises as a reaction to the outlook of social inequality, seeing the dichotomy experienced in the same city: the city of the rich and the city of the poor; the legal city and the illegal city, as well as the exclusion of the majority of the city's inhabitants determined by the logic of spatial segregation; by the commodity city; by the commercialisation of urban soil and real-estate evaluation; by the private employment of public investments in housing, in public transportation, in urban equipment, and in public services in general (Saule Júnior, 2008: 56).

Regardless of the distinguished ideas concerning the concept: the right to the city, there are some comparable aspects of this conceptualisation by different authors that are in agreement. The Right to the City outline offers an ethical point of reference as Mathivet (2010: 24) suggested; there are three fundamental blocs that most of these conceptualisations allude to; namely:

1.] "The use of full citizenship in participating", in the understanding of all human rights to make certain that the public welfare of citizens and the collective construction and administration of their space is acknowledged. Every citizen no matter their social and economic standing is accommodated in their cities (Mathivet, 2010: 24).

2.] The autonomous administration of the city through the open contribution of the different individuals in the society; in designing the city as well as its governance, which results in the strengthening of local governments and general social organisation of the space and the people (Mathivet, 2010: 24). These first two fundamental blocs echo Purcell's (2003: 102) right to participation.

3.] The collective purpose of the city and of municipal estate, with the communal rights of the public prospering on top of the rights of personal estate, encompassing a generally fair and naturally workable utilisation of urban space (Mathivet, 2010: 24).

Looking at these three most prevalent conceptions found in the ideology of the right to the city and owing to the common character of rights, we clearly see that rights cannot be discussed in an intangible approach by few individuals, and then put out for everyone to follow. Rights for everyone have to be collectively constructed and continue to be contested (Horlitz and Vogelpohl (2009: 1072). We have to realise that rights are not only about what has already been established but that we must constantly be demanding rights that will enable people to create cities that meet their needs (Horlitz and Vogelpohl 2009: 1072). The conception of this right not only endures an analysis of something that is tangible but focuses the conceivable. Therefore, this development is likely to primarily restructure the dominant clusters on which a capitalist order is constructed. The Right to the City then consequently, adopts the outline grounded on the particular local requirements, circumstances and prospects confronting the poor in the city. Peter Marcuse (2009) suggests that such progression is propelled by the public, usually contains three steps: "expose, propose and politicise". The first, 'expose'; encompasses an exploration of the origins of the challenges confronting deprived districts and conveying that investigation to those who can use it to better the lives of those living in the deprived districts (Görgens and van Donk, 2012: 6). The second step 'propose' contains the construction of answers and tangible suggestions that confront the source of the challenges found. The third step 'politicise'; uses the aforementioned two steps to elucidate the nature of the political feat needed (Görgens and van Donk, 2012: 6).

1.4.2 Right to Space in the City

The city constitutes a highly urbanised social infrastructure. Simone (2008: 68) stresses that infrastructure can enable the joining of different people so that expanded spaces of economic and cultural operation become available to residents. The city also gives ample opportunity for its inhabitants to collaborate, thus creating an intricately web of social interactions based on either economic or just normal transactions. People can form social networks that may or may not be beneficial to them.

For Lefebvre, all social activities are not only about collaboration amongst individuals but about space as well (Gottdiener and Hutchison 2011: 81). Social activities transpire in space. The city-building development for example, creates a certain space. Other city spaces may be different, even though places formed by similar social systems tend to be similar to each other. Lefebvre thus pioneered the idea of space as a factor of social organisation (Gottdiener and Hutchison 2011: 81). When people discuss social interaction, they are implicitly talking about behaviour in space as well

(Gottdiener and Hutchison 2011: 81). Space not only contains actions but also constitutes a part of social relations and is intimately involved in our daily lives. It affects the way we feel about what we do. In turn, people alter space and construct new environments to better fit their needs. So space is involved in a dual sense as an influence on behaviour and, in turn, as the end result of construction of behaviour because people alter space to suit their own needs. With regards to the homeless people in the inner city, space is essential in creating relationships and negotiating the city. Open spaces have become homes; the people who are homeless identify certain corners or parts of the pavement as home or as a place of business or leisure. Their behaviour in these spaces also becomes modified to suit the space that they are in at a given time. Different spaces in the inner city also symbolise different things.

Daniel Kemmis (1992) argues that our loss of function for public life equals our loss of a sense of place. A transformed sense of inhabitation, he maintains that a community rooted in a place and with people dwelling in that place in a practised way can model politics into a more communal and more humanly rewarding enterprise, producing better people, better communities and better places. Kemmis stresses the significance of place by evaluating problems and possibilities of public life in a specific place (Kemmis 1992).

Setha Low, Dana Taplin and Suzanne Scheld in their book *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity* (2006) explain that parks in urban cities like Central Park in New York City offer important open spaces that are easily accessible to different kinds of people for different things. By coming together in these settings, people get used to seeing each other or even embark on activities together. In so doing they will be strengthening their societies and the egalitarian framework of their communities (Low et al. 2006). However if parks are restricted and are not accessible to every member of the society, it creates inequalities and separation amongst the people. This is usually done by restricting certain people from the park or by asking for entrance fees that others cannot afford (Low et al. 2006). Low et al. (2006) contends that cultural multiplicity is an important aspect and should always be considered when planning and upholding parks in the city so as to include and incorporate everyone who visits them.

1.4.3 Citizenship and the right to the city

James Holston (2008) in the book: *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* bases his argument on the adaptation from "needs-based to rights-based talks" with regards to poverty in the cities and the exclusion of marginalised communities. Instead of seeing the urban

poor as needy and people who need charity from others, he describes the urban poor like any other person with rights like everyone else that also need to be addressed. Holston gives a description of the importance of citizenship in relation to movements, legal battles and the building of the residents of the peripheries' houses without professional help in Brazil (Holston 2008: 23). The right to the city in this book gives the idea of developing 'insurgent citizenship' – "the right to alter rights when they no longer confirm the acceptable needs of citizenship" (Holston, 2008). Holston (2008: 240) also acknowledges the alteration of attention from the "needs of the poor to the rights of the citizens" by creating an accessible groundwork for the developing discourse of urban citizenship. By participating in something that will bring their citizenship to the forefront, the homeless can negotiate their rights and affirm their citizenship in the city. Edésio Fernandes (2007) goes a step further in incorporating the concept of citizenship with the right to the city. The right to the city according to Fernandes is comprised of two parts that are directly subjective to citizenship: one part is that every citizen in the city is afforded the same services, opportunities, resources and the other part is that citizens participate in the decision making processes of their city thus utilising the city's space to practice their citizenship (Fernandes2007: 202). If however the essence of access to the city and its resources, opportunities and services is not correctly policed people in positions of power could take advantage making their citizenship more important than the next person and this results in the perpetual strengthening of inequalities and marginalisation (Purcell 2002: 99).

1.4.4 Social Justice Theories

One cannot talk about the right to the city without placing it in wider debates about Social justice because of the morality of justice2 that both terms advocate. Social justice is a fairly new concept that developed from the struggles surrounding the industrial revolution and the advent of socialist views on the organisation of society (Baudot, 2006: 11). The use of social justice covers a wide spectrum of different topics encompassing "geographical, sociological, political and cultural constructions were connections amongst people and factions can be identified, evaluated, and deliberated as fair or unfair" (Baudot, 2006: 11). Nowadays, this structure has been the nation-State (Baudot, 2006: 11). The state normally embodies the framework in which several characteristics of social justice, like the allocation of income amongst its residents is perceived and deliberated (Baudot, 2006: 11). This standard is used not only by national Governments but also by international

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2 Morality of justice was first made popular by Carol Gilligan (1982) to describe the ethics and moral reasoning common to men.

organisations and supranational entities (Baudot, 2006: 11). Simultaneously, there is common aspect to social justice, were it has placed humanity at the centre (Baudot, 2006: 11).

However social justice is embraced because of the prospect that when individuals take part in the markets and financial institutions for personal purposes and the betterment of society, inequality is expected but only to a certain extent that is acceptable in their particular societies (Baudot, 2006: 11). However, in today's contemporary setting, people that voice their opinions on social justice issues view the ever widening gap between income variations as unfair and intolerable (Baudot, 2006: 11). It is contended that finding pathways that lead out of poverty is something that is attainable and would lessen the ever widening gap between the rich and the poor making life bearable for everyone (Baudot, 2006: 11). This perspective on inequalities in societies falls under the umbrella term of economic justice; because it characterises equality in the widest sense (Baudot, 2006: 11). Within this framework, "the definition the United Nations uses for economic justice which is considered to be an element of social justice, is that of a choice validated by the need to convey the idea that all developments due to justice transpire in society, whether at the local, national, or global level" (Baudot, 2006: 11). Even though there have been some progress in bringing about equality in societies, there have been challenges in making sure everyone is enjoying their basic rights due to different obstacles like war, internal conflicts, discrimination and torture (Baudot, 2006: 11).

Social theorists reflect differently about global inequality because of their different perspectives. Functionalists tend to believe that inequality benefits societies and that it is essentially regulated by market forces to further economic growth (Ritzer, 2010). For example the functionalist theory of social stratification by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore (1970) contends that the existence of a certain type of hierarchy in almost all known communities suggests that societal hierarchies and inequalities mutually sought-after and unavoidable. Marxists, alternatively, tend to see inequality as unfavourable to society and they are in favour of government regulation of the means of production and distribution of property (Ritzer, 2010). However in modern liberal societies, activists value human rights according to the idea that all people are born with equal value. The rationality of human rights does not necessarily entail that all people should attain equal status, but it does accept that all should have equal opportunities to progress in life. This can be done by using the language of social justice (Ritzer, 2010). Social justice activists commonly argue that inequality is unjust, as it leaves some individuals with better life chances and better standards of living than others irrespective of individual worth or merit (Ritzer, 2010).

Rawls's (1971) concept of social justice likens justice to equality. He also criticises utilitarianism which is used to explain the massing of products benefiting affluent groups on the basis that it benefits everyone even though only certain members of society benefit (Rawls, 1971). Rawls' theory of distributive justice asserts that "all social values are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these values is to everyone's advantage". In terms of public spaces same access to the same areas with equal rights can profit both the homeless and the non-homeless. They can come to express and practice their urban citizenship (Rawls, 1971). For example, homeless people will not be marginalised or stereotyped into something they are not. The two most important principles of Rawls' concept of social justice are that; everyone is equal have the same right to the general system of individual freedom companionable by means of a system of total freedom for everyone. Opportunities are to be organised so that they both offer the maximum benefits to everyone.

Amartya Sen perceives justice in a different light than that of Rawls. His main arguments against Rawls were the project of social justice would not be appraised in dualistic terms like that of achieving or not achieving; rather, he claims that justice should be assumed as existing to a certain point, and should consistently be appraised along a continuum (Sen, 2009). Additionally, he contends that we do not need a fully well-known perfect abstract of justice to appraise the fairness of different institutions (Sen, 2009). He maintains that we can expressively parallel the level of justice in two institutions minus suggesting a perfect model (Sen, 2009: 62). In the social choice theory, Sen recognises a number of characteristics of the social choice framework. He focuses on the comparative, not just the inspirational aspects of social justice theory. For Sen this suggests that "a theory of justice ought to have something to say about the choices that are actually on offer" (Bird-Pollan, 2010: 103). With this framework in mind, Sen argued that it could aid in appraising liberty and fairness methods in what these terms produce in society. He acknowledged the similarities between him and Rawls' dedication to the importance of liberty (Sen, 2009: 62). Lastly his approach to liberty is that it is important for two purposes: liberty is obligated to afford the chance to follow opportunities, and liberty is obligated to provide us a range of prospects to take up (Sen, 2009: 228).

1.5: Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 gives a detailed account of the research setting and technique used during the study. I show the analysis used to analyze data collected. I give an in-depth detail of the groups I joined in order to have access to a number of informants I would not have been able to have discussions had I

gone about the research myself. I also give an account of the ethical considerations as well as the challenges encountered during the study.

Chapter 3 looks at the realities of homelessness. It examines how the street homeless creatively cope with being homeless and how they have formed new ways of inhabiting the city. I also give an account of how significant the relationships created in the city are to the people who are homeless because they have little opportunities and spaces to start relationships. It looks at the day to day living or homeless people in the inner city. I use case studies to show the idiosyncrasies of their daily lives and how they teach and enlighten us on the real issues of homelessness, not the educated guesses and stereotypes placed on them by the masses.

Chapter 4 utilises pluralism3 as an analytical theory to critic and analyse the power distribution between the city and its residents, which then leads to the discussion of inequalities, lack of access and limited opportunities experienced by people who are homeless. Most came to the city to escape poverty in the areas that they were living in only to end up in sometimes worse situations than they expected. I use case studies as well as quotes from the informants to shed light on the inequalities they experience from their perspective. I examine the unique space and how people relate to this space in the city and how it plays out in the inner city as well as restate the inequalities that are prevalent in the city. Using the ideas encapsulated in the notion of the right to the city layers to Pretoria's urbanity, this chapter also works to show how space in the city is socially constructed and shapes the way that the people who are homeless live in the city.

Chapter 5 tracks down the city's responses to the homeless people's needs that are living in the inner city. What the city has done so far in terms of policy and by-laws to reduce homelessness in the city. I argue that the by-laws reproduce and exacerbate long standing class disparities. I then ask the question: what right does anyone have in the city, what legitimises that right? Who does the city really belong to? The chapter ends with the conclusion that even though laws are made in the city that seems unfavourable to most of the residents living in the city; they are made for an ideal situation where there is no homelessness. The reality however is different and these laws become counteractive for they disadvantage vulnerable people and turn them into delinquents.

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3 Concerns the structure of political action in the modern democratic state and patterns of influence on the government

I then conclude the dissertation with chapter 6 with the lessons learned from the street; the solutions that the City of Tshwane is trying to employ in order to find pathways out of homelessness.

Chapter 2

Research Methods

2: <u>Research Setting</u>

My interest in homelessness came about after having been introduced to the topic 'the right to the city' during a module on the politics of identity in my Honours year. Doing mini assignments on this topic opened my eyes to the social injustices at the opposite end of the spectrum by the people in the city. These assignments led me to question who belongs in the city and what right they have in the city. I then went on to search about homelessness in Pretoria on the internet. As I mentioned in chapter one there were very few studies that captured the topics of the right to the city and the realities of street homelessness in the inner city of Pretoria. Having a few research questions in mind, I then looked for a site in the city of Pretoria in which I can locate my research. After presenting my proposal to the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, I got connected to a lecturer at the university who was approached to head a research project with the City of Tshwane, together with the University of South Africa (Unisa) and the Tshwane Homeless Forum to find pathways out of homelessness based in Pretoria. The research project sought to explore the many issues that I was going to look at and the lecturer from the University of Pretoria helped me to gain access to Tshwane Leadership Foundation (TLF), the Tshwane Homeless Forum, the projects that Unisa was having, the city officials and other researchers from different backgrounds and faculties who were also conducting research on homelessness and the city in Pretoria. The Tshwane Homeless Forum is a group that contains NGO representatives from NGO's in Pretoria, homeless people, academics and concerned members of the public who take action against social injustices perpetrated in the city of Pretoria. The Tshwane Homeless Forum was started by members in TLF. TLF is a faith based organisation in the city with shelters and drop in centres including Akanani (see paragraph below on page 31) that offer shelter to abused women and food and outreach programs to homeless people in the inner city. They also offer social and legal services to people who cannot afford them. Being part of these groups was an amazing opportunity because I got exposed to most of my key informants that then introduced me to other informants that participated in this research. Distinguishing between people who are homeless and people who are not is getting harder these days. Unless they come and beg from you one would not necessarily know that they are homeless and this is mostly owing to the clothes they wear; gone are the days when homeless people looked dirty and disorientated. Besides

sharing their stories, the key informants also helped me a lot in identifying other people who are homeless.

I chose Pretoria's inner city as my field because it is the capital city and there are increasing socio economic disparities; it has a history of suburban seclusion and a recorded movement of the bourgeois relocating to the affluent suburbs and gated communities outside of the city centre. It likewise provides exceptional studies of inequality due to the variances between the amount of people that inhabit it and the history of segregation and development, legal and governmental structure, cultural context and norms of behaviour as well as the amount of people who are homeless and residing on the streets. Because of the complexity and size of Pretoria, I only use certain parts of the inner city to complete the study and the analysis. In the inner city my movements ranged from the beginning of Jacob Mare Street in the north of the inner city all the way to Brown Street, south of the inner city and Bosman Street west of Jacob Mare Street all the way to Nelson Mandela Street. I started my fieldwork at the Tshwane Leadership Foundation at their drop in centre Akanani. Akanani is a Tsonga term that means "let us build together". It is situated inside Burgers Park between Burgers' lane and Jacob Mare Street. Akanani was established because they wanted to help out homeless men. Akanani has daily devotions and tea every Monday to Thursday in the mornings and devotions without tea combined with other organisations under the TLF umbrella on Friday mornings. This setting was the perfect opportunity to start observations as well as approach the men for discussions. I would approach them after they had finished eating and sometimes they would take me into town showing me the areas they frequent. I also ventured into town on my own as well as visited places close to the Struben shelter and the informal settlement situated in Salvakop. In town I stopped and talked with both women and men on the pavements who were either working; parking cars, begging, enjoying a joint[4] or washing cars. Observations and participant observation were also held at Akanani, in Burgers Park, in front of the UN building in Fraancis Baard, on the pavements of the Universal church in Nana Sita, in Brown Street, in Paul Kruger Street and during the Homeless Forum Meetings, meal of peace at Unisa, the feast of clowns that took place in the city in August and the homeless summit that was held in May. The meal of piece is a yearly gathering held by Unisa for academics and homeless people to come together and share stories and a meal and the feast of clowns is a day festival which starts with a march in the inner city organised by TLF for all the inhabitants of Pretoria to create awareness and march against injustices in the city and culminates

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4 A cigarette mixed with nyaope, marijuana or anything worth smoking on the streets.

with a market and a free concert in Burgers Park. These places and events were chosen for observation because of the concentration of homeless people and the activities that took place in these vicinities. When I conducted observations and discussions on the streets, I always had one of the informants I trusted to walk with me, break the ice with the others I had not had conversations with.

Being associated with the City of Tshwane, the Tshwane Homeless Forum, TLF, the University of Pretoria and Unisa was both advantageous and disadvantageous in the perceptions different informants had with me. The city officials treated me with suspicion and were quiet specific on what I should write. Before we sat down for the discussions, I had to set an appointment and give a detailed account of the direction of the discussions that were going to take place. Seeing me on repeated occasions in different settings like at the Tshwane Homeless Forum meetings, at TLF, during the homeless summit or at the University of Pretoria did not diminish the suspicion that the officials regarded me with. The workers at TLF specifically Akanani treated me like the other volunteers that were volunteering at Akanani and both the Unisa and the University of Pretoria treated me like the other researchers that were working towards finding pathways out of homelessness.

When I first started approaching homeless people to ask for permission to conduct discussions with them they were also suspicious. Firstly they thought I was working for the City of Tshwane and did not wish to participate in the research project, they also wanted to get compensated if and when they participated. When the homeless informants found out I was a student at the University of Pretoria and the research project was for my masters dissertation as well as for the city to inform and review the policy on homelessness in the inner city, they were still wary of my presence. After my repeated appearance at Akanani, they eventually started to share some of their stories. But according to one of the volunteers at Akanani, the homeless informants were not always truthful in the stories they shared. I started showing interest in the activities the homeless informants showed interest in at Akanani. I went to workshops with them; practised and contributed to a play they showcased at a monthly celebration at TLF and searched for jobs with them on the internet. Eventually, the three key informants in this project befriended me and they introduced me to other homeless informants. Being associated with the key informants, two were5 homeless and the other was a volunteer at Akanani

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5 They were homeless during the beginning of the project, but one went back home and the other found accommodation in Pretoria West

had a big impact on data collection. Most of the informants were more comfortable with my presence and they were more forthcoming with information. The biggest breakthrough in finding more informants came after my presentation at the homeless summit. More and more informants wanted to share their stories. Instead of me approaching them, they approached me.

Based on my experiential familiarity with and scholarly knowledge of other major cities in South Africa and the data collected, I am fairly confident that my research could not have been conducted elsewhere and still produced the same results because of the many differences in the economic structures, available opportunities and the resources allocation in South Africa. However, despite the similarities and differences the cities in South Africa have; this study is unique and the findings I derived from the research are very much inflected by the time period I was in the field. There was a lot of talk about homelessness in the city of Pretoria since there was research being conducted by the two major educational institutions in the city (Unisa and University of Pretoria) and the City of Tshwane as well as the Tshwane Homeless Forum. During the periods when I was not able to be in the field, I kept correspondence with the volunteers at Akanani and the key informants I had established a friendly relationship with through phone calls, text messaging and email. They kept me updated on news and events that they thought were relevant to my research.

2.1: Literature Guiding the Research Design

I used a qualitative research design for this study. In the following paragraphs, I show what this type of design entails, what is expected in the field of the researcher and from the participants as well as explaining the ever confusing idea of reflexivity and how I applied it in my study.

 The term qualitative research covers a number of methods to research that are relatively dissimilar from one another. Nevertheless all qualitative methods share two similarities; first, they emphasise on the phenomena that transpire in natural settings and secondly, they involve studying the phenomena in all their complexity. Data and behaviour of the subjects being studied is known as having many aspects and layers that can be represented in its multi-faceted form. Qualitative research designs have long been used across many disciplines such as psychology, sociology and anthropology and are increasingly being used within social sciences research as well as research from other disciplines (Pope and Mays, 1999). The qualitative methods have become commonly used and accepted as legitimate methods of attaining knowledge about how we understand practice concerns while maintaining effectiveness and efficiency in attaining whatever it is that is being researched. Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 2) suggest that qualitative research, as a research design is

bounded by interrelated terms, ideas and postulations. These consist of the many traditions that are connected with research views. Certain qualitative research traditions cogitate that knowledge is grounded upon theory of assumption and investigation of such phenomena is from a subjective position (Lambert, Jomeen and McSherry, 2010: 321). This position is when the researcher's own assessments and personal experiences may be justifiably engaged in analysis of knowledge and it is deliberated that there is more than one way of understanding a phenomenon and attaining knowledge (Lambert, Jomeen and McSherry, 2010: 321). This is in contradiction to traditional analytical methods which adopt the perception that the world is predictable and that substantial facts and results can only be scientifically tested and confirmed by observation. Since I had placed myself in the informants' worlds I could not remain unattached for I went in the field with preconceived ideas of what homelessness entails but at the end of the research I had different findings through the engagement and interactions I had.

Most researchers strive for objectivity in their research, following the traditional analytical methods because it is believed that their observations should be influenced as little as possible by any perception, impressions and biases they may have and this leads to the topic of reflexivity. The significance of being reflexive is recognised inside social science research and there is extensive acknowledgment that the explanation of data is a reflexive practice in which meanings are constructed instead of being than discovered (Mauthner et al., 1998) and for every researcher meaning derived from their studies is different from the next. Nevertheless, reflexivity has not been interpreted into data inquiry exercise in the complications, realities and approaches of carrying it out. In its place, there is a notion constructed into numerous data analysis techniques that the scholar, the technique and the data are detached units instead of being reflexively symbiotic and connected (Mauthner et al., 1998). In anthropological discussions, reflexivity is very much linked with the kind of investigational works that have emerged from contemporary anthropology: particularly the increase in diary writing and the development of 'auto- ethnographies' in which the self is discovered through a central subjective lens taking into account one's social history Nazaruk, 2011: 78).

In qualitative research the researcher's objective is to position him/herself in the participant's world and to comprehend the subjective (personal) experiences of their research participants (Lambert, Jomeen and McSherry, 2010: 321). In doing so the researcher can convert these subjective encounters into exemplifications that make it possible to interpret and bring to light insights that apply more commonly beyond the people or phenomena being studied. By participating in activities

that my informants were participating in, I was able to experience first-hand the complexities and mundane experiences that they are involved in. It gave me a glimpse into their world for but a moment so that I could interpret and bring light to the phenomenon of homelessness at the time of my engagement.

Cutcliffe (2000) contends that qualitative research is every so often branded as a less scientific research method probably because of its subjective nature and that can often mean it is misinterpreted. Learning to ruminate on your behaviour and judgments, plus on the occurrence under study, generates a means for unremittingly bettering one's self as a researcher (Pope and Mays, 1999). Provided with the compound characteristics of qualitative analysis, it is sensible to anticipate that researchers will experience anxiety at the beginning of research. Even though there are directing values in the literature on how to conduct research, the examples on analysis and developing design do not make available a detailed plan on how to progress with the study. Every research project is a one-off and in the end it is up to the researcher to decide what works best in each study. At the beginning of both my research projects for my honours and masters degrees, I had no idea how to tackle the work that was in front of me, it felt like such a huge task that could not be completed despite the confidence my supervisors had in me. It is such a daunting task until one is fully immersed in the research. Although I used the same methods in field-sites, the nature and the feel of the research was specific to the field. The way I approached informants was different each time and I learnt quickly for each informant how to deal with him/her.

Seeing it as a given that the researcher is the principal apparatus for the gathering of data and analysis, reflexivity is considered to be important (Glesne, 1999; Merriam, 1998; Russell and Kelly, 2002; Stake, 1995). This then involves cautious deliberation of the phenomenon under study, along with the habits that guide the researcher's own suppositions and behaviour that may have an impact on the study. Richardson (2000: 923) talks about writing as "a method of inquiry, a method of discovery about yourself as a researcher and the topic you plan to write about". It is an individual account of what took place during research; a researcher's own experiences in the field become the subject matter of the paper (Ellis & Bochner, 2000: 741). I use the example of my research diary to show that ultimately even though I am telling stories about the informants, the experiences that I put forth are my own. My research diary holds a lasting record of the preliminary study; what I did in the beginning and my perception informed by literature and preliminary observations of what the right to the city and homelessness entails, and it also shows in detail my experiences from the beginning until the end of the enquiry in the field. It has functioned as a prompt for the reflection that takes place in

my analysis of the findings. Using pieces and quotes from my research diary, I constructed associations in this dissertation, between the choices taken during the research project, the literature on methodology and the progression of reflexivity, as well as my developing perception of the intricacies of the data gathered in the field. I examined the research diary accounts for what they exposed about the regulation of each segment of the research study, the problems and conflicts which arose, and the ways I dealt with these intrusions as a researcher. A reflective investigation of my own research allowed me to make profound links between theories of social justice, the right to the city and homelessness and the practices used when dealing with such matters. This investigation consequently triggered an intensity of learning which may not have been conceivable through any other research designs. By reviewing my preliminary research study in this way, I was subjected to the magnitude to which reflection is a vital intermediary in the research process. Reflective writing allowed me to expressively make sense of what it means to use qualitative research designs in a project such as this.

2.2: <u>Data collection techniques</u>

I approached this study using qualitative research designs because I wanted to explore the right to the city and the realities of homelessness. I looked at the social interactions amongst the informants and the people they encountered, behaviours they portrayed as well as the perceptions the informants carried. I had informal discussions with 45 street homeless people; 8 were women and the rest were men. Ages ranged from 20 to 62.Throughout my time in the field, I discovered that there were more homeless men visible in the streets than they were women. According to my key informants, the invisibility of homeless women on the streets was due to the fact that they mostly came out at night in specific places of the city. I however after much investigation discovered that there are more shelters that offer services to women in the city than there are for men and women are more likely to ask for help from their friends or relatives than they are to sleep on the streets. Also, the areas I frequented that were specific to my research had very few women. The prevalence of men in my research project was due to the fact that they were more visible than women.

I asked ten different people in the inner city what they thought about homelessness and if homeless people should be assisted when they ask for help. I had informal discussions with two workers and a social worker from Akanani. I held an unstructured interview with a city official based in the social development office and informal discussions with three other city officials from different departments during the homeless summit as well as an informal discussion with a human rights

lawyer. At the beginning of each informal discussion, the informant and I introduced ourselves by firstly saying our names and where we came from. This was done so as to establish some sort of familiarity before the informal discussion started. Then the informant was informed of the ethical considerations which I will discuss in more depth further on in this chapter.

Fieldwork methods included informal discussions with street homeless people. Discussions for homeless people were directed by these parameters: where is the person now on their road of life, what they do on a daily basis, places they frequent, where they get food, how they get food, and why they frequent the places they go to ; discussion of key events (positive and negative experiences) in their lives; experiences that may have had an influence on their values in terms of choices and behaviour; what they hope to accomplish in the future; their relationships and networks in the city, places of recreational activities; level of access to public amenities in the city; experiences with city officials and service providers in inner city Pretoria; activities that made them have a brush with the law and their general disposition towards the city, officials and service providers. These informal discussions were conducted to find out where the people came from, factors that led them to the streets, their daily lives and how they view and are treated by the law; so as to gage their understanding of the right to the city. Did that understanding or lack thereof have a direct impact on how they behaved and lived in the inner city?

 The unstructured interview with a city official from the city of Tshwane in the social development department was guided by questions on the right of the homeless people to be in the city, what the city has done to respond to the needs of its residents especially the ones made vulnerable by the lack of shelter and other necessities. We also had a discussion on the current policy, the weaknesses as well as the strengths of the policy. These questions were specifically asked to understand the role that the City of Tshwane plays in ensuring equality and upholding the dignity of all its residents. The informal discussions with two TLF outreach workers, a social worker and a humanitarian were held to see how they worked with homeless people; what the general consensus amongst the people who are homeless is like; the discourse amongst the street homeless, how they saw themselves in the city since they have been working with the homeless community for long. The discussion with the humanitarian lawyer was directed by these guidelines: discussion of the Preamble in the 108 of 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa which acknowledges divisions of the past and strives to rectify these divisions and injustices by establishing 'a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights'; discussion of Chapter Two of the Bill of Rights in the 108 0f 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa which talks about rights, application of rights,

equality, human dignity, security, privacy etc. (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa No.108of 1996); how these rights are applied when dealing homelessness and the right to the city of homeless people the practice and implications of human rights in the inner city of Pretoria; discussion of the importance of Bylaws made by the city of Tshwane; contradictions in the Bill of Rights and the Bylaws of the city of Tshwane and discussion on the way forward in forging better informed policies, statutes and by laws that will not infringe on the rights of the homeless.

The informal discussions varied in duration. They ranged from 30minutes to 2 hours depending on how the informants gave feedback. The unstructured interview with the city official took place in his office at the Sammy Marx shopping complex in the inner city. The informal discussions with homeless people took place in the inner city (see interview schedule on pages 124-126 in Appendix A for names of informants and the place where discussions took place). Thirty of the informal discussions including the unstructured interview with city official from the department of social development were recorded using a recorder and my cell phone. There was a need for an interpreter for two of the informants because they did not speak English. One lady was from Somalia and the man was from Tanzania. On both occasions the informants had a relative they were staying with that spoke English and the relative acted as an interpreter. I had discussions in English mixed with Zulu for six informants who did not fully understand English.

There were many opportunities for observation and participant-observation. Participant-observation within and around the communities was conducted. I served as a volunteer at Akanani on Tuesday through to Thursday. On Thursday night we went out into the inner city to give bread and advertise the drop in centre as well as the full services they provide to the street homeless. We went to specific places outlined in Map 4. On some days we would go to more than one place depending on the amount of bread we had to give out that night. I am also part of the Tshwane Homeless Forum that has different stakeholders (NGO's, FBO's, the city and people who are homeless) all trying to find viable ways to create pathways out of homelessness in the city. I first attended their monthly meetings to first gain informants who are street homeless, as well as to gain information on what the forum was doing to make visible those that have been made invisible in the city, but as time went on I became a fully pledged member involved in giving input to the situations that the forum deals with. Being a full member of the forum did not change how I was perceived by my informants, however, the people in the forum referred informants to me. Through the Forum I and another student from the University of Pretoria were able to organise a night walk where we went out during the night mapping the places that the street homeless people sleep. With the Forum together with the city, the

University of Pretoria and Unisa, I conducted research that was presented at the homeless summit on 25-26 May 2015 to review and inform the current policy on homelessness. I had observations during the outreaches at night; in the morning at Akanani during devotions and tea as well as when TLF held monthly celebrations and the feast of the clowns. I also attended the meal of peace that was held on the 14th of May 2015 at Unisa. These observations were to witness how different stakeholders and homeless people interact; how the homeless mobilise themselves to try and change their situations using the different platforms created by these organisations and how they generally are on a daily basis as well as to learn more about their, interests, and preferences when it comes to them being 'rescued' or how they want to be perceived in the city. All the information about the informants and when the informal discussions took place are in the interview schedule in the appendixes section.

2.3: Analysis of Data

2.3.1 Ethnographic Analysis

The ethnographic analysis of participant-observation field notes concentrated on finding pragmatic indication of access and the rights of homeless people in the city. It also yielded data on informal conversations and ordinary observations that innately took place. Data collected was coded by the themes that arose throughout the research project. A thematic content analysis of the informal discussions and documents collected from the media, internet, and literature provided a qualitative understanding of the range of discourse available. The discussions were coded based on themes identified in the literature as well as the observations and discourse in the ethnographic fieldwork. The list of themes: right to the city; power, lack of access; public spaces; security and safety; and stigmatisation provided a qualitative presentation of the data.

2.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis of twenty informal discussions detected the anxieties the informants had with ethnocentrism, social control, xenophobia, status anxiety, mobility, social order, racism, as well as fear of crime and violence, and overt expressions of a wish for a new home, and sense of community. Relying on Fairclough's (1995) view on critical discourse analysis, I accept that language is a kind of social practice that is traditionally positioned and dialectical to the social setting it is spoken in, thus making language both socially moulded and socially determining (Low, 2001: 52). As language is generally seen as transparent, it is problematic to see how language produces,

reproduces, and alters social constructions and social relations (Low, 2001: 52). Nevertheless, it is through texts that social control and social domination are exercised through the everyday social action of language (Fairclough 1995: 209). Thus, it is required to inaugurate "critical language awareness" to discover the social and political aims of everyday discourse (Low, 2001: 52). Critical discourse analysis, through (1) the analysis of context, (2) the analysis of processes of text production and interpretation, and (3) the analysis of the text, reinterprets traditional models of interview analysis (Low, 2001: 52). For instance, in Fairclough's theory, urban fear of crime and violence could be a discursive practice used to "naturalize" social and physical exclusionary practices, as well as a statement of emotion and/or explanation for an action or decision (Low, 2001: 52). In the context of the inner city of Pretoria, the discourses used to talk about people who are homeless restate the fact that they do not have spaces that they can call home in the city. It leads to stigmatisation and in some cases hopelessness. When people who are homeless see how they are spoken to, looked over as well as from the conversations they have with other homeless people and people who are not homeless; they start living the words that they hear and in some cases end speaking those same words about them. Very few homeless persons see themselves as someone who is not homeless. They are living on the streets and it is only for a short period of time. These are the people are able to get out of the streets faster than those who view their situation as hopeless. Therefore I paid specific attention to the language that each individual used either when speaking with me or someone else in order to understand the specific context in which what was said, was said so as to discover the social and political discourse aims.

2.4: <u>Ethical Considerations</u>

I did not anticipate any risks during the collection of data. The informants were not harmed in any way. The informants were made aware that there was no financial gain that could be attained from me by participating in the research project. The research was only for academic purposes but I do believe socially there may be gain through this documentation that will add on to the awareness and knowledge of homeless people in the inner city of Pretoria. Participation was voluntary, the informants were chosen through the snowball technique. Informants were alerted to the fact that if they wished to withdraw they could do so immediately without any repercussions. There were no negative consequences and restrictions.

All information collected was treated with the strictest code of confidentiality. As this research is focused predominantly on homeless people their anonymity is especially guaranteed by using

pseudonyms with no trace of their whereabouts. All data collected and documented will be stored at the University of Pretoria in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology for a maximum of 15 years. The research findings can also be used for further research in the future.

Like any study, challenges in conducting research were anticipated and experienced. It was not always safe to walk unaccompanied in the inner city, especially places that a lot of homeless people frequented during the day. As a female I was always with a key informant if I ventured into Brown Street, under bridges or places that were deemed unsafe for a lone female. I had two men try to rob me on two different occasions but after diffusing the situation and introducing myself and what I was doing in the city, they ended up being my informants for this study. This was before I started walking with a key informant for protection and other research purposes. I had some of the men come on to me and one even went as far as to propose marriage. He used to come to Akanani and he stalked me for a while until I informed the people at Akanani. They discovered that he also did the same antics to the other female volunteers at Akanani and he used to market pornographic material to the men during devotions and tea so he was banned from attending anything that took place at Akanani. Sometimes the informal discussions got emotional so I would take a day or two before I went back to gather data. The stories from the people who are homeless sometimes were just so heart-breaking that taking time off the field was required.

The informants I had informal discussions with were not overtly engaged with the past and present discourse that was going around in the city. However, the informants were always explicit discussions about how uncertain the future looked in the light of past and present events. They were also very forthcoming in the celebrations that happened in the city. They all agreed that certain activities and events that took place in the city were targeted to particular individuals with specific goals in minds. These points I will discuss further in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

The Realities of Homelessness

3.1: <u>Introduction</u>

This chapter recounts the activities that people who are homeless partake in on a daily basis. I solely focus on people who are homeless whom I sometimes shadowed in the field. I developed a general overview of the everyday lives of homeless people as well as the coping mechanisms that they employed whilst living on the streets. Some of the informants I had in the beginning of my field work were no longer living on the streets or they had moved. Observations and discussions were conducted to understand the social relations amongst people who are homeless in the inner city of Pretoria. My informants often remarked that living on the streets was very lonely as compared to staying at home. There is not much substance to form meaningful relationships on the streets. My intention in this chapter is not to single out actions and behaviours as bad or good but to illuminate general trends from a homeless person's perspective on homelessness in the inner city. With regards to relationships, trust is seen as a culturally coded, emotional factor in establishing social relation. During the literature research period, I could not find any written data on social relationships and trust amongst people who are homeless. The literature on trust I found during the literature research period focused on social actors who exist in institutionalised power differentials like the relationship between doctors and patients (Grimen, 2009) and between parents and school officials (Scherer and Slawski, 1978). I am not interested in asking who trusts or distrusts more but instead I am interested in how trust operates in the construction of relationships on the streets. In this chapter I ask how trust provides the framework that shapes the contours of relationships and the making of a community on the streets. This is done to map out the everyday lives of people who are living on the streets.

3.2: <u>Typical Days</u>

Homeless people wake up early in the morning to avoid the influx of people coming into the city; from there on others laze around in the park or go in search of their next meal. Through the discussions and the interviews, I was able to identify a typical day of a person who is homeless. The day revolves around acquiring food, so whatever they are doing ceases when it is time for a food break. Most of my informants knew which organisations provided food and where the organisations were located in the inner city. The time in between the meals is spent either begging, volunteering at

a drop in centre , job hunting, sleeping, working or being involved in petty crimes in the city. Below are two case studies of different informants that show how they arrived in the inner city and how they live on the streets. According to the informants, their days follow a similar pattern and changes that disrupt their day to day activities are rare.

 Case Study 1- Living on the Streets in the Inner City

Randal

Randal is never at one place for long. He goes to where he wants in the inner city but he frequents the corner of Pretorius and Paul Kruger at least five times a month.

He is from Cape Town. He used to live there with his father who was separated from his mother. His mother lives here in Pretoria and she never remarried. His father passed away in 2012 and his mother went to fetch him in Cape Town because he had no one to look after him. When he came to Pretoria, he was already smoking marijuana and tik- low grade crystal meth- and he ran away from his mother to stay on the street so that he could smoke freely.

 Randal is wary of people that approach him but he is generally a friendly, kind person. He said the reason he frequents Pretorius and Paul Kruger more than any other place in the city is because there are ladies that bring him food and sometimes give him money. He has no ID because he lost it and that limits his movements in the city. He has no access to healthcare, banks and shelters in the city. He has been in trouble with the cops before for possession of drugs and when he was removed from the place he liked to sleep in Nana Sita Street.

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Peter

Peter came to South Africa in 2010; he was working in Johannesburg until the end of 2011. He is originally from Zimbabwe in the capital Harare. He lived in Harare with his cousin because his parents had passed away and they lived in the rural district of Mt Darwin. He has two older siblings and he does not know where they are. He does not know where anyone from his family is except for his cousin. He never speaks with anyone at home.

I found him sleeping on the grass in Church Square, wearing a heavy white jacket even though it was midday and very hot. He was eating coloured popcorn. He currently resides at the marabastad market

but during the day he is in mid-town. He begs for a living because he has problems with his hands. So if he goes and waits for a pick up for work, they would not choose him. He says he has had no issues with the police even though he has no papers that allow him to stay in Pretoria. He is able to visit parks and have access to public spaces, like malls, police stations but he cannot go to a clinic or open a bank account. He has no shelter.

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Oupa

Oupa is from Mabopane. Like many of the men that I have spoken with, he came to the city to look for a job. He has been living in the city for three years now and in all that time he has not found any form of formal employment and shelter. He went to school till he completed grade twelve. He lived with his mother and he is the oldest of three children. In all the time that he has been in the city, he has never been in trouble with the law, this he attributes to the fact that he does not bother people but help them. He helps carry bags and show people the way in the inner city. To him access to the city is not something he is conscious of because he has not gone out of his way to get access to the things that he is excluded from.

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Case Study 2- Hopeful

Keith

"I am from Mpumalanga. I live there with my mother, two sisters and a smaller brother. You see she works in the kitchens so we didn't have enough money. I decided to come to Pretoria, in December last year to look for a job. I did not want to sit there and wait for my mother, she is alone. She has other children and I am the first born, so I had to do something for myself. My father is married and lives in Hammanskraal with his wife and new children. They are doing good for themselves. Sometimes I go there and visit and come back with money I will use here. The wife said that if I ever need something I must call them but I grow up drinking black tea and tea with milk is nice but I'm used to black tea. My mother did not have enough and I am okay with that. I will work for myself and not burden others. When I come to Pretoria I had a job as a security. I was working the night shift you see. So I would go to work in the night and come and sleep in Burgers Park after tea. I was waiting for the end of the month to get money so I will look for a place to stay. But they didn't pay

us, so I left. I have been looking for a job. Yesterday I spent the whole day looking for jobs and dropping my CV's for security you see, I also went to check with SIRA[6] where I also left my CV a long time ago. But today I am going to rest because I am tired, I am just going to sleep in the park till 13:30. During the day I spend it looking for jobs. When I wake up, I go to the river in Es'kia Mphahlele close to Marabastad to bath and on Tuesdays I also wash my clothes. I will rather wash in the river than go to shelters, it's better that way, I don't have to fight for space or anything. I don't go looking for jobs all the time, sometimes I take one day or two days off. After I finish bathing I go check at SIRA[7] to see if I have been picked up. Then at 12:30 I must leave town to go to Salvakop because at 14:00 they give bread and soup every day. Sometimes I take for my friend if he didn't go but I will never ask him to do the same for me because I don't want to be a burden. I used to sleep with some of the guys in Pretorius and then the metro came, they take our stuff and poured cold water on us at midnight. We had to leave because they didn't want us there. Now we sleep next to the police building in Pretorius. We have to sleep with our bags as pillows because the police and the thieves come and search us and steal our stuff. I do not have problem accessing places that I don't pay to get in because they are free. I don't have money to get into places they make you pay. I don't have many friends on the streets and the little that I have I don't ask them for anything because I do not want to be a burden."

Carlinho

Carlinho is from Angola, he has been living in South Africa since 2012. His mother sent him to Pretoria to learn English. He has eight brothers and sisters and they all live and work in Angola. When he got to South Africa; he met a girl who convinced him to not go to school. He saw this as better option because he said he was not learning anything that the girl was not teaching him. He and the girl eventually began a romantic relationship that amongst other factors eventually left him homeless.

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6 Private Security Regulatory Authority, security companies go there to look for potential employees that are registered with the regulatory authority

"I was working till last year September, when I broke up with my girlfriend, we were staying in Lynwood. We broke up because she wanted me to give her a baby. She is crazy. She was friends with my boss so she convinced him to fire me. Before that I was working at Multichoice while I was doing a course in IT I managed to do two years before I didn't have any money to pay. My father had moved in with another woman so my mother could not afford to send me any more money. So I moved out of that place and started staying on the streets. I did not have money. My mother and my father had separated and now my father moved with his new woman. I am still angry with him, I have not talked to him ever since. Now I speak to my mother on a daily basis every Friday on the phone. They stole my bag the other day that had my phone and now I do not have one; I speak with her on my friend's phone. Last week I did not call her so she is going to be cross with me. I have not told her that I am homeless and sleeping on the streets. She would worry and feel pity for me and I don't want that. I will only tell when I am not homeless anymore or when I go back home."

"I was going to school, I was doing my second year in IT and then I could not finish because I had no money. I want to go back to school when I have money so that I can finish my course. I like working with computers. You see when he fired me, my friends started saying that that girl bewitched me. I lost of everything. That girl is crazy. Me I don't know whether it is true or not she was also going to this church that told a dream and then when she wakes up every week she has seven hundred rand under her bed. Is she a witch? I don't know. Now I have epilepsy and it only started now. Nobody has epilepsy in my family, I am the only one. Now I struggle to get medicine because I don't have papers. When I started making that girl my girlfriend, we wanted to get married so that I get papers. Her mother had a friend that worked in the home affairs. We arranged everything and paid the money but the friend ate it and didn't give me the papers. She just take my money.

Since I have been on the streets I just spend my days reading by the Union Buildings, staying out of trouble. I come for tea in the morning at Akanani, in the afternoon I go to Sunnyside. There is a church close to the Sunnyside swimming pool that gives us lunch. Sometimes I go to work in Gezina with my friend when there is work. Now Carlos has gotten some form of the help he needs. He visits the doctor on fortnight basis. He was given a referral letter by Akanani to go to Sediba hope[8]. He hopes to finish his course in IT and if that is not possible by the end of the year, he hopes to go back home to his mother. At the moment he helps out at Akanani and spends most of time there and his weekends at a local church."

8 An NGO clinic situated in Church Street that works with TLF

The stories of the informants in these case studies are similar to all the homeless informants I had informal discussions with. They came to Pretoria to better their lives while others came for the anonymity the city provides them. These case studies show the struggles that they endure on a daily basis. In these struggles homeless individuals have find ways to cope and find support. This leads them to create survival strategies that they employ in order to live on the streets.

3.3: <u>Survival Strategies</u>

Mitchell (2003) emphasises that the right to be in the city by various groups is a great struggle and through that struggle people have generated new ways of surviving and inhabiting public spaces. Some of the people who are homeless who I observed as well as had discussions with during my time in the field have fashioned new ways of living in the streets of Pretoria by having organised their existences and routines to revolve around the places that they frequent. Instead of just begging and stealing that most associate with homelessness, they have taken up jobs in the city. There are homeless people who help with the parking and washing of cars, those who aid people in the inner city to carry luggage or offer directions, those who rely on charity donations and those who have jobs but are not remunerated enough to obtain accommodation.

People who are homeless try to 'earn a living' in numerous ways. Steady work in the formal economy is obviously favoured but it is hard to come by. In the midst of the obstacles of looking for and securing formal work, there are other problems that they face problems like; very little or lack of employment records. Some of the informants have no or very little work experience. They lack money to purchase clothing and for transport. Therefore, partaking in the formal economy is frequently through provisional or day labour, which basically offers very low wages, no benefits, sometimes they are expected to work irregular hours, and in unsafe conditions (Kerr and Dole, 2005). According to a number of authors in Canada, some of the people who are homeless see even tedious employment as serving as an escape route, offering recompenses and obligations that decrease the appeal of street life (Hagan and McCarthy, 1998; Karabanow 2008).

Because of the difficulties faced by people who are homeless when trying to secure formal work, Snow and Anderson (1993) assume that many people turn to shadow work as their period of being homeless lengthens. Shadow work includes resource-generating labours outside the formal economy comprising of foraging, panhandling, recycling, bartering, street vending and illegal acts such as

theft, prostitution, and drug sales (Duneier, 1999, Hagan and McCarthy, 1998; Lee and Farrell, 2003). Most types of shadow work do not require experience or a highly qualified person to perform the work, but they give the people involved in them a sense of control and self-respect, not to mention a channel for entrepreneurial whims. There are, obviously, challenging characteristics to shadow work, which can be that it is dirty, unsafe, physically demanding, and usually it is an unreliable source of income. Furthermore, in the inner city of Pretoria certain shadow activities are rarely regulated with very little structure.

3.3.1: Strategies Needed to Secure Food

For people who are homeless; being able to provide food for is a necessity; given the conditions that they live in in the inner city it is quite difficult to obtain money to buy food on a daily basis, it is even more difficult to find places that offer food to people who are homeless especially if they are new to the streets of Pretoria or they have never heard about such programs and facilities. John an informant who has been living on the streets of the inner city for four months had trouble finding food. He kept mostly to himself because he did not want to be mixed with the 'wrong crowd'. The church he went to get food, did not offer food on a daily basis. On the days he did not get food, he would usually not be able to buy food for himself because he did not have money.

"It's hard to find food. I am always hungry, and because we don't have food sometimes I go days without eating."- John*.

Food security is the capacity to make sure that households have resources to acquire suitable food for a nourishing diet (Kriel, Mashava and Tembe, 2015: 6). Access to food is contingent on income accessible to the household, the allocation of income within the household and on the price of food (Kriel, Mashava and Tembe, 2015: 6; USAID, 1995). By this definition, homeless people are at a disadvantage for a number of reasons. Firstly the fact that homeless people do not have homes, they are on the streets therefore this definition does not take people who are homeless into consideration. Secondly, people who are homeless usually do not have income due to the lack of employment which deters them from buying food, and lastly, being homeless reduces a people's likelihood of being able to provide food for themselves on a daily basis meaning that when a person who is homeless does access food, the nutritive value of that meal is essentially not a priority. For the homeless the notion of nutrition is an indulgence that they can hardly afford (Kriel, Mashava and Tembe, 2015: 6).

In order to have food the common thing to do for most of the people who are homeless is to count on donations and outreach programmes such as those of Akanani which provides them with tea and bread in the morning and soup and bread on certain evenings. Alternatively people who are homeless beg for food or forage in dustbins or restaurants that they can sneak into without being chased out as well as by the traffic lights and sometimes within fast food franchises which often results in them being expelled from the premises.

Jimmy was not working for a long time; he had no money to buy food. He found places in the inner city where he could eat. His quote below demonstrates how he centred his activities around Akanani during the week and the cathedral in Nana Sita Street on the weekend in order to have food.

"I came to Pretoria in August last year, looking for a job. I used to come to Akanani every day except for Friday, to get bread and tea, I eat here and sometimes they give us extra bread if there is any left so we can eat later. I slept close to the park so that I won't be far from Akanani."

In order to survive the streets and have access to food and a place to sleep, some of the people who are homeless have developed a way that allows them to exploit the opportunities they get. They have created a camaraderie that is based on survival and safety. This does not mean that these relationships last forever; on the contrary, these easy friendships are only called upon when it is necessary or benefits them somehow, when whatever it is that prompted them to come together is completed, they again go their own separate ways. They warn each other when there is trouble or food. For example, Patrick shares how the people around him make sure that everyone gets food when outreach workers or individuals come with meals.

"When the people come to give us food, we call everyone to come eat or they call us if we have not seen the car. Also when the police come we tell the others. We make a whistle so that they know the police are coming."– Patrick*

3.3.2: Water, Sanitation and Stigmatisation

Besides trying to procure a meal, an additional problem that affects homeless individuals is stigmatisation. Sociologist Erving Goffman (1963: 13) defined stigma as a characteristic or station which socially shames an individual categorising him/her as an unwanted stereotype. Stigmatisation towards people who are homeless is owing to many factors, but one of the principal factors is their incapability to access water and ablution services, an important human right needed to make life manageable and to keep one's health and dignity within the inner city structures. The term

'sanitation' in this section is specifically used to discuss the availability of facilities and delivery of services for the safe discarding of human urine and faeces and the upkeep of hygienic conditions. The practice of the right to sanitation services relies heavily on availability, accessibility, affordability and quality, making it a difficult for homeless individuals to practice this right (Kriel, Mashava and Tembe, 2015: 7). Availability entails that water and sanitation facilities exist to meet people's basic needs; facilities needed to access water and meet the hygienic needs of people must always be available, enough and incessant for private and domestic purposes – these purposes include drinking, personal sanitation, washing clothes, preparation of food, hand washing, management of menstrual hygiene and ability to urinate or defecate (Kriel, Mashava and Tembe, 2015: 8). Being homeless with limited access to services in the inner city means that the specific right that relates to that specific situation is obsolete to homeless people; it does not exist because they cannot practise the right. One does not always have a place to access clean water and good ablution facilities, thus making public urination and defecation a norm amongst the people who are homeless generating conditions that are damaging to their health and the health of those around them. This further emphasises the significance of having available facilities in public spaces. Accessibility requires that infrastructure be built in the inner city that is inclusive and can be used by all because without accessible facilities people are forced to develop alternatives that are not conducive to good sanitation. For example; Informants that frequent spaces close to Sammy Marks Square in Pretoria Central expounded on how they do not use the toilets in there because they have to pay to go in. The issue of not having enough public facilities was brought forward by many of the informants. As a result of not having enough ablution facilities they either walk long distances or use urinate and defecate in public open spaces. They furthermore mentioned that they hardly ever use the facilities at the Union Buildings[9] because they are far and do not allow for privacy. During the informal discussions, the informants mentioned that besides the struggle to get money to buy food, they also have to pay to use some of the public toilets in the inner city. This is also a struggle because they would rather use the money they get to buy food or save it for something else. The toilets that do not require a tariff according the informants do not allow for privacy. Below are quotes from Jacob and Carlinho stating the struggle to use public toilets in the inner city.

"They make you pay to use that toilet, I need money for food. Every coin counts, so I go to the bushes" – Jacob

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9 Parliamentary buildings located on the outskirts of the inner city

"You cannot really do your business there at the Union Buildings. Anybody can walk in and see what you are doing, it is embarrassing" – Carlinho

Affordability is a big concern for people who are homeless who normally do not receive income for their basic needs because they are unemployed. Water is difficult to get and it is often considered to be unsafe to drink. The more privileged members of society prefer to purchase bottled water, install water filters or dig boreholes on their properties to access good clean water. Even though the more privileged members of society are familiarised with buying water, it is still a monumental task for those who are not in a position to do so such as homeless individuals. Quality also plays a critical key role in the provision of water and sanitation services. This must be safeguarded in order to promote good health. Water ought to be of quality that is non-toxic for human ingestion, personal and domestic hygiene. Ablution facilities must be safe to ensure the health of the (Albuquerque, 2012: 5)

Homeless people are usually stigmatised, because at times they are unable to access water and ablution services. The lack of cleanliness often than not leave them as victims of verbal and physical abuse. They are disregarded, ignored as well as being classified as "dirty" or "smelly" and not warranting assistance when they ask for help. This generates a space for the desecration of people's dignity and even though the issue of sanitation is a challenge faced by all people who are homeless irrespective of gender; women are more susceptible to stigmatisation. Their ablution needs are more challenging than those of men, particularly when they are menstruating. To overcome this challenge, they improvise by using toilet paper, newspapers, plastic bags or pieces of cloth that they have to wash after use. The women also get sanitary pads from 'good Samaritans' in the streets. The lack of proper facilities for washing and cleaning could be one of the reasons why women who are homeless have somewhat kept themselves away from the public (Kriel, Mashava and Tembe, 2015: 8). I relied mostly on speculation when it came to homeless women because they were not as visible as homeless men on the streets. Below is a quote by Sarah a twenty-something women who explains how she has taken to use toilet paper for menstrual purposes because she has no money to buy sanitary pads.

"I feel dirty and I smell all the time, it's not nice feeling like this especially during that time and I can't buy always ultra so I will use toilet paper." – Sarah

Additional strategies used by homeless individuals in Pretoria's inner city in order to meet their sanitary needs are that of making use of drop in centres. Facilities such as Coffeehuis a drop-in-

centre in Arcadia offer spaces for homeless people to bath and do laundry. The drop-in -centres have been places intended to aid homeless people exercise their rights and uphold their dignity (Kriel, Mashava and Tembe, 2015: 9). Nonetheless the number of available facilities is not enough to help all the people who are homeless in the region. Correspondingly most of these shelters and drop-in-centre facilities are only accessible on specific times. For example, Coffeehuis is open for bathing and laundry for men on Tuesday and Thursday and women only on Wednesdays; it is closed on the weekends. Alternatively they also make use of open public spaces – canals as well as the Apies River have been used to bath and wash clothes. Kriel, Mashava and Tembe (2015: 9) discovered that in the neighbourhood of Arcadia - business and residential area on the outskirts of the city and is sometimes referred to as part of the inner city- there is an open canal which homeless individuals often use to clean themselves. Whilst others avoid it because this specific canal is also used by many to dispose their garbage, it is still a source of water that is relied upon by those who use it. As a result of the canal being used as a dumping site, it is infested with rats and bacteria which create health hazards for people who come in contact with it. Keith an informant said that he preferred to use the Apies River for bathing and laundry purposes because he does not have to wait his turn.

"I usually bath in the Apies River, there is no queuing here and I can wash my clothes when I bath. But sometimes it is too cold so I do not bath for a number of days. On these days I cannot go look for jobs because I have not been bathing" – Keith

The strategies used by homeless people to secure food and water additionally stress the significance of availability and accessibility of good quality amenities to all in order to meet their basic needs.

3.3.3: Avoidance, Support Groups and Substance Abuse

Lack of the availability and accessibility of amenities are not the only challenges that homeless individuals have to cope with. They are also dealing with being 'invisible', often on several levels, together with related problems of mental illness, alcohol or drug misuse, and having been abused in the past. Due to the impoverished social support networks in the inner city, many people who are homeless have restricted practical and emotional support. Therefore, social seclusion and estrangement are not rare.

Support groups are a strategy that some of my informants use to combat social seclusion and estrangement. Support groups are available for people who are homeless but there are a few people that know about or participate in them. Support groups are usually packaged together with either a

church or a drop in centre like Akanani, Night Church or a non- profit organisation. These groups are set up to encourage relationships amongst the people who join them so that they do not have to be alone on the streets. They also there so that the members can council one another as well as share stories of hope and any other thing of significance that might be of interest. I attended one such group meeting towards the end of my research in September 2015 that took place at the premises of Akanani. The group consisted of 8 men and 2 women all from different backgrounds with different tales of how they landed on the streets except for the social worker who facilitated the discussions. They all came from different parts of the inner city and the purpose of the group was to offer support for each of its members. They encouraged talking about their hopes and dreams so that they could help each other with the steps needed to achieve those hopes and dreams. In this specific group they created a hierarchy based on democracy. They voted for their leader and everyone who was in a position of power. Though everyone had a position (chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and their vices etc.) the people personally picked their desired position, campaigned for it and the members voted for either the person to keep the position or be removed and placed somewhere else. After the meeting was over, they pick up their bags and go their separate ways because they do not stay or move in the same spaces at the same time. I asked Arthur, an informant who was part of the group how he had heard about the group, why he attended and how the group had started? Arthur is unemployed and he was looking for ways to spend his time. He had been looking for activities to do and when he heard about the group he decided to join it.

"I heard about the group through John and the social worker. They were looking to start a group for us here since they did the same at Potters House[10] and the women have a craft business that gives them extra income to support themselves. So they brought it[11] here to Akanani and they were looking for people to take part. They voted me to be the treasurer and I agreed because I'm the only one they trusted to keep the records of how they spend money and go to the bank and stuff. I joined the group because I had nothing to do and I joined to kill time. We help each other and we hope to help other men who are not part of the group". Arthur

Another strategy that some people who are homeless employ on the streets is the use of drugs. There are those that came to stay on the streets in the inner city because they wanted a place where drugs were readily available and they could feed their addiction away from the watchful eye of their

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10 Potters House is a shelter for women managed and run by TLF

11 The social workers at Akanani introduced support groups for the individuals that came to Akanani.

parents, relatives or community and under the anonymity that the streets provide. Then there are those that lost everything because of their addiction and they ended up on the streets.

Gift* is from Potchefstroom. He left home because he is wanted by his ex-gang members. He ran to Pretoria to be safe. He started taking drugs at the age of twelve when he joined the gang because it was the thing to do when one is part of a gang. Their gang was called SVK[12]. According to him they were the lowest of all the gangs. They were not rich so they were known by their naughtiness. They indulged in stabbing others for fun, robbery and fighting. He stayed with his mother and with two other siblings.

"Living on the streets is good also bad. It is not easy to get money. Even you I can even rob you now. I rob people, steal and beg the restaurant to get food and people. Most of the money I have I use it to buy drugs. I am hooked you see and I do not want to stop. It's the thing I know good. When I get here in Pretoria I was staying in a shelter and I was going to school. But they saw that I was still naughty, then they say I must go. I take nyaope, stone, and any other drug that I can get from the streets. Sometimes I don't feel hungry when I'm high and I don't have to think about going home. One day a man gave me money to go home but it was too much money I have seen, I used it to buy drugs and after I was more sad that I didn't go home. I go to church every Sunday. I believe in God very much. Sometimes I want to go home like now when people have Easter. I miss my family, but if I beg for money to go home I will use it to buy the drugs. So when I go home someone must buy me a ticket and put me a taxi so that I will not take the drugs."

Ronald left Mozambique four years ago. His mother was a South African Sotho speaking woman and she was shot when he was very young. He said that he does not remember her much or any of his mother's relatives because he was very young when he last saw them. He also said that his father passed away in 2004 and he only remembers his father's sister who lives in Mozambique. He also does not know whether she is still alive.

He has been staying on the streets since the time he came to South Africa. He is 22 years old now. He is aware of his situation and how hopeless it is. He says he is on drugs because they help him not to be hungry and think about all he has lost. He is not clean and looks like the typical person who is homeless and lives on the streets. He looks dirty with torn clothes; he has blisters and he scars on his skin. He spends his days begging, at times stealing food so that he can eat. He mostly operates in

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12 Stout van Kakke (Gift's Translation: we don't give a crap, we just don't care).

Skinner Street. According to him, he has not been in trouble with the law. He does not remember a time when he was ever in trouble, although he acknowledges the fact that people do not treat him well.

A common theme during my fieldwork was the belief of being unlike other people who are homeless in the inner city. There was always someone worse off. Homeless individuals sometimes had a distorted picture of reality. This is not to say that some of the informants were in denial of the current reality they are living but with the help of drugs and alcohol they could live out a different 'much better' reality. Many newly and habitually homeless informants who claimed not to use drugs perceived themselves to be better than homeless individuals who used drugs. They do not see themselves as bad, as lazy, and as unmotivated as those who use drugs. There was the conception of an us and them separation within the statuses of the homeless. Vusi has been homeless for six months and in that time he claims to not have used drugs or alcohol. He stated that drugs and alcohol would only deter him from improving his life. Below is a quote of him saying why he does not do drugs:

 "There is a lot of things the streets take from a person, you can see some are just alive nje[13]. You can see they are hopeless, always high, sitting on the corner even when they are not high they are still high. I don't ever want to be like that, I have a plan to get my life back together, and I won't stay here for long. If you stay on the streets too long, you become just like the hopeless guys." Vusi

Most of the informants I spoke with who were drug addicts felt ashamed for living on the streets and having to sometimes eat from leftovers found on the side of the streets or in dustbins; for having to use open public spaces for private activities that one would normally do behind closed doors. Drugs gave them an escape and sometimes a shield that they hide behind to do the things that they do. Piet when talking about drugs as a coping mechanism below reveals how his constant use of drugs has made him rely on them more in order to escape the hopelessness of being homeless.

"*You get so torn and damaged that in the end you are just there, existing with too many negative thoughts in your head waiting to die. I see people who I saw on the streets then, they are still here on the streets now as much as I can tell, they have just given up And just hanging on for survival. . . . you get used to being homeless, and it becomes a way of living, and people get comfortable in these situations, they do not see anything outside of homelessness anymore it is like this is all I'm gonna be*

13 An expression of finality when one is saying something. It is usually used by Zulu speakers

what's the point of even trying to get out of it. They then turn their back on society because they don't want to have to feel weak even though they are. That's why we build these walls around us you know and use drugs. You know by having these walls you hurt a little less when you looked over, when they tell you to get out before you even get in and stuff." Piet

Avoidance is also a coping mechanism employed by people who are homeless in the inner city. As is evident in the quotes I used throughout the dissertation, my informants tend to stay clear of places they know they are not allowed in. Most of the informants said they were aware of the restrictions in the city that impedes their movement as well as laws that criminalise the informal businesses they start in the inner city. Avoiding certain areas in the inner city might seem like a way of lessening their troubles but that will just feed into their helplessness as well as having to suffer continued discrimination and stigmatisation.

Avoiding the problems related to their lack of rights in the city inspires helplessness which like accepting that there is no other way to live their lives but to suffer the injustices they are faced with. The overall standing of people who are homeless will not improve in such circumstances and a serious cycle of anxiety, depression, and helplessness may follow leaving them to even rely on avoidance as a coping mechanism even more. For example, homeless individuals know that being in the inner city is a struggle, especially when they are considered to be 'invisible'. They choose to avoid problem areas in the inner city and they may reason that pushing the matter with the city council may not be worth the consequences. If they avoid the problem, the situation does not change, and each year, is another year spent in the shadows with no relief in sight. Because they are not willing to challenge the views and injustices, the problem of discrimination and stigmatisation perpetuates.

Coping mechanisms do, however, give a prediction of activities over and above the awareness of personal characteristics of people being observed. This finding advocates that it is not only one's perception of personal characteristics but also one's coping strategy that offers a more complete interpretation of whether positive (e.g., collective action) or negative (e.g., helplessness) behavioural outcomes occur (Foster,2000: 103).

3.4: Social Networks amongst the homeless in the inner city

A group is a social unit which is made up of a number of people who have similar status and roles. They have interactions with one another and this holds a set of values or norms of its own modifying

the behaviour of individual members (Sherif and Sherif, 1956: 144; Forsyth, 2006:4).The inclination to join with in groups is possibly the most significant single characteristic of humans and these groups leave an ineradicable stamp on their members and on society (Forsyth, 2006: 1). To have a better understanding of people one would normally look at groups. The connections that bind people together may be strong emotional bonds, like the links between the members of a family or a clique of close friends (Forsyth, 2006: 1-32). The links may also be comparatively weak ones that may be broken quite easily with the passage of time or the occurrence of relationship damaging events. This is not the case for people who are homeless in the inner city. They can be seen as a community. A community is a group of people who have something in common such as norms, values; identity and often a sense of place that is situated in a given geographical area. Homeless individuals have different aspirations, values and norms. They are rarely classified as a group even though sometimes their connections with other people in the same circumstances are there. However the connections are not strong enough to withstand trials and tribulations on the streets.

Groups are one of the building blocks of a community. Most people think of communities as a place or a setting where people share customs, a language, ideas, skills and services. For a community to be fully functioning, it needs to have access[14], communication[15], presence[16] and involvement[17]. For the people who are homeless 'community' is constructed differently. Anthony Cohen in his book *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (1985) states that; community should be perceived as a symbolic and contrastive concept. Cohen makes this statement after his research on the *nkumbi*: a ritual performed by tribes in the then Ituri Forests of Zaire[18]. He is of the notion that amongst the 'tribes' involved in the *nkumbi*; 'community' that is experienced by the members of the tribes is not established in social structure or in the doing' of social behaviour. It exists, rather, in 'the thinking' about it. It is in this sense that we can speak of the community as a symbolic, rather than a structural construct (Cohen, 1985: 98). In seeking to understand the occurrence of community we have to

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14 Members must be able to access the community.

15 Members must be able to communicate with each other.

16 Members must have some kind of relationship with each other.

17 Members must have some sort of involvement with the community.

18 Present day Democratic Republic of Congo

observe its basic social relations as sources of meaning for its members, not as a set of physical connections. Cohen (1985:98) goes on to say that 'community' is ethnographically problematic because it is not susceptible to objective description, but only to interpretation. In this matter we can only seek to make use of informed speculation. Therefore amongst the homeless, a sense of community exists in the minds of the homeless people. In the end; the particularity of communities and the certainty of their boundaries, correspondingly lie in the mind; in the meanings that people ascribe to them, not in their structural forms (Cohen, 1985: 98).

The street homeless can identify themselves as a community in as a social group that is marked off from another because of their status in society. The boundaries of their community that they ascribe to are in their minds. By definition a community is described by its physical attributes, so by just looking at the everyday activities and clusters of people who are homeless in the inner city one is led to label them a community. By spending time with my informants I was able to deduce that even though the social organisation of the street homeless people in the city is different to what we are accustomed to, they are still a community using Cohen's (1985) definition. They do not have hierarchies, gangs and leaders with certain prescribed rules that they follow, unless they visit one of the few drop in centres in the city where structure and rules are the order of the day when it comes to the groups that they form. The general consensus amongst the informants was that on the streets people have to look out for themselves always but there are incidences when different groups of homeless people come together creating a sense of community and unity. These cases usually occur when there is an excess of food being distributed to the people who are homeless or when they are warning each other of possible raids by the metro cops. Within Pretoria's inner city, factors inhibiting solidarity amongst the homeless are the same issues that separate the homeless from the general population; issues of trust, inequality and discrimination, stigmatisation and harassment. It is also these same issues that bring them together to fight for their rights in the face of injustices brought to them by the public and the police. For example, the homeless march that took place on 5 October 2015. The purpose of the march was to raise awareness over the stigmatisation, harassment, and discrimination that homeless people are subjected to. According to Forsyth (2006) groups can also be perceived as circumstantial, emergent and unplanned. These groups arise when external, situational forces set the stage for people to join together and they are often temporary (Forsyth, 2006). Below I give an account of an observation that I encountered in the field which illustrates circumstantial groups as well as a community according to Cohen (1985).

<u>5/03/2015; Time: 19:30. Venue: Corner Lilian Ngoyi and Francis Baard street (Inner City Pretoria) and Kgosi Mampuru Street opposite a chicken butchery close to marabastad.</u>

Before the outreach group I was volunteering with left for outreach every Tuesday and Thursday night, we discussed our route for that specific night. That night I asked to go to the chicken place as the other volunteers call it and the others decided to pass by the corner of Lilian Ngoyi and Francis Baard. This corner is home to drug addicts. When we arrived most had already turned in for the night. There were black, white, coloured and Indian homeless people but they all did not mingle with other ethnicities. The pavement was lined up with mattresses and dirty blankets with the stench of weeks past urine and marijuana in the air. Like the men at Princes' Park – a parking lot in Princes' Park Street that functions as a taxi rank during the day and a place to sleep for homeless individuals in the night- they were all shirtless and some were walking in their underwear. One man was brave enough to use his hands as a toilet and then gathered it all on paper and strutted towards the road to leave on the street. Katryn an exchanged German volunteer called them the people that have lost hope. They were not trying to better themselves anymore and they were always looking for their next fix. Even if they were taken to a rehabilitation centre when they asked, they always came back right to the streets. They all came to get bread and one of the Afrikaans men gave Katryn advice on how to get the truck off the pavements. When they used to come to this corner the car got stuck several times and the man helped her to get the car going again.

We then proceeded to the chicken place in Kgosi Mampuru Street. When we arrived the street was empty except for one man who then sounded the alarm that the bread had arrived. Before we even knew it, there was more than thirty people all standing around us looking and waiting for bread and they kept on coming. We did not see where they slept, but the air here as well was murky and filled with the stench of marijuana. They came with their merchandise that they sell during the day. They were not selling them to us but they probably could not leave them behind where they slept for fear of finding them gone when they returned. Out of all the people who came, there were only two women in the queue. They were much more rowdy and a bit violent than the other people at the places that we had been to previously. The volunteers kept asking them to be orderly. Even though they were getting bread, they got it whilst complaining. They were expecting to get polony and eggs and something to wash the meal away after they have finished eating, forgetting that they were getting it for free. We did not have enough bread for all the people that came at the chicken place and

we started giving them six slices and they complained even more. They thought it was not fair that they were getting six slices when the first people in the queue got a whole loaf. One guy kept coming back in the queue and ended with two loaves and six slices of bread. The volunteers that were handing out the bread did not notice this. Finally we made our way back to our respected homes and the volunteers all agreed not to go to the chicken place for a long time.

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The circumstantial groups in the observation show that the groups were not really planned. They emerged out of necessity. They come together at night and disperse when day comes. Having established the kind of solidarity structures the homeless fall under, it is crucial for them to have access to spaces that are conducive to forming relationships. As Low, Taplin and Scheld (2006) established in *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity*; public spaces can solidify relationships when people come together and participate in the same activities but if they are made unwelcoming they also fester inequality and discrimination. In the inner city there are very few spaces for this to happen. Shelters and drop-in-centres encourage the formation of relationships, but my informants all mentioned that there was no time for forming relationships. Relationships are rarely established or maintained. The relationships that formed are circumstantial and temporary. Socially, the street homeless do not have specific groups that they belong to. It is very lonely for them unless they have another relative staying with them on the streets. They go about their business alone. They have very few places that they gather together, places like Akanani, Coffeehuis and Night Church where they meet to engage in church activities such as services and devotions, and share meals. These places are places where relationships can be established and flourish but homeless persons are constantly on the move looking for opportunities to better themselves. Therefore even if they have these places where they gather together; the uncertainty that people never know if they will see the person they befriended and the lack of trust also impedes on creating meaningful relationships. Treyvon below shared why he did not have friends since he started staying on the streets:

"I have been on the street for two years now and I can honestly say that I have never really had a friend here. I see the guys, I talk to them sometimes even share a joint and sleep at the same place but tomorrow they could be gone or even rob you of your stuff"– Treyvon

3.5: <u>Conclusion</u>

Despite the many ways of living adopted by people who are homeless to alleviate the major problems of hunger, lack of proper ablution facilities and humiliation that they face on a daily basis in the inner city, they are still living in disagreeable conditions that are caused and at the same time limited by their lack of rights in the city. I used quotes from the informants to illustrate the realities of their everyday and how they are forced to make adjustments in order to survive. Their lives are sanctioned through multiple discourses and actions of people in the city. I captured the daily struggles that homeless individuals face so that in future better strategies and research maybe employed to help alleviate the problem of the most vulnerable in our city.

Power dynamics are a major challenge that homeless individuals have to contend with. Power is the basis of the encounters that take place on the streets. It determines how a person is treated. The next chapter's discussion is on how power dynamics work in society to accentuate the hierarchies of social classes, reiterate inequality and the stigmatisation of homeless people in the inner city of Pretoria.

CHAPTER 4

Power and Homelessness

4.1: <u>Introduction</u>

This chapter examines how power dynamics work in society to accentuate the hierarchies of social classes, reiterate inequality and stigmatisation of homeless people in the inner city of Pretoria. I begin by showcasing two case studies that shed light on the issues inequality and stigmatisation due to homelessness. I focus on how unspoken boundaries are used to police public space in the inner city and these unspoken boundaries work against homeless people reifying the stigma that homelessness entails. I briefly examine the discourse among the general public concerning homelessness in the city along with strategies employed by the city and organisations in the city that work with people who are homeless to minimise and ultimately remove the numbers of people dwelling on the streets. I next observe how the city officials talk of and about homelessness and the work that has and is being done in the city concerning vision 2055 as well as how the work impacts the lives of those living in the city. I show how their discourse often perpetuates and reify the status quo, how homeless persons are rendered powerless either by accusations of them being lazy and occupying spaces that do not belong to them or by being dehumanised. The discourse is often characterised by using power-inflected, often degrading and humiliating talk at the expense of the homeless persons' dignity.

I also inspect how the city and the general public exonerate themselves from the responsibility of stigmatising, bullying and victimisation of homeless people. I finally look at the ignorance of the officials, organisations and the general public. I show how ideas about homelessness assumptions are often at the root of how homeless persons are treated. I close the chapter with the discussion of the lack of rights that further strips homeless persons of the power and dignity that are supposed to be accorded to them as inhabitants of the city. I will then discuss briefly how most of the informants of this study's lack of rights link to their daily struggles which will be elaborated in in-depth in chapter 5.

While I am keenly aware that power differentials exist in all kinds of relations amongst the people in the city; the gap between the homeless and the general public is large. Many scholars have theorised socio-spatial dynamics and how space is made in these dialectics (Lefebvre 1991, Low; ed 1996;

Soja 1980). They found that social space is host to and producer of a field fraught with socio-cultural hierarchies, always and already framing how encounters between people may unfold. On the other hand encounters between people are also developed by the geographic and built environment that forms space which also leads to the growing of relationships between individuals as Lefebvre (1991) demonstrated with his ideas of 'social space' which produces 'relational space' which is the shared space between people that is can easily be destroyed with antagonism or grows and flourish when kindness and care is shown. People make social understandings from the involvement and attention they give one another in any spaces the city has.

With this in mind, I went about asking informants during the discussions about any relationships they formed in the inner city with either people who do not have homes or those that have homes. The original purpose of this question was to map and capture the social organisation of people who are homeless; if they had any relationships in the city and how they went about protecting and honouring them and this was done to demonstrate the sociality of homeless persons to be the same or better as those who have homes. But it ended up showing the power dynamics that govern any other 'relationships' and encounters and the lonely road that my informants and those they know experience, (**see chapter 3 on power and homelessness**). Stories of individual negative experiences in the inner city were of intense conflict, and are one of the major consistent themes to emerge in discussions and participant observation, certainly the premise of can I ask you about your experiences as a homeless person in the city made it likely that I would elicit such responses from the informants.

Two case studies at the beginning of the chapter form the basis of this chapter. I had discussions with two different people; one a foreigner from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) who has made a home for him and his family on the pavement of the UN Building at the corner of Fraancis Baard and Prinsloo in the inner city and the other a blind mother of two who used to stay and beg on the streets with her two children and currently has been provided with shelter and means of getting some form of income through the social grant system. Through the discussions I had with these individuals on a number of days, I was able to piece together events that happened in their lives to depict the power struggles, victimisation and stigma associated with being homeless, poor and living on the streets. For the man from DRC and his family, he is struggling on his own with his family with no relief or help. On top of being victimised and bullied he is constantly living in fear of being deported back to his country where he escaped from being incarcerated or killed for the political affiliation

and opinions he had whilst living in DRC. I chose him for the case study for the hopelessness his case produces due to the power relationships brought on by the law.

Case study 3- Life Struggles of Zen* and his family

Zen* was born in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in 1971. Growing up in DRC was tough he says, there was war all around but there were also times of peace as well as towns that were peaceful. He excelled in his schooling that at the end of it he became a qualified teacher. As his life was progressing, he met a women ten years his junior (Beauty*) and they decided to marry. Zen's older brother was involved in politics and it got him killed. Killing him alone was not enough; the people responsible for his death went on a rampage killing everyone who was associated with Zen's brother. So Zen decided to uproot his young family to South Africa in search of a better life and safe refuge. They arrived on the shores of South Africa in the year 2003 and applied for asylum. It was a success and they were granted a temporary asylum seekers permit that had to be renewed every 6months until they did not have to renew it anymore in 2005. Zen and Beauty then settled in Johannesburg and he commenced work as a construction worker while she became a hair dresser. They expanded their family with 2 children, a boy and a girl, born here in South Africa. Life was liveable.

In 2010, according to Zen, their asylum status was revoked and they were given 14 days to go back to their country. They were not notified of this until 2012 by the lawyers at human rights. The only option they had after their revoked permit was reapply for another permit five days after the notification or accept deportation and go to their embassy to be sent back to DRC and then apply for another visa to come back to South Africa. With the threat of impending death over his life and the lives of his family, going back was not an option. When the contract for Zen's work expired in December 2013, he could not renew it and also Beauty had stopped working because she was looking after her babies at home. They lost their source of income since they could not apply for any formal job without the right sort of papers that showed their right to be in the country. The jobs that Zen took on after his release from his formal employment were taxing and demeaning and sometimes he was not paid for his efforts. Fear of deportation led them to the pavements of the UN building at the corner of Francis Baard and Prinsloo in Pretoria in March 2014.

Besides the fear of being deported, Zen thought that staying on the pavements of the building of the UN will give him access to the services that the UN provides for refugees. Since he has no

recognised place of permanent residence, he cannot access any services provided in the city. His children who are 7 and 9years of age were in school and stopped attending in March 2014 because they also took on their parents' illegal status after the asylum was revoked. When they get sick they hope it is not serious. They rely on charity from churches and NGOs that come once in a while to drop off some much needed goods for survival. They use a church in Fraancis Baard close to the UN building for ablution facilities. They rarely venture away from this pavement for fear of being apprehended and deported since the pavement is seen as diplomatic ground therefore they are protected. But that does not stop the metro police from coming to this very same pavement, taking away the belongings of the people that inhabit the pavement and assaulting both the men and women. Zen is of the mind that both the UN and the Metro police are in cahoots and plotting each and everyone's demise that is staying in front of the UN building.

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Case study 4- Sandile's encounter with the law

Sandile* is blind with two children. In 2010 her children ranged from the ages of 3 and 7years. Her source of income in 2010 was begging. The years before and during 2010 were the most trying times of her life because she was homeless. Along with begging, she said that sometimes she would get clothes and food for her and her children from charity donations. She does not talk much about how she got to be homeless and begging in the streets. However she talks about her experiences on the streets of Pretoria. She is well articulated in her speech and she can also read and write in Brail.

One experience that brings her much sadness is when her children were taken away from her in broad daylight and she was arrested and put at the back of a police van. It was the 13th of June in 2010 and she was begging in front of McDonalds situated in Esselein Street, Pretoria. She said she normally left her children behind with one of the ladies she used to stay on the streets with to go to the park but some days she took them with her because there was no one available to look after them. On this fateful day whilst going on about begging for loose change, her baby on her back was taken from her, she heard him cry until she could not hear him anymore. Her daughter who was close to her refused to let go of her mother and was thrown into the car together with her mother. She asked where they had taken her baby and all the police said was that they were taking them to a place of safety. Eventually the daughter also got separated from her mother, her questions about her children's whereabouts fell on deaf ears, and the police were reluctant to answer her questions. She kept asking one pressing question why you say place of safety if you do not even tell me where my

children are. How is it safe for me and safe for them? After two days of her relentless asking she was reunited with her daughter and it took two more days before her son was found and returned to her.

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This is the reality of the people who are living on the streets, the reality despite South Africa's middle-income status as a country and the reality despite the shopping centres and visible indicators of wealth all around the inner city. South Africa is a land of great disparity between rich and poor. Here in the inner city like many other inner cities in South Africa homelessness has become endemic. It is so prevalent that it is what you see when venturing into the cities especially at night when homeless persons have made their beds on the pavements. Conversations with any of the people I interviewed stated the lack of income, lack of safety, family problems and substance abuse as one of the factors that drives them to the cities in search for better opportunities. As adults some do not have places to call home except the street pavements that they live on. They see that they have grown up and cannot rely on their parents or relatives to provide them with livelihood option and therefore they move to the cities in search of better opportunities.

Sandile* in case study 2 was eventually helped by the Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), her two children are sponsored to go to school and she now has access to social grants that enable her to provide for her and her two children. Before the LHR intervened, her source of income was begging and she was the sole breadwinner of her family. She kept on mentioning that being poor is not in the least conducive to being a good citizen because being poor in South Africa automatically makes one a criminal, but being poor and blind is much worse because one is not seen as being a fully functioning human being. The police and anyone can do whatever they want with and to you. In a later discussion, she went on to ask what the difference was between her and a woman who also goes to work and tries to provide for her children in Waterkloof. Was her poverty and blindness just cause to remove the children she had somewhat successfully raised from birth up until the time they were taken from her? At the time of this conversation, I interpreted Sandile's homelessness and begging as the reason why she was targeted and treated the way she was treated. In thinking further about the conversation with Sandile; homelessness is a factor in the maltreatment of homeless persons. For example; the city might view the removal of homeless persons from the streets as making their lives and everyone else's in the city better but they are also worsening the lives of homeless persons because they are destroying their homes and source of income. In the case of Sandile and her

children a better way of dealing with the situation would have went a long way in making sure Sandile felt safe and that her rights were not violated. Her homelessness was fuelled by her poverty and blindness and this increased her 'invisibility' and chances for her to be victimised as well as gave her less power that she could not use to dictate and control how she is viewed and dealt with. Also the fact that she was unlikely to be able to defend herself as well as her children against the ambush or afford to pay for legal defence exacerbated her victimisation. This repressive treatment of people on the periphery of our cities reflects a new panic policy for public spaces. Despite claims that our city is inclusive and protects the rights of all its inhabitants, public spaces are seen by the general public as places in which inhabitants pose a threat to each other as well as places of power contestations. This harsh treatment of people who are homeless especially in terms of the use of public space, as I alluded to in the paragraph above is a symptom of divide and conquer, of setting individuals and groups against each other, this is informally done by controlling access to spaces and services in the inner city as I will show examples later on in the chapter. This division of groups is sustained by law and informal institutions that govern behaviour in the public. In my opinion these institutions are locked into a policy of managing the general public spaces based on a philosophy of suspicion and permanent control which are as destructive as they are costly and futile.

Foreigners like Zen and his family who clearly do not have any right to be in the city let alone the country are the perfect example of how the lack of rights maximises their powerlessness which in turn limits them from any of the formal activities that take place in the city. The constitution states that "if a person or their dependants fall into the category of an asylum seeker or undocumented foreign national then they could be regarded as refugees. But, a person does not qualify to be a refugee if he has committed a non-political crime" (www.paralegaladvice.org.za, accessed 2 June 2015). The way that people who are homeless especially those that are not South African are treated is a good show on how the laws made on the ground are rendering them powerless. This creates a tension between the parties involved, those with power and those without power. Those without power are harassed and harangued beyond what the laws say is suitable.

Is it then that police and people that harass them are following orders from power structures that are higher than them on the power hierarchy that renders them also powerless in the face of higher authority? Such power-laden and high stakes encounters, such as inspecting, scrutinising and victimization of people who are homeless influences a lot of encounters between those with houses and those without in the inner city. Because they have less than everybody else they are rendered powerless and with very little of their rights acknowledged.

4.2: <u>New Inequalities</u>

The shift to democracy, marked by democratic elections in 1994, was obviously accompanied by high expectations that income poverty and inequality would be lessened. The votes of poor people had assisted in warranting victory for the ANC, which had campaigned around the promise of 'a better life for all'. Its election philosophy – the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) – recognised attacking poverty and deprivation as the first priority of the democratic government; all South Africans should enjoy a decent living standard and economic security (ANC, 1994 in Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 536). But just like the apartheid government, RDP houses were built away from the city centre with cheap material and barely any space for future expansion; the government continued with segregation which was now based on an economic level. The segregation after apartheid is based on service delivery as well as removal of people in squatter camps from places close to cities to areas where there is little development. The ushered in government, instead of eradicating previous strategies and a way of doing things, they built on what was left behind by the previous government, creating new ways of seclusion and segregation, thus still restricted the movements and expansion of people living beyond the poverty line.

On the one hand, the ANC itself guardedly applauds its success, at least in placing the institutions for the eradication of poverty in South Africa (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 536). Alternatively, a number of critical analysts have contended that the ideals of 1994 have been betrayed constantly, as the ANC has embraced neo-liberal policies that replicated the inequities of the past (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 536). Seekings (2011) goes on to quote John Pilger's (2006) statement: 'Apartheid did not die' because of undertakings adopted by the government'. In this view, the racialized injustices of apartheid made way for new market injustices, as the post-apartheid political elite incorporated global neo-liberalism (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 537). Neo-liberalism was understood to be particularly flourishing in South African cities, which offered suitable spaces for global capitalism to evade conceivable limitations arising from national politics. Neo-liberalism is said to have made Cape Town, for example, into one of the most – if not the most – unequal cities in the world (McDonald, 2008: 42; emphasis in the original). The profound inequalities that were promoted by apartheid, through explicit, forced and inegalitarian interpolation, are now being replicated through economic injustices. It is claimed that is due to the state pulling out from playing an active role in the regulation of markets, i.e. the state is withdrawing from any commitment to decommodification (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 537). Scholars pointed to policies that reinstate inequalities amongst citizens such as the privatisation of or

introduction of user-charges (and cost-recovery) for municipal services, the delegation to the private sector of house-building, and the proliferation of gated communities and business-led improvement districts (McDonald and Pape, 2002; Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2002; Harrison et al., 2008; McDonald, 2008). There is indeed strong evidence that both income poverty and inequality worsened in the years immediately following the transition to democracy in 1994. Income poverty and inequality worsened disproportionately in South Africa's cities as the urban elite and middle classes prospered whilst rapid rural- to-urban migration combined with rising unemployment rates to swell the ranks of the urban poor (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 537). This just carried on making marginalised societies on the periphery remain powerless to change their situation because they still had less access to opportunities. In the section below I look into pluralism and use it to explain the power chasm between the classes in the city that was brought on about or exacerbated by the different policies that I spoke about above.

4.3: Pluralism

Pluralism is the view that politics and decision making are situated mostly in the structure of government, but that many non-governmental groups utilise their resources to exercise power (Schattschneider, 1960: n.p.n). The fundamental issue for classical pluralism is how power and influence are spread in a political process (Schattschneider, 1960: n.p.n). Groups of people attempt to make the most from their interests. Conflict is often had between different groups as power is an incessant bargaining process amid opposing groups (Schattschneider, 1960: n.p.n). There could be inequalities but they are likely to be evened out by the several methods and allocation of resources throughout a population. Any transformation under this notion will be slow and cumulative, as groups have diverse interests and may act as block groups to abolish regulations that they do not agree with (Schattschneider, 1960: n.p.n). The presence of varied and conflicting interests is the foundation for democratic stability and important for the procurement of goals by entities (Schattschneider, 1960: n.p.n). As people in the city according to pluralism, are fighting the government and each other for the same resources. This is true to some extent, for example service delivery protests and xenophobia attacks in the cities demonstrates this.

Like most ideologies, they tend not to explain fully the imbedded problems society faces, so classical pluralism also falls short in its explanations. It does not expound on all the inequalities, injustices and power struggles that the people without homes and living on the streets experience. Schattschneider (1960) argued that the pressure system explained by classical pluralism is unfair because it is in

support of "the most educated and highest-income members of society", and he also indicated that "the difference between those who partake in interest group activities and those who stand at the side-lines is much larger than the one between voters and non-voters (Woolley and Papa, 1998: n.p.n). The treatment for homeless persons according to my informants is more or less the same. It does not matter when one is a foreigner or a South African citizen. My informants mentioned during discussions that they were treated with suspicion, are ignored when they try to speak out and they do not take part in most of the city's formal activities. Pluralism however sheds some light at the power dynamics that are in place when officers and those with homes in the city interact with those that do not have homes in the city and like all the dwellers in the city, they are also competing for the same resources. However people who are homeless compete at a different pace due to their lack of access to resources. They either have to work extra hard in dodgy dealings or rely solely on charity donations in order to survive.

Pluralism mentions the fact that groups of individuals try to maximise their interests. This is true of people who are content in taking care of themselves and their families. They can vote for any party of their choice and exercise their rights as inhabitants of the city to further their cause. For instances a police man works to provide for his\her wellbeing. He follows instructions because it furthers their interest. They get paid for a job and to lose that income would hinder them in some way. They are dressed in power - power that is given from the top down (bureaucracy operations) given to them by their bosses, yet that same power can be stripped away. The power is not guaranteed. The same goes for the people living on the streets. They obviously had power before they were homeless because they had a fixed address, maybe some source of income, some had identity documents therefore they could vote. I am using a fixed permanent address and identity documents as things that allow individuals to exercise the limited power given to them by the state. With a fixed permanent address and an identity document one has access to a lot of things (services, information etc.) in the country. A house and an identity document confer power. Lack of these renders one invisible to the public and the law. Nevertheless with the loss of a fixed address and identity document the semblance of power disappears and the same goes for the police man when his job is by some chance terminated. Therefore the power for example given to the policeman legitimises his actions, it helps him enforce the law thus determining the interaction between him and the rest of the population. To ensure that his job is safe he has to follow the rules given to him which then ensures that his power remains.

4.4: Marginalisation

Marginality and social exclusion once established are often reinforcing (Green, 2006: 1118). While measured processes of discrimination are seldom admitted, they are clearly evident in the kinds of mutually reinforcing policies applied to many marginalised communities which serve to ensure that the odds against their integration into mainstream society are often insurmountable (Green, 2006: 1118). Discourses legitimising differential treatment for communities on the basis of differences in lifestyle and livelihoods accompany these exclusionary strategies, informing not merely the negative stereotyping of minority groups but providing rationalisation for a perception of exclusion as a problem of the excluded categories. Homelessness becomes not only a problem for the people who are homeless but also becomes their responsibility. Involvement in violence, drugs and crime perpetuate the stereotypical images of homelessness, effectively making the areas they frequent and socialise deemed dangerous. Indeed some of the areas at night like Brown Street downtown Pretoria in the inner city are famed for its nyaope users, alcohol and prostitution but it is not just people who are homeless who make use of this street for these debauchery activities. These stereotypes reify the powerlessness of the people who are homeless. They limit them from being visible and accessing services that are available to someone who is not homeless which ultimately creates a sense of hopelessness and displacement. Hopelessness and helplessness in some create frustration that they ultimately find means to release this frustration through sometimes illegal means but again this is not to remove accountability from homeless persons who dabble in criminal activities, it is one way of explaining why they do the things they do. For example Gomo* is a 22 year old who lives on the streets of the inner city. He begs and steals from people in order to sustain his drug habit. I met Gomo in Nana Sita in front of the Universal Church and this is how he explained his behavior on the streets:

"I come to the city running away from home, I was 16. I think I will get a job my friend say there is many of the jobs in the city. When I was here I spent maybe two months and they all said there was no work even for the garden boy. I was hungry there was no food and no job. Then this friend we used to walk together he gave me a smoke it was so good that I forget I was hungry and no job. After that he said he need money to give me another one. I started begging and sometimes I steal the money because the smoke made me forget. Now I smoke anything, nyaope, stone…" Gomo.*

Lines of conflict are multiple and shifting power is a continuous bargaining process. The street in some of the inhabitants according to my informants creates a cycle of dependency. The

characteristics of dependency can be the addiction to drugs and alcohol, relying only on charity without plans to work or stealing. The inhabitants are constantly in conflict with themselves and others around them, which increases their marginality. Once the cycle of dependency it is hard to stop. Homeless persons living under this cycle according to my informants relinquish the power they hold over their own lives and succumb to the bargaining processes that their lack of power creates. Marginality in relation to place is then equally an artefact of social and historical processes, namely historical decisions to situate the centre elsewhere as well as what the centre should look like, rather than an inherent attribute of people or places.

Marginality is not always observed as exclusively negative by some of the people living and conducting business on the streets wishing to limit engagement with the formal activities of the city (Green, 2006: 1117). Certainly, some groups endeavour to uphold their self-sufficiency through marginal relations to conventional society and the state (Green, 2006: 1117). Such groups may endeavour to avoid being snared into the economic relations that typify livelihood strategies like economic activities that produce instantaneous economic returns and they place importance on the redistribution of resources through gambling and sharing, rather than accumulation and saving (Green, 2006: 1117). This is what Themba* had to say about being on the periphery and not have anybody paying attention to him. Themba is a 24 year old male who left home when he was 18 because he wanted to make a living for himself. He alternately stays on the streets and in an informal settlement in Salvakop. During the day he walks around the city and most of his nights he goes to affluent suburbs in Pretoria to rob houses:

"I make more than most people that have a job. I go to the suburbs different suburbs maybe once a week. It's very easy when they are not there if they are there sometimes we lock them in a room and take away the cell phone and sometimes maybe tie them and cover their mouths. I stopped going to school in grade 10 and just came to the city. Of course my mother does not know what I do; I just give her the money. You know in the city it is good because no one knows me not even those I work with. I do not tell them my name or where I come from. And I don't have to work like other people to have the money." (10 March 2015-Pretoria)

Such strategies are an important aspect of identity and self-definition for homeless persons, but ideological emphasis on freedom is limited in practice by the very powerlessness they face in relation to other social groups and the state. Subject to discrimination, often excluded from education and denied inclusion, such groups become encapsulated within highly restricted economic and

cultural niches (Day et al, 1999 in Green, 2006: 1117). Homeless people end up finding other ways of utilising the few opportunities they get. They find opportunities in the things that they have around them in order to make a living so as to provide for themselves and families. What we shun most of the times is the opportunities they have, for example; selling sweets or vegetables or cigarettes on the side of the road. Most of the time the general public is ignorant of the fact that most people who are homeless on the streets work to support themselves even though the money they earn is too little to afford a place to stay in the city or travel out of it on a daily basis. The notion that certain individuals and social groups are undeserving of assistance because they somehow cause their own problems is quite widespread amongst the general public in inner city Pretoria and this I picked up from stories shared by the informants and when I attended meetings organised by the Tshwane homeless forum. This stereotype should be done away with or applied with the strictest of measures for most of the problems people face on the streets were brought about by the lack of development, resources and opportunities in the communities they had previously dwelled in. From the homeless person's perspective; the lack of a proper shelter together with this notion that they deserve being on the streets is another way that shows their lack of autonomy and agency. They cannot make any lasting significant changes in the city and ultimately in their lives and this also cultivates a sense of powerlessness, hopelessness and displacement. They are living in the city but they do not really belong in it or anywhere else for that matter. A quote from Tawanda, a homeless Zimbabwean national living in the inner city, who came to South Africa to pursue a career in business management, shows the hopelessness and powerlessness that some of my informants shared.

"...it's like my hands are tied. Every time I think I have made some progress, it starts all over again. I had a job as a security guard. They found out I was a foreigner without papers and they stopped paying me. At first they delayed my pay and then it just stopped altogether. So I stopped working and it is hard getting any job now. I try these piece jobs19 but the money is just to buy cold drink. I don't even have money to go back home I don't know whether they will welcome me without anything, I am just wondering these streets..." Tawanda* (4 June 2015- Pretoria)

Another factor that intensifies the marginality of homeless people in the inner city is the cleaning of streets that the city or communities undertake in order to make a better living environment for all the inhabitants of the city.

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19 Temporary work usually lasting a day

4.5: Cleaner Cities

The city, and sometimes the general public, usually launches campaigns that are supposed to be for the good of everyone inhabiting the inner city and the city at large in Pretoria. Campaigns such as "Taking back our streets" or "Operation clean sweep" are according to the city necessary to make sure that the streets are clean and safe for everyone, and this is done often at the expense of homeless people, for they are the most vulnerable and are readily victimised in these processes. Unlike drug dealers and other criminals that use the city streets as places of business they do not have a shelter to go to at the end of the day. Home has become the various pavements, parks or trees in the inner city. My informants often referred to their specific niches in the city as home. I am not advocating for 'dirty' unsafe streets, but without really addressing the problems of inequality; the streets in the inner city will always have people living on them. By removing the people on the streets and dropping them off on the outskirts of the city, at the overcrowded shelters or in prison just brings them back to the streets; for the streets of the inner city are seen as better than any other area they can be taken to. Kgotso* a 26 year old male who left his home in Mabopane, Pretoria to come to the inner city to work explains why he always return to the inner city:

"...my sister they taking me in the van to go. But to go where I don't know. They leave me there in Hammanskraal. What was it I am doing here. There is no Job, no money. I walk back to town..." Kgotso (12 April 2015- Pretoria)*

Thoughts like these are common amongst the informants I held discussions with. They may not all have been forcibly removed from their respected pavements, parks or open spaces, nevertheless they see the inner city as the only place they can actually have a chance at survival. They keep waiting for a chance to enable them to move out of homelessness and become 'respectable' inhabitants of the city. If this does not happen in the inner city of Pretoria as my informants stated, they are willing to move to Johannesburg or any other major city where they think they have a better chance at living a better life. For the inner city to be 'cleaned'; there has to be an agreement between the city and the people living in the city. The by-laws of Pretoria state what is appropriate or clean in the public spaces of the inner city and what is not and how to go about correcting what is not appropriate or clean (Environment and Recreation Management, 2014). Tshwane Metro Police Department has a mandate they must follow that is set by the governing body of the city and in this case the governing body is the City of Tshwane which is guided by the government and the constitution in making their laws. The city's respectability and the guarantees of certain privileges (outside investors) make it

possible for the patrol and strict policing that happens in the city. It is not just the pressures from investors but the residents in the city as well who want to feel safe and live in city they are proud of. I do not believe that everyone in the city seeks or desires to do away with homelessness in the worst way possible that the informants in the study are subjected to, but the harshness they face lead them to conclude that everyone in the city is against them.

By advocating for cleaner cities, policies are made that criminalise being homeless. Criminalising homelessness is also criminalising poverty and this is a paradox in the sense that there are reduced services and programmes for people struggling to make ends meet and these are most of the factors that lead them to the streets in the first place. In being able to have the right to displace people who are homeless over and over again reiterates this status quo of dealing with the problem on the surface without unravelling the deeper causes to homelessness. South Africa is known to have overcome apartheid, abolishing policies that favoured the colour of one's skin but only to replace those policies with policies that favour one's economic status.

There is this belief that people who are homeless are criminals. The general public and the city usually assume to know what the people who are homeless and living on the streets experience. Everyone has an opinion on homelessness good or bad that influences how they perceive and treat people who are homeless. During the time I held discussions with my informants; I also went about and asked random people in the inner city of Pretoria what they thought of homeless people. I wanted to validate what the informants where saying about the public to be true. The responses were either apathetic, showed scepticism or sympathetic and these were very few. This is what these ladies had to say:

"…they[20] are all criminals…" Pinky*

"… They smoke drugs and are on nyaope giving it to our kids…" Zanele*

"… I don't care much about them, they are dirty and they steal…" Lucia*

"…. They are a bother especially when driving around the city trying to wash my windows, they must go back home…" Maryse *

From these conversations one is able to pick up the underlying suspicions, and careless disregard towards people who are homeless and living in the city. Some of the responses I received indicated

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20 Homeless people

how the public feel about the 'other' inhabitants of 'their city'. Similar to making authoritative arguments about how homeless people do not belong in the city, the general public often felt comfortable to make dehumanising comments or physically attack homeless persons.

4.6: Assumed Realities and Dialogues

The conflation of further reinforcement of contemporary understandings of respectable and disreputable behaviour in demonising poverty, culture and affiliation remains the standard for power relationship. Most people tend to distance themselves from speaking, associating with or lending a helping hand to homeless persons on the streets due to the negative implications and meanings that usually accompany such actions. For example when I expressed a desire to do research about homelessness to my family and friends the response was more or less the same:

"Why? Do you know they are dangerous and you will be putting your life at risk…?"

"All those germs not to mention the diseases they carry…."

"They stink, how will you breathe?"

After a while they lessened their warnings and even started to view people living on the streets as the same as them except they did not have homes and jobs. This change in attitude and behaviour came about because of my continued association and the feedback I would give after a day in the field. I also received similar reactions from people when I divulged what my masters project was about when they asked. One person went as far as saying:

"so they just sit around waiting for money from us and if they don't get it they rob us and go buy drugs. What is there to know about them that we don't know already? They are good for nothing except to loiter and make our cities look rough. Why should I, a hard working citizen have to worry when I am sponsoring the government officials' house upgrades?" When I mildly challenged this informant's view, he went on to say: *"it's no use doing your research, we all know what homeless people are like, you just wasting your time and putting yourself in unnecessary danger. They do not deserve to be here[21] anyway."*

In his statement that passionately put this informant on the other side of not wanting to be associated with people who are homeless, the informant and everyone else of the same mind called into

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21 The city.

question the stigma connected to homelessness along with the fact that they do not work to sustain themselves therefore they do not belong. The informant's alleged position in society allowed for him to make such comments about people who are homeless. The view of homelessness as indexed by the general public and sometimes by the city officials and the metro police as expressed in the media more often than not influences how individuals interact with homeless persons. This usually leads people to distance themselves from any association with homeless people which further aggravates the 'invisibility' of homeless people in our city.

Throughout my time in the field people used the term homeless to distinguish between those with homes and those without homes. However I also find myself using the term in the same manner that everyone else uses it, yet nobody ever stops to think or point out that sometimes words in themselves can be dehumanising and limiting. The term was created to generally qualify and mark a person without a home. In this way 'homeless' then suggests having limited claims and access to the city echoing the sentiments of many people in the city. The term then functions to alienate and cluster people without homes into something that is easier to identify, victimise, bully and ignore. Furthermore, people who are homeless often produce feelings of discomfort among the general public which probably aids further in their stigmatisation. It is quite disquieting for some of the general public to be close to people who are homeless especially if the homeless people are seeking to position themselves as reputable in the marked spaces of the city. This is also true for small business owners conducting business in the city. The word homeless also reiterates the fact that the homeless people do not have power; they are unequal to the rest of the inhabitants of the city and should be treated as such. The word ultimately draws a distinction between the haves and the have nots, those with power, those without power and those who have grievous injustices performed against them due to the misuse of this power and those that ignore or perform these grievous injustices.

 Yet, while homelessness is often derided for its potential criminality, some residents in the city still respect as well as fight for the rights of homeless persons; for example the LHR who intervened in Sandile's* case. This can be surprising in light of the ways in which people make their worldviews through individual and other peoples lived experiences. However, because homelessness is often an unmarked social class in society, any instance where homelessness is highlighted runs the risk of being disgraced. For example a homeless person dressed who is dirty and dressed in torn clothes is more likely to be treated harshly than a homeless person who is clean.

The term homeless can signify negative cultural, economic and racial identities. It is an unstable index constantly in power plays particularly in the discourse where other derogatory terms, for example: hobos, bums, vagrant, tramp or drifter can be used to describe people who are homeless. It is not only street homeless persons who are often subjected to the possibilities of indictment and censure, other people who are classified as homeless like; shack dwellers and those living in abandoned buildings more often than not suffer the same fate. The economic inability to prevent and ride out life's instabilities often positions people who are homeless as well as those who are living in poverty as failing human beings. Yet, instead of understanding poverty as a structural cycle which often extends over generations, many see poverty like homelessness as a wilful almost spiteful choice or a biological inherited irregularity that is usually passed down from generation to generation. Through culture of poverty arguments that expand on the cycle of poverty (see, Small, Harding and Lamont, 2010) homeless people become socially incapable of being respectable because they are often morally indicted and stigmatised for their economic inability to prevent or manage the situation that there are living now. Fotonovela 1 in the appendix section demonstrates the stigmatisation and preferential behaviour that homeless people usually face when in public spaces.

4.7: <u>Ignorance</u>

A key component in the interactions and dealings in any variation amongst the inhabitants of the city is ignorance. People are steeped in assumptions of what the other does or how they ought to be. This is not a new observation in terms of how homeless people are viewed. In this instance, power is worth examining because even when the city of Pretoria claims to see homeless people in their acumen or introduce strategies that are meant to help homeless people, the do by assuming to know what the homeless persons are like as well as what they need. This disconnect is at times obvious through the language used when discussing and addressing homelessness and homeless persons as well as through encounters with homeless persons (see the section on Assumed Realities and Dialogues in this chapter on pages 14-16). In being the opposite of homeless people, the general public[22] and the city officials sometimes according to my informants make inappropriate comments and inaccurate assumptions about people who are homeless, relying on their standing in society to shield them from their ignorance. For example: on a Thursday evening during one of the first night

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22 By the general public here I mean everyone that lives in the city and has a home in the city as well.

outreaches I attended as part of my volunteer work at TLF[23],we came across another organisation that provided the same services as TLF but were based out of the city. Outreach workers and volunteers from TLF offer help and advice after being asked and do not offer help with conditions. Every homeless person is treated the same and with respect. We arrived at the UN building pavement that was inhabited mostly by foreigners from DRC, Somalia, and Zimbabwe. We handed out bread and divided amongst ourselves to talk with the families, find out how they were doing and if they needed help that we could provide. Whilst in the middle of our conversations, two small vans also parked at the pavement and they immediately started handing out food parcels as well as a warm cooked meal. But before they gave the individuals food, they made sure that everyone acknowledged that the food they were receiving was coming straight from heaven like manna did during the time of the exodus in biblical times. They did not acknowledge the fact that most of the people present were of the Islamic faith and they told the children if they did not pray, they would remain homeless and poor and they would not get any toys. Beauty* Zen's wife in case study 1 explained why the people on the pavement even the non-Christians abided by this group's rules. Beauty sees abiding by the rules as a means to get what she wants, which is food. This is what she said:

*"We always smile when they come and do what they say because where else are we going to get food." Beauty**

 All in good faith, after giving the children toys, they arranged them in a group and made them sing one of the hymns for their enjoyment. After that they also began handing out larger food parcels and juice to a certain number of people deemed their favourites according to an informant but they did not have enough. They made the recipients of the larger food parcels and juice promise to share with the rest of the people living on the pavement. The others that had not received the parcels came to complain that they always came and made a show of handing out the food and they never had enough but they always insisted that the people living on that specific pavement share but according to the informant, sharing is a foreign concept because it every man for himself and his family.

 They then noticed our presence and went on to regale us with the tale of their accomplishments in the city and that because they have never heard of TLF; we should then join them because their accomplishments were better than that of TLF. After much argument of them insisting we join them, we parted ways with a promise of meeting them at their next site. They took away the residents of

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23 Tshwane Leadership Foundation…see chapter 2, page 30 for information on Tshwane Leadership Foundation.

the pavement's free will and autonomy in deciding who and what to worship. The homeless people at this specific pavement went along as Beauty* stated because they according to Beauty* had no choice but to participate or they have to find food somewhere else. The high handedness that they used clearly put them as the masters and their weapon of choice was food. They relied on an enormous store of assumptions to have the impertinence to make the comments that they made. They did not even profess ignorance because in their eyes they had come to help and alleviate hunger amongst the people who dwelled on this pavement. To recognise the ignorance of their assumptions and the high handedness of their dealings needed almost a wilful ignorance (Thompson, 2003). Additionally their appeals to a higher power further legitimise and excuse this ignorance. For the people living on this pavement even though their situation seems hopeless, they still wish to do things for themselves and not rely on other people's charity. This giving of food and basic necessities without using measures that gives power to the homeless people in acquiring these things creates a dependency that strips them of their freedom and power to do anything for themselves (Lemos, 2000:11). For the people giving without the proper knowledge of the dire circumstances that homeless people face on a daily basis give even though the immediate results are good but the long term results are not conducive to including homeless persons in participating in society as well as giving them power accorded to them as a basic right of every individual. Their sense of comfort in the actions they did along with the way they spoke to the people living on this pavement reveals how heavily they relied on their supposed 'knowledge' to get them through the interactions between them and the homeless persons. Most people when they interact with homeless people assume a position of power were they see themselves as the provider with statements like: "*we are bringing in help to the helpless", "poor so and so they are living on the streets and we can only help them by giving them food every day".* People lack the understanding and basic knowledge of what homeless persons go through on a daily basis which also leads to stigmatisation. The stigmatisation and a relationship of dependency further strip them of any power that they might have in the city which time and time.

The general public often overlook the moments or experiences that explicitly draw attention to the structuring power that fixed structures like houses provide; the supremacy or the privileging benefits that comes with having a roof over one's head. Some people that make use of the inner city of Pretoria usually become livid when they are reminded of people that do not have as much as them (homeless persons) because they feel like they have worked hard for what they have and that everybody should also work just as hard to be where they are. By way of example, I recount one candid conversation I had with a couple about power struggles and privileges in the city that people

with houses seem to have. I do not have enough data to completely report on people's responses in a position of power in different settings and situations. However the aspects of the conversation below are similar to other conversations I had multiple times with both men and women in and about homeless in the city. I use this particular conversation only because it was the most candid. I paraphrase as well as use direct quotes as the conversation was written down when it took place. I met James a sales consultant* in Paul Kruger Street in the inner city. He had been watching me whilst I had a discussion with one of the informants. As I left, he stopped me to ask what I had been doing with the informant. I informed him of my research and he was sceptical, so I invited him to have a chat with me when he was free. On the day of the meeting, he had been having lunch with a colleague when I joined them. It just so happened that we were approached by a homeless woman as I sat down with them.

As I sat with James* and Mary* in one of the sit in cafes in the inner city, we were approached by a woman with a distorted leg and with hands that made rigid movements as if she was having seizure. As she approached James told us not to make eye contact as she had approached them earlier before I had arrived. The woman then shouted a little louder to get the attention of the patrons of the café in front of the table we occupied. She went on to say "*hello, I need some help; I need money to feed my baby. I do not have money, food and clothes for her. Please may I just have something even R1 anything you have…*" No one paid any attention to her until she left. She got the same reaction from those whom she asked for money outside the café. After she left James then went on to summarise what had taken place before I had arrived: the lady had approached the table that James and Mary sat on. She approached according to James because Mary had drawn her to the table by looking at her. She then said more or less the same thing that she did when asking the other patrons. Mary then asked whether we thought the woman changed her story every time she approached a different person. This gave an opening for James who went on to say that homeless people had a different story every time they approached different people and that they pretended to be disabled to get more money:

"*Every homeless person and beggar on these streets seems to have some ailment or limbs that do not work properly as well as not enough money to go home or buy food for a made up baby or relative.*"

This was all said in jest although there is some truth in it on how people actually view beggars and homeless people. I then asked them a few questions on what they actually thought was the cause of homelessness in our city and if they should help the people on the streets by either giving them

money, clothes or maybe a job in their garden or kitchen. James did not think that giving money to homeless people was good. He did not think that it was fair that he had to work and give away the money that he could spend on his needs. He had been swindled before by a homeless man and since that incident, he has not looked favourably on homeless people. According to James, people who ask for money do not respect his social standing in society:

"It is like these people do not have respect, just because I work and look decent does not give them the right to come and enjoy in the spoils I have worked so hard for. Clearly we are not on the same level."

I had clearly touched a nerve with James by asking whether we should be willing to help homeless people that ask for help. I was already exacerbating an already stressful encounter by highlighting the differences between us and homeless persons in the sense that we are in a position to help and they ask for the help. James has found ways to avoid being asked for help. First; he avoids eye contact making it easier for him to ignore homeless persons who are begging thus making them invisible and he also avoids places that homeless persons frequent. By stating that he and homeless people do not share the same social and economic status he has separated himself from any responsibility that he may feel rests upon his shoulders when it comes to helping those not in the same social or economic position as him. He demands respect in these encounters yet he does not offer the same respect he demands. According to the elite pluralism dialogue a branch in pluralism, some people have more money than others so they can pay to have their opinion or supposed way of life across (Schattschneider, 1960: 35). In this sense, James acknowledges the power that his social standing in society affords him. The fact that he earns a salary makes him hardworking and not lazy as he has labelled the people who are homeless; therefore his views are more important because he contributes formally to the economy of the city.

Mary* had slightly different views on homelessness in the inner city. She stated that she agreed with James*, but only to a certain degree. She was still just as sceptical but she helped in what she perceived to be the best solution when offering help:

"I would not be as harsh though if they are asking for help and I see they actually need help, I sometimes just buy a loaf of bread or milk or something. At least they will not be hungry for a while and they don't use the money I give them to buy drugs."

Certainly some of the statements made by James were quiet offensive because it made the topic of homelessness equal to being lower in power and humanity which furthers the stigmatisation that people who are homeless experience and Mary was separating herself from that. Such a visceral response to the questions posed seemed overblown to me and my opinion was obvious to both Mary* and James*. Up until then everyone I spoke to about this encounter was similarly vehement about the significance of power hierarchies that one has to subscribe to in our society. The homeless informants particularly felt dehumanised. They felt that not only are they personally attacked on a daily basis, but that they were also attacked over something they have no control over, i.e. their social standing in society since it is extremely hard to get a job without a bank account or an ID document. The attention drawn to their lack usually revealed the contractedness and the unnaturalness of their powerlessness. In an otherwise equal dispute, highlighting lack due to laziness worked as a trump card, so as to not feel obliged to help thus erasing feelings of guilt. Mary helps to some extant even though she has made her own opinions about homeless people, she is still guided by the same visuals and information that all homeless persons are lazy and are drug addicts that most people are guided by when formulating their opinions on homelessness.

I went back for follow up discussions with Jabu* and Sandro at Akanani on 11 June 2015. Jabu and Sandro are both homeless and they stay by Coffeehuis at night. They both look very smart, dressed in clean clothes and are well spoken. I posed the same questions to both the men on what they thought was the cause of homelessness and if they expect to be treated differently, these conversations were recorded:

Sandro**I cannot say what causes homelessness but for me it was a lack of money. I did not have money to pay for the flat and I did not have a job. I was fired. I didn't want to worry mom back in Angola so I didn't tell her, even now she doesn't know. I have been living here since late last year. I don't beg. I eat where they give food, until the next time. I know there are some of the guys that go and ask for food and money, some of them their stories are even fake. They just want the money for drugs; you know on the streets, you can tell who really needs help. Sometimes the people that ask are not even homeless. People on the streets are homeless for many reasons, but most I guess are like me, they do not have money to pay for a flat or food. The guys that I know where I sleep, we are the same, we do small jobs here and there but it's not enough to pay for a flat. Life is different here than when I used to have a home. Here people barely look at you or listen to you once they find out you are homeless or if you start begging. The other day I was refused treatment at Steve Biko because I*

did not have papers and a file. If I ask for a job, once they hear that I live on the streets they take me for little pay or they do not take me for the job at all…

Jabu**I do not beg, I left home because I wanted to do something for myself. I did not want to rely on my parents anymore. I am a grown man. I have not felt any of the prejudice that most people who are homeless face on the streets, probably because of the way I dress and speak. I come from a good home and I still have my ID with me and I already had a bank account before I became homeless. I started looking for a job and I worked for a while but I was not happy there so I left and the money that I had, finished. I am still looking for a job though most of what they are offering for the ones I get a call back from barely covers my living expenses. Being on the streets is hard but you have to learn to roll with the punches. I have also noticed that there are people who actually make a career out of begging and they make quiet a lot, they also have pimps and thugs hiring them out on the streets to beg. Some of these people are actually disabled and some know how to act real good. You know during the day they have a broken leg and after 7 in the night the leg is perfectly fine. The only problem I have I guess is when people actually find out that I am homeless, they then treat me differently almost as if they are better than. In the house case I guess they are but everywhere else I don't know. So most of the time I don't let on that I'm homeless unless I really have to.*

Sandro and Jabu also acknowledge that once their status of homelessness is discovered, they are automatically seen in a different filter. They are treated differently, bullied, ignored and avoided. Their appearance allows them to live on both sides of homelessness and an assumed reality of living in a shelter of some sort. They previously had places to call home but each left for different reasons although ultimately it was money related. They also show that they cannot practice their rights in certain spaces like hospitals for Sandro and service providers.

4.8: Conclusion

Access to public spaces is becoming more and more difficult to negotiate when one is 'powerless' and homeless. As a homeless person according to my informants, movement is restricted to certain places in the inner city. Public spaces are not only policed by preconceptions of how a person in the inner city is supposed to be but also by enforcing a certain standard when one is in these spaces . For example; James*stated that he avoids certain spaces in the inner city (see the section 4. 7 for more on Ignorance in this chapter on page 77); he chose the kind of spaces he wanted to frequent in the inner city so as to avoid seeing homeless people. He chose places that were more desirable and reflected his social status. He avoided Chicken Licken in Bloed mall or Marabastad but he visited Vida Café

situated at the Gautrain station. Avoiding homelessness completely in the inner city is impossible, so some restaurants for the comfort of their patrons have barred their entrances by making sure paying customers who are dressed a "certain"[24] way come into their establishments and thus policing the space to make it remain part of the 'elite' space. Such methods and actions often serve the dual purpose of marking aesthetically egregious status and working as a warning to people who do not fit the required mould in order to access these places to respect the boundaries and expectations of the establishment. Certain spaces in the inner city acknowledge the rights of those with money and sell their services to them because going against that will put them out of business. Places like hospitals, Freedom Park or the A re yeng bus stations have also put measures in place not to allow certain kinds of people access to their premises thus controlling the accessibility of their services; access that only a selected few enjoy.

This chapter has sought to trace patterns of the relationship between homelessness and power within the inner city. This was done in order to understand how power and social standing privileges operate in the city. I traced the distinctions that are made between the inhabitants and how they enact and embody power as well as the role of social status. Through discourse long with the by-laws of the inner city and behaviour, I show how public spaces are constantly monitored to elicit certain required behaviour and reiterate the status quo of these spaces. The face of homelessness is constantly changing but the stigmatisation and humiliation is still the same and homeless people are constantly shifting and adjusting to the changing realities they are faced with in the inner city as the gap between the rich and the poor widens bringing more and more people to the streets.

Perhaps it is not as surprising that the public and officials talk about homelessness in the way that they do due to the 'power' their status affords them. Ignorance and stigmatisation both are embedded in the power discourse. Persistent internal inspections within the inhabitants of the inner city and the border inspections between the homeless and the non-homeless suggests that homelessness is viewed as phenomenon that is aesthetically displeasing in addition to also having a dehumanising factor to the people who are experiencing it. The work to permanently change the relations between the groups for the better is a long way from over. As long as there are systems and policies in place that do not recognise or cater to all the inhabitants of the city there will always be a struggle to be in the city. This contestation by the inhabitants of the city provides more and more opportunities for the creation of a better inclusive city.

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24 People who are clean and are dressed in clean clothes and smell okay

The next chapter's discussion is on the right to be in the city. What it means to be in public and how space is represented in the inner city. It tracks down the city's responses to the homeless people's needs that are living in the inner city. What the city has done so far in terms of policy and by-laws to reduce homelessness in the city. I argue that the by-laws reproduce and exacerbate long standing class disparities.

CHAPTER 5

The Right to be in the City

5.1: <u>Introduction</u>

Case study 5 – Johnny and Steve: A Tale of Two Residents of the Inner City

Johnny has just bought a flat for his family in the inner city opposite Burgers Park. He recently got promoted at his work and a flat for his wife and son was the next step after renting a two roomed house in Pretoria West. To make this purchase he needed to have proof of income, a valid South African Identity document, copy of signed offer to purchase, proof of current residential address, official salary slip or stamped bank statement to show history of income for the past 3months. When Johnny and his family moved into the flat, Johnny and his wife joined the community forum. The community forum consisted of members also staying in the same flat building as well as the surrounding flats close to Burgers Park. The forum was formed by the residents of the flat that Johnny stays in to discuss important issues that concern the residents and to give the residents a chance to express their views and grievances. During their time with the forum, they planned to get vendors and loiterers removed from their flat pavement as it was deemed unsafe especially for the children who used the entrance by the pavement without supervision. They worried that the children would be exposed to shoddy behaviour. They managed to get a petition signed by almost everyone in their building and other buildings in the same vicinity as theirs and the municipality and the police were in the process of making the pavements 'clean' as stipulated in the By-Laws of the city. Under prohibited actions no.8, no person shall in any public amenity hawk or display for sale any goods whatsoever without the prior written consent of the municipality (Environment and Recreation Management, 2014). Johnny's community forum has managed to get CCTV cameras installed at the entrance of the building as well as a sprinkler system on the roof directly above the pavement that spouts water every 30minutes. The forum has also started a neighbourhood watch, where they discourage people to loiter in the surrounding areas without purpose by asking them to move or they will be prosecuted. They justify this by saying it is within their rights because it is stipulated in the by-laws of the city. According to the by-laws, Johnny and the forum are working within their rights as city residents; they are allowed to incorporate such policing methods to keep their families and properties secured.

However a man a block away from Johnny's building is struggling to make ends meet. He spent the last of his money on a bus ride to Pretoria from the North West Province. He had heard through a distant relative that life was slightly better in the city; there were jobs available, he was pushing 30 and still he lived with his mother and two other siblings on his mother's housekeeping income. Arriving in Pretoria, he could not locate his distant relative and therefore he had no place to go. He spent the first week looking for the relative but when that proved to be futile, he decided to look for the jobs he was told were available. This road led him to the pavement of Johnny's building where he struck up a working relationship with a confectionary vendor. He would keep watch while the owner was away from the makeshift store. He is now considered an inhabitant of the city, since he now dwells and makes somewhat of a livelihood in it. In his spare time, he moves around the city looking for food, a job, accommodation as well as a place to cleanse himself. The little belongings he had when he arrived in the inner city were stolen. He went to report the matter to the police but he said he was treated roughly and was told there was nothing the police could do since he was constantly on the move on the streets. After Johnny and the forum had started their policing, Steve* had to move elsewhere. The little income he got from helping out the confectionery vendor was gone because the vendor was out of business. His merchandise was confiscated because he did not have a trading license and according to the by-laws of street trading in the inner city he had to pay a fine, so he could not afford to buy new stock because he did not get his confiscated merchandise back. Steve is constantly moving because according to him and the informants in this study, the police are removing people sleeping on the pavements either throwing them in jail or taking them to the outskirts of the city. He has been living on the streets for a year and a half now and still he has not found a job or enough money to get a new Identity document since the old one was stolen shortly after he arrived in the city. Without an identity document Steve says he has been refused treatment when he got sick and went to a clinic, he also says sometimes he goes for days without food and he uses the back of trees as his toilet. He also goes down to the Apies river to bath provided the weather is warm and in winter it can take him up to two weeks without bathing. According to Steve, all he wants in the city is a job and food: *"I want to get a course for security; I also want to go boxing and not worry about food…"*

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Steve and Johnny both inhabit the same city; Johnny has access to shelter, food, security in the form of his community and the police, healthcare and income security; on the other hand Steve rarely has any access at all. What makes Johnny's voice carry more weight than Steve's whose voice is

quietened and, mostly ignored? A homeless person is not allowed to vote, yet a homeless person has as unique a finger print as someone with a home. The story above reflects the social reality of the city we are living in.

I use the case studies above as an introduction to what I will be discussing in this chapter. I will be looking at the rights that the homeless living on the streets have. I will use the Charter of the United Nations and literature from various authors who wrote on the topic of the right to the city along with ethnography from the field to further discuss as well as analyse the rights homeless people have in the city. I argue that the by-laws reproduce and exacerbate long standing class disparities that had been operational since the days of Apartheid. I also put emphasis on the rights of people that are recognised in the city as well as discuss how laws are made to favour some while they oppress others. The chapter is guided by the questions: what right does anyone have in the city; what legitimises that right; what is considered appropriate public behaviour; what has the city done so far in terms of policy and by-laws to reduce homelessness in the city, I conclude that though the city of Pretoria has come a long way since the apartheid era, the same structures that were in place in terms of dealing with people on the periphery still remain. People on the periphery still remain poor and invisible with very little opportunities to make something of themselves. The city makes laws for an ideal situation where there is a clear distinction between public and private areas and everyone is well-off but the reality is different. The laws that are made by the city are counteractive for they disadvantage the vulnerable and turn them into delinquents.

The city has many people living in it. It draws out people from around its borders with a promise of a flourishing future from the resources and centralised economic activities that are found in the city. Everyone that comes into the city comes to survive and everyone has rights to things in the city but only a certain population have a greater access to services and amenities and are able to exercise these rights. The right to the city is interdependent of all internationally recognized and integrally conceived human rights, and therefore includes all the civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights which are already regulated in the international human rights treaties (Grahl, 2005: n.p.n). This assumes the inclusion of the rights to work in equitable and satisfactory conditions; to establish and affiliate with unions; to social security, public health, clean drinking water, energy, public transportation, and other social services; to food, clothing, and adequate shelter; to quality public education and to culture; to information, political participation, peaceful coexistence, and access to justice; and the right to organize, gather, and manifest one's opinion (Grahl, 2005: n.p.n). It also includes respect for minorities; ethnic, racial, sexual and cultural

plurality; and respect for migrants. In Pretoria like in any other city; lack of housing excludes an inhabitant of the city from participating in most services and activities the city and country has to offer. According to the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality By-Laws Pertaining to Public Amenities under the section of loitering and prohibited action, it is illegal for anybody to be homeless and do actions like begging or being on the streets without a home to return to (Environment and Recreation Management, 2014). According to my informants, the public spaces that most people who are homeless are likely to gather and try to survive they are treated with suspicion, alarm, annoyance, and trepidation and sometimes fear. Mitchell (2003) argues that public spaces are being controlled and limited by physical barriers, behaviour alteration techniques and strict policing methods sometimes including surveillance cameras. To be in a public space one has to not be homeless according to the by-laws of the city, if one is; it is a violation against the city that is payable by a fine or by being incarcerated (Environment and Recreation Management, 2014).

5.2: The right to be in the city

The by-laws of the city of Pretoria though created to service the people in Pretoria in accordance with the Constitution of South Africa; they inadvertently overlook the rights of everyone in the city. The 1996 Constitution of South Africa recognises socio-economic rights, health care rights, sufficient food, water and income security rights, even though the rights are dependent on the accessibility of resources, as well as education. These rights are said to be grounded on the egalitarian principles of human dignity, equality and freedom (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 535). Economic growth and change revealed changes in the class structure of South Africa which successively produced the political struggle. Deficiency in the skilled labour in the late apartheid period led to the lessening of colour being used as a quality when hiring people, mainly in the service sector (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 535). Increasing numbers of African men and women progressed into better-paid employment (Seekings 2011: 535; Crankshaw, 1997). Concurrently deagrarianisation as well as a need for unskilled labour in urban areas meant that open unemployment rose quickly (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 535). Inflow control kept many, but not all, unemployed people in rural slums. Upwardly mobile, skilled workers and the budding African middle-class were forced to remain in infrastructural-deprived and ever more overcrowded townships (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 535). Mass unemployment also helped to fuel insubordination of the state in many of the quasi-urban slums in the Bantustans (Seekings and Nattrass, 2005). In 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from prison, the African National Congress (ANC) and other organisations were unbanned, and negotiations over political change began. Four

years later, in 1994, the country held its first democratic elections, won by the ANC. By 1994, almost all legislation which discriminated on explicitly racial grounds had been abolished: people could now vote in elections, live or attend school anywhere, do any work and marry whoever they want, all without regard for racial classification. Inequalities, however, remained: the legacy of the past could not be undone overnight (Seekings in Bridges and Watson, 2011: 535). Overcrowding in the townships and a lack of opportunities led people to the city and others made their temporary homes on the pavements of the inner city. To try and control the many people in the inner city and maintain order; the city kept on renewing, adding and removing by laws to fit the times that they we are in. To make sure that the by-laws and policies made are enforced, the police sometimes use excessive force to carry out these specific duties.

When I first started discussions with the homeless informants and the outreach workers, I was initially surprised by the prevalence of abuse that the homeless suffered in the inner city at the hands of the police in their stories. Every time I sat down to have a discussion, the stories followed a similar pattern of lack of income and abuse and it was inevitable that I started to expect to hear about the social injustices the informants faced almost on a daily basis. I realised that like many others in the city, I was ignorant of the policies and by-laws that are made in our city, and how they made life bearable for some whilst they overlooked others. I had carried into the field the unacknowledged assumption that the troubles people who are homeless are faced with were usually drug related and that they did have money made from the begging, thieving and selling of goods. I also was afraid and thought most of the people living on the streets were homeless by choice. It was only when I started doing research and speaking with informants that I began to have a different outlook on homelessness in the inner city. Many of my informants assert that being homeless despite the many crimes that they accused of has made them invisible to everyone else but the police. They are constantly avoiding the police whenever they can help it. The rights of those that are propertyless and living on the streets are rarely recognised or brought into consideration when dealing with a person who is homeless.

5.3: Public Spaces

What right does the homeless person have to the city? The increasing homeless population on the streets in the inner city raises serious questions in this theoretically modern and liberal city; questions about housing policy and transformation and questions about 'appropriate' street behaviour. For the law upholders of the city, the apparent disorder of the inner city attracts delinquency. To be an

operational open or public space; a space has to be restructured and the by-laws are the first step in that direction. It has to be 'disciplined' so that it is accessible to the right kind of public; but the inner city is not working as it is expected: there are still people who are homeless inhabiting it. However the appeal of the inner city for people who are homeless point out to others that the city is not a dodgy and an unmanageable place as people imagine it to be but rather that it is working as it should be: as a public space that has all kinds of people living and working in it. The city has also progressed as a political space that inspires free and unsupervised interaction; even this is somewhat contradictory because the city depends on the people interacting and it is not really free. The 'criminalisation' of homelessness in the inner city is not just about the lack of shelter; it is about joblessness, fighting for freedom from oppression on a daily basis. It is in other words about rights and about the right to the city but such rights to a home, a job and freedom from oppression are coordinated through the fight over the right to and for public space, what such space means and for whom it is public. Carlinho (see Interview addendum in the Appendix A on page 124 for information on Carlinho) one of my key informants informed me during one of our discussions about the struggle to be in a public space in the inner city as a foreigner.

"...not having papers is very bad. After my permit finished I could not get another one because I was not going to school. Before I stayed with my girlfriend, I was staying in this other flat close to the Union buildings. There is a lot of Angolans in that flat. The police came to raid us when we were sleeping at midnight. They took all of us and put us in the Sunnyside prison. We slept in jail that night. It was my first time being arrested. The Angolan Embassy came and spoke on our behalf and we were released. I then moved to Lynwood and stayed there till I didn't have money and moved to the streets. Two weeks ago I got arrested again. I got picked up in the streets by Sterland in Arcadia by the police again. This time they put us at the back of the van. There was one police woman who came and talked to me. I told her my story and she told me that I must buy her lunch and then she opened for me and let me go. You never know one day you meet a terrible police and they put you in jail and they won't even listen. The police everywhere are the same. There are good police and they are bad ones. Others do their job right and the others don't. You just have to pray that you don't meet with the bad ones. I know that I do not have access to anything because I don't have papers, so I can't even complain to anyone. I cannot go to the hospital or open a bank account. The only places I can go to are the churches and here at Akanani..."-Carlinho

For Carlito* the right to the city is complicated because he does not have a right to be in the country. If he goes back to his home country, he will be blacklisted because he has stayed on in South Africa

after his visa expired and he will not be able to return. He does not want to go back home because he believes that Angola is far worse in terms of opportunities in education and employment than South Africa. He is hopeful that in time, things will change and access to spaces and equal opportunities in the inner city will be granted to everyone living in the city. He is already a citizen of Pretoria, he has been for a while and he does not see that changing.

Mitchell (2003:128) is of the mind that there are two opposing visions of the nature and functions of public space in the discussion of rights and these opposite visions have an effect on how the right to the city is theorised and for whom it is a possible right. The first vision is that of homeless people who use the city to endorse a vision of space indicated by free interactions and the lack of intimidation by powerful institutions; in other words, the same sort of conceptual vision for public space that is promoted by the Free Speech Movement25 (Mitchell, 2003: 128). For the first vision public space is an unrestricted space within which political movements could arrange and develop into wide arenas (Mitchell, 2003: 128; Smith, 1992). In other words it is a free uncontested space that is conducive to forming free mixed relationships that promotes freedom of speech. The second vision of the inner city is however different. It is one that is usually endorsed by a city; a vision of a space that is open for recreation and entertainment, subject to usage by an 'appropriate' public; for example: middle class residents or other visitors of that calibre that use the space by permission of its owners or without being harassed (Mitchell, 2003: 128). An example for the second vision in Pretoria would be Freedom Park, although it is a public space it is highly regulated and access is controlled by the paying of entrance fees this automatically creates a barrier amongst the inner city users because not everybody has money to pay. Mitchell (2003: 128) contends that public space is invented in this vision to be controlled as an orderly haven where a properly behaved public might experience the spectacle of the inner city. In the first of these visions, public space is planned, orderly and safe. Users of this space must be made to feel comfortable and they should not be driven away by 'unsightly' homeless people. This vision is not further from the reality of the inner city of Pretoria.

These two visions of public space present a dichotomy in the sense that definitions of the right to the city are not in balance; they offer two different ways of living for different people but in the same

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25 Free Speech Movements were protests by students at the University of California, Berkeley during 1964-65; they insisted that the university administration lift the ban of on campus political activities and acknowledge students' rights to free speech and academic freedom.

city. They also correspond more or less with Lefebvre's (1991) distinction in *The Production of Space* between representational space which is appropriated, lived in or space in use and representation space which is planned, controlled or ordered space (Mitchell, 2003: 129). Public space often, though not always begins as a representation of space, like for example: a courthouse square, a monumental plaza, public park or a pedestrian shopping district, but as people use these spaces, they also become representational spaces appropriated in use (Mitchell, 2003: 129; Harvey, 1995). Public space is thus socially fashioned through its utilisation as a public space.

 In the case of the inner city of Pretoria started out as both a controlled and lived in space, after the Voortrekkers invaded the Ndebele tribes' space and pushed them to the outskirts of the city26. Both the Voortrekkers and the Ndebele had established rules that they had to adhere to in their respected settlements. This is not to say that everything in this space was controlled, they were or still are pockets of appropriated space in the city. So the city is both ordered and planned as well as a lived in space. But whatever the roots of any public space, its status as public is fashioned and upheld through the ongoing opposition of visions that have been held, on the one hand by those who seek in places order and control and on the other hand by those who seek refuge and unmediated interaction (Mitchell, 2003: 129). Mitchell (2003: 129) goes on to say that if the right to the city is a cry that is heard and a demand, then it is only a cry that is heard and a demand that has force to the degree that there is a space from and within this cry and demand that is visible. In other words for people to be heard and seen then they have to be in a public space. For example the student march that took place in the inner city. Students marched towards the union buildings in Pretoria and they changed history. For the first time in South Africa, a proposed fee increase in universities for the following academic year was denied and fees remained the same as the previous year. Students who could also not afford to pay the fees had more opportunities for sponsorship. The increase in university fees excluded a lot of people from attaining a higher education. The march made these struggles visible to everyone in the nation and across the continents. Similarly if people who are homeless and everyone who supports the notion of the inclusive city were to organise themselves in the same way the students did and march in the inner city, it would result in change because they would have magnified their visibility and their cause for all to see. Therefore by claiming space in public, people and social groups in the vicinity become public and visible, the chances of their rights being recognised in the city rather than in places outside the city are slightly better because people cannot really ignore what

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26 See section 1.3.2 on the history of Pretoria pages 12 -13

is right in front of them. Only in public spaces can a homeless person represent him/herself as legitimate member of the city. As long as homeless people or other disregarded groups in the city remain invisible to society, they fail to be considered as a legitimate member of society. And in this sense public spaces are undeniably essential to the effectiveness of democratic politics (Mitchell, 2003: 129; Fraser, 1990).

5.4: Inclusive Spaces

There are few spaces in the city that espouse the publicness of space. Most spaces in the inner city follow the representation idea of space that Lefebvre (1991) discussed in *The Production of Space* However; Akanani is a space that promotes the representational idea of space (See Section 5.3 on page 72 for more about the representational idea of space). Below is a case study on participant observation that took place at Akanani on 24 February 2015. The case study is to give an example of an inclusive space in the inner city.

Case Study 6- Morning Outreach: A Tea Affair

It was early in the morning and most of the men were already seated on chairs in a circle for the morning devotionals. There were thirty-five men and one woman present. They were clean, the only way to deduce their homelessness was the fact that they came to this establishment for tea and bread. They also smelled like wet clothes. Before they were given their daily bread and tea, Apostle Freddy conducted a mini sermon. His message on that day was about not judging and condemning others but that the people must learn to forgive one another. During this time the men became restless and then he asked them whether they wanted him to preach or not and only two people raised their hands in favour of the latter. To this he replied and said it does not matter that two people do not want him to preach, he would carry on and they had to grin and bear it for the rest of the men that actually wanted to hear what he had to say. The sermon was fifteen minutes long. By the time he was finished dishing his sermon, the whole establishment was filled and some of the men were standing while others were sitting on the floor. Some men knew each other in this setting because they conversed like old friends. They sat and caught up on the previous day's endeavours. According to the informants I had discussions at with at Akanani during my time in the field, catching up with friends usually happened only at Akanani because it was the only time that they had to converse before they each went on to mind their own businesses for the rest of the day. Katy a volunteer from TLF and I gave the bread and the tea to the men and woman. On this specific day, there was an air of festivity. TLF was hosting a celebratory dinner and Akanani was the selected host for February. Every day

since mid-February after tea and bread, some of the men would stay behind to practise a gum boot together with Katryn dance that they were going to showcase at that celebratory dinner. This day was no different than the ones before it. After tea and bread most disappeared and only Victor*, Jimmy*, Keith*, and Jack* were left behind to finalise and perfect their dance. Jack was struggling with the gum boot dance so after the last official practice, he stayed behind to work on dance some more with Katy. While he was catching his breath we sat and chatted for a bit. We discussed my research project and my inability in to speaking a South African native language. He could not grasp the fact that I had lived in South Africa for over twelve years and yet could not speak comfortably in any of the native languages. He vowed to teach me Sepedi every time that I spoke to him.

After everyone had left and only the volunteers were left tidying the place and whilst Katy and Jacob* had gone to fetch the soup for that night's outreach, two men arrived. They were not as clean as the men that came that morning. Only one of them could communicate in English. They were from Tanzania and they had been living in South Africa for a month at Marabastad downtown inner city. They decided to stick together because they were from the same country and therefore addressed each other as brother. They sat, drank and ate their food fast and asked for a second helping. After they finished, I took their cups to the back to wash them and one of the men came to help me and I had a discussion with him. They came from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and they were between the ages of 25-29. They did not have a passport and a visa that allowed them to be temporary residents of the country and were now stuck with nothing to do. They came to TLF and then to Akanani on advice of a volunteer they met at Marabastad earlier that day. They came because they wanted to speak to lawyers who would help them get papers; they wanted a place to sleep and help with finding jobs. The only thing they could be helped with at Akanani was food and information. A foreigner cannot have access to a homeless shelter because the shelters in the inner city are only for South Africans. At this finding they were dejected and became recluse until they left. I met one of the men later in March of 2015; he said that he and his brother were somewhat fine because they had gotten jobs at a car wash that a fellow Tanzanian owned.

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The space that Akanani provides has become a space in the city that is a representational space, inclusive and public in the first vision that Mitchell (2003:128) discusses in *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. The first vision states that homeless people who use the city endorse a vision of space indicated by free interactions that lack intimidation from

institutions in the city Mitchell (2003: 128). The men and women feel comfortable to venture into this setting because they are visible. Besides the fact that they are given food, toiletries, clothes and blankets needed to survive the harsh circumstances they find themselves in, they participate freely in the running of Akanani. They are aware that it is a non-profit organisation and they cannot change how the city is run, but Akanani is open to the public and with its outreach workers and volunteers; the people at TLF (See page 31 for more on the relationship between Akanani and TLF) strive to make the space as public and as inclusive as possible. Any area in the inner city is public but it usually is controlled and monitored and interaction between the people is limited and sometimes forced. In as much as the city claims to be an inclusive space, it rarely is. Even buildings themselves have meaning, where we put them, how we put them, what we make out of them and how we create them so that they reflect their function. If a building reflects its function and the function is one of serving people, then that building will carry that meaning. If the function of the building is to make it an inclusive space then everything around it will reflect its inclusiveness. For example In the case of Akanani, it is located in the middle of Burgers Park a public space that is monitored but not to the extent of a park where you have to pay to get in. The people that visit Akanani are visible and they matter. They even vote for group leaders that they want to be led by within the groups they have to uplift one another. If the wrong person wins, those that voted against the winner are gracious in accepting defeat and make sure to run a better campaign next time. Akanani is one of the very few examples in the inner city where the people who are homeless actually feel that there is still hope for a better something in the future. Jacob*, Kevin* and Peace*(For more information about Informants see the interview addendum on page 124 to see the information on informants) all say that Akanani has been a place where they can just be themselves. Kevin has got a job through Akanani and he comes in the morning to volunteer and share messages of hope with other men.

"…being at Akanani has helped me you see, I have a job now and I can help someone else... Kevin

"... I was having problems, I was not right, I came here for food and I talked to the social worker. I am feeling better. Maybe I can even go back home…" Peace

"...there is nothing to do during the day, so I go to Akanani because I can talk to the people, on the streets people don't talk to anyone but here there is a person to talk to…" Jacob

The concept of an inclusive public space can be tracked back at best to the Greek agora and its purpose as the place of citizenship. It was an open space where public matters and legal discussions were conducted (Hartley, 1992: 29). Politics, people, markets and exhibitions intermingled in the

public space of the agora (Hartley, 1992: 30). In such "open and accessible public spaces and forums like the agora, one would have expected to encounter and hear from those whose social perspectives and affiliations were different" (Young, 1990: 119). A person's experiences, for example in the agora, would have been defined by contradictory demands for the right to the city (Young, 1990: 119). Young is particularly expressing a normative ideal of public space that resonates with Habermas' analysis of the (aspatial) normative public sphere. In the analysis, Habermas states that the bourgeois public sphere developed in early modern Europe as the ideal of a suite of institutions and activities that mediated the relationships between the state and society (see Howell, 1993; Calhoun, 1992; Mitchell, 2003; Habermas, 1989). In this normative view, the public space was where the public was coordinated and represented (Mitchell, 2003: 131). The public space is normative because it is where all kinds of social constructions should find access to the structures of power within a society (Mitchell, 2003: 131). This somehow represents the views and actions of Akanani. It is situated in a park that is accessible to everyone, there are monthly markets that showcase different merchandise in this park, and it is a place for musical concerts and every August the TLF together with the city host feast of the clowns (see chapter 2 on page 32 for more on the feast of clowns). Because of its location, Akanani is an inclusive space that encourages and furthers public participation. However the city as a whole is a different story, the public sphere is well regulated because it is where all manner of social establishments should find access to the social structures of power within a society (Habermas, 1989: 28). Many theorists contend that public space serves as the material location where social interactions and public activities of all members of the public occur (e.g. Fraser, 1990; Harvey, 1992; Howell, 1993). Public space is the space of the public. Just what that 'space' is however is a point of deep contention. The streets and parks of the city, like the Roman forums and German coffeehouses, have never simply been places of free, unmediated interaction. Rather, they have also been places of exclusion (Fraser, 1990; Hartley, 1992). The public these spaces were created for was specially designated and the users were similar in composition; it was made up of those with power, legal standing and respectability and in this exclusiveness the roots of the second vision of public space can be seen (Mitchell, 2003: 128).The second vision as mentioned in the section being in public space in this chapter is one that is usually endorsed by a city; a vision of a space that is open for recreation and entertainment, subject to usage by an 'appropriate' public; for example: middle class residents or other visitors of that calibre that use the space by permission of its owners or without being harassed (Mitchell, 2003: 128) This perception of public spaces has rarely changed in the inner cities, instead of access to spaces in the city being denied to people of colour as it was during the apartheid times, it is now denied to those that cannot

afford to buy into these spaces. None of the people who were classified as non-white had access in the public spaces of the cities, even though their labour and money may have been welcomed in these spaces. They were formally excluded from the political activities of the public space. The admittance of all the racial groups into formal ranks of the public has been startlingly recent and not yet complete. Foreigners are still not considered part of the public in the sense that they constantly have to carry some form of identification on them in case they get stopped by the police. The mixed populations in the cities have won entrance to the public through concerted social struggles demanding the right to be seen, to be heard and to directly influence the state and society. Nevertheless homeless people are still invisible in the public spaces city.

5.5: Order and Security in the inner city

Society needs order and therefore has a right to a 'civilised' environment in public. Homeless people on the pavements do not present an aesthetically pleasing space. Unaesthetic spaces are not just repugnant; they also present a demonstration of disorder and deterioration that perhaps spread to all parts of the city with time. The city is not there simply for aesthetic reasons although it is what is advocated for when changes are waiting to be implemented. In much writing about order and the city, the homeless have become something of an 'indicator species'; a diagnostic of presumed ill health of public space and of the need to gain control, a need to privatise or otherwise rationalise public space in urban places (Mitchell, 2003: 136). The existence of homeless people in public spaces suggests that there are societies in which proper divisions between public and private behaviour are addled (see Creswell, 1996). Hence, those who are intent on rationalising 'public' space have necessarily sought to remove the homeless, to banish them to the interstices or margins of civic space or to push them out altogether in order to make room for legitimate public activities (Mair, 1986; Marcuse, 1988; Lefebvre, 1991: 373). For reasons of order, the people who are homeless are incessantly pushed out of public space and they are omitted from most definitions of 'the legitimate public'.

Case study 7- Thabo: Job Security

Thabo is originally from Atteridgeville. He came to the city because he wanted the freedom to do his drugs away from his mother. He was raised by his single mother. He is the oldest of five children. He came to the inner city in 2012 and he became a park attendant and a car washer in order to finance his drug habit. He is tall and is dirty. He stated that he rarely washed because there was no need. Whilst we were having our informal discussion, he was fixing his next joint to smoke with his friend.

He went to school until grade eleven. He did not wish to finish school. Thabo was soft spoken and he spoke fluently in English. He said that the police were always taking the products he used for his car washing business. To get the products back, he had to pay a fine of R300 which he said he could not afford to pay. He was aware that washing cars without a permit or licences was illegal in the inner city. The permit or licence authorises an informal business owner to run a business on the streets in the inner city, without it all the product and equipment for the business will be confiscated. Thabo said that he did not want to steal so the next best thing for him in the inner city was to wash cars instead of selling sweets and cigarettes. He saw this as trying to make a living. With the minimum qualifications he had, he knew that there was little hope of him getting a job that paid a decent wage.

Thabo likes the city because it affords him the freedom that he needs away from his mother. It provides him with anonymity that his neighbourhood lacks to provide, therefore he does not want to go back home. *"The police take advantage of the poor in the city, in our homes in the township they do not bother anyone, and there is no money in the townships. Everyone comes to the city. Every week I am buying new soap, wash cloths and a bucket just so that I can wash cars because parking cars does not give me that much money. I thank you my sister for coming to speak with us. There is nobody to fight and speak for us the poor in the city. You see the government with their clean-up operation are killing us. We do not have places to sleep that are dry now. They have installed those sprinklers on the buildings and they spray water on the streets at night. I do not wish to go back home. There is no money there."* He took a puff his joint and exhaled slowly. *"The government is bad. They only lookout for themselves and forget us here at the bottom where they put us."* Even though he acknowledged that doing business in the city without a permit or licence was illegal, he knew that it was his democratic right to earn a living whilst not harming anyone. His business however harmed by the confiscation of the products and equipment he used for washing cars, which minimised the chances of him achieving his 'dreams'. He is not afforded the same security given to someone who works in an office.

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 A crucial aspect of life for every person is that of safety and security. This is not always guaranteed for the homeless because their circumstances render them vulnerable and exposed. Issues like xenophobia, mistrust and stigma all play a role in increasing their vulnerability. Section 12 of the South African Bill of Rights states that everyone has the right to freedom and security and the right to bodily and psychological integrity (1996), however due to the homeless people's circumstances

their level of exposure is higher than that of those who have accommodation. Although security is a general concern for homeless people regardless of gender or age, this is a greater concern for women and children who are perceived as the most vulnerable and more susceptible to sexual exploitation.

As a result of this study three security issues that emerged were police brutality in, exposure to crime amongst the homeless and discrimination within the homeless population towards homeless foreigners. With regards to police brutality, the homeless informants and outreach workers spoke about different times mostly during the early hours of the morning when the police took homeless people's belongings, arrest them or just displacing them from where they were sleeping, sometimes they were beaten and other times arrested. The quotes below were recorded from homeless informants to show the three security issues experienced the inner city. Victor used to sleep in Pretorius Street but had to move and Tahlil is Somali national, he has been living on the streets for three years. When he came to South Africa he owned a grocery store in Atteridgeville. During the xenophobic attacks in 2008, his shop was looted and he lost the store. Afterwards he struggled to find work and eventually he moved to the streets of the inner city.

"I used to sleep with some of the guys in Pretorius and then the metro came, they take our stuff and poured cold water on us at midnight. We had to leave because they didn't want us there. Now we sleep next to the police building in Pretorius. We have to sleep with our bags as pillows because the police and the thieves come and search us and steal our stuff. I do not have problem accessing places that I don't pay to get in because they are free. I don't have money to get into places they make you pay. I don't have many friends on the streets and the little that I have I don't ask them for anything because I do not want to be a burden." – Victor

"They come here. It's very cold at nights and the only blanket you have, they come and take it to be burned or put in their car. Sometimes they hit you, hit you and when they see you are bleeding they can't take you to the police station. They release you because they know they already hurt you. Many times we get injuries from the metro police and the normal police. It is not only the police that they must be wary of. I am facing so much challenges here especially that one of assault. A while ago I was sleeping outside there and there was some kind of demonstration. I don't know people were running and they poured petrol and set them alight. I was burnt. I have bruises all over my body from the fire. I don't even have cloth, nowhere to sleep, nothing and nobody cares about me. There is nobody for me here not even a relative to help. I am now getting weak and old"- Tahlil

Police brutality was not all the informants talked about when they expressed lack of security where they stayed; xenophobic attacks were also a main concern for the informants who were not from South Africa. Attacks on foreign homeless people were committed according to my informants mainly by other foreigners. Attacks from South African homeless people happened when xenophobic attacks were happening all over South Africa. The attacks were usually over belongings and or that the people were different.

5.6: The Equality and Equity Myths

Baudot (2006: 15) identified three themes in the topics of equality and equity as indicated in the "Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenants on Human Rights, and in later texts espoused by the General Assembly of the United Nations, particularly the Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action and the United Nations Millennium Declaration". These documents embrace the subsequent themes:

•Firstly, equality of rights (Baudot, 2006: 15). This encompasses the abolition of all types of discrimination and respect for the essential freedoms and civil and political rights of all individuals. This signifies the most essential outline of equality. "As specified in article 1 of the Universal Declaration, all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights', and article 2 is especially specific stating in its text that: everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status" (Baudot, 2006: 15).

•Secondly, equality of opportunities (Baudot, 2006: 15). This outlines the "stable social, economic and cultural state of affairs that allows all people to fulfil their potential and contribute to the economy and to society" (Baudot, 2006: 15). Baudot (2006: 15) expounded on this notion saying that "this type of equality is similar to the equality of rights and means that societies and governments desist from discrimination and concede to people's pursuing of their hopes and progress and utilise their abilities within the moral and legal parameters enforced by respect for the freedom of others". Provision for this idea has been connected to the emergence of the free-thinking doctrine which holds that views concerning truth should be founded on the basis of empiricism, reason and logic. From a theoretical viewpoint this part of equality is similar in meaning to liberalism and utilitarianism (Baudot, 2006: 15).

•Thirdly equity in living conditions for all individuals and households (Baudot, 2006: 16). This conception is known to reveal a "tolerable" extent of inequalities in income, wealth and other aspects of life in society, with the supposition of a common agreement concerning what is just or fair at any point in time in any community, or in the world as a whole if universal norms are utilised (Baudot, 2006: 16). This variation in terms, from equality to equity, originates from the fact that equality in living conditions has never been reached in practice (except on a very limited scale by small religious or secular communities), has never been seriously envisioned by political theorists or moralists (except in the setting of describing attractive or more often repulsive utopias), and is today normally seen as irreconcilable with freedom (Baudot, 2006: 16). The pre-Marxist model "from each according to his ability, to each according to his works" would need to be used, and for a very long time, within post-revolutionary societies (Baudot, 2006: 16). The strictly democratic Marxist principle "from each according to his capacities, to each according to his needs" would only succeed in the distant "end of history" referred to in communist theory. In short, equity is the most rational reference point in defining what is just and what is unjust relating to living conditions and associated matters within society (Baudot, 2006: 16). Equity is redistribution of income and wealth in some form, with policies usually give preferentiality to the poorest but occasionally profiting the richest, and it is for this reason that problems of equity in living conditions remain dominant in the discussion and debate on social justice (Baudot, 2006: 16). These policies cripple the livelihoods of people. No matter how legal an operation might seem on the surface, for example; washing cars in the inner city, it is illegal according to the bylaws of the city because one has to have a license to perform such a task as well as an appropriate space like a garage (see Thabo's case study on page 77).

Equity and equality make for great policies on paper. They state exactly the principles that are to be espoused by different societies in order to eradicate inequalities. Reality is different than what the charters state. In some societies as the second principle; equality of opportunities state have achieved equality, however, most societies still have an ever widening gap between the rich and poor. Not everyone is afforded the same opportunities that will create an equality and equity utopia. The following case study displays how to Betty and Alfred the equality and equity are just myths that do not apply to them because they have not reaped the benefits of what equality and equity entails.

Case Study 8- Betty and Alfred Benzema: **The Streets We Call Home**

Betty and Alfred are a married couple from the DRC. They have ten children and they live outside the offices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) since last June, hoping that one day the organisation will come to their aid. They left the DRC as asylum seekers in 2003, running away from political issues. Alfred and his oldest son were working at a construction company in Johannesburg till their refugee status was revoked. His children had to be taken out of school and they then moved to their current residence in front of the United Nations building in Pretoria. Away from the pavements of the UN building, they face deportation and harassment. The UN building seemed to be the best place to come and stay since they could not live in shelters. Shelters in South Africa only take in people with South African Identity documents which they do not have. In front of the UN building they are protected because it's a diplomatic office.

"It is very painful that our children cannot go to school. I want my children to be educated. They have no future without education. In DRC I was a carpenter and not so long ago I had gotten a job together with my oldest son again to be carpenters but the manager took the job away because we did not have papers. I lost an opportunity to take care of my family. The only one who works is my eldest girl. She braids hair here in the streets. And the little that she makes she saves and sometimes spends it with the family. We have to rely on the good Samaritans for food, clothes and blankets. We bath at the church here in Francis Baard, sometimes behind the tree. We also urinate behind that tree. We been living here in front of the building hoping that they will speak for us, but they haven't said anything since we have been here. We cannot move away from here, when we get sick, there is nothing we can do. We just sit here."

Alfred also says that the metro police work in conjunction with the UN personnel to take away their belongings. "They came here and pepper-sprayed our wives and arrested people. After a night in custody, they just released them because they could not be prosecuted. They also confiscated some of our belongings but they brought them back." He then showed me photos of metro police department officers pepper-spraying them and arresting them in December. The photos were taken by a cell phone camera by one of his sons to use them as proof when they make their case with the Lawyers for Human Rights. Alfred was adamant that the South African Police Service officers have never harassed them, and he speaks highly of them. To him, they actually try to help the people on the pavement of the UN Building. Alfred stresses the fact that his children are not attending school and therefore do not have an equal footing to stand on in our society. Due to the lack of education,

his children would eventually grow up to get jobs that will pay a minimum wage that will not sustain them. He also says all that they do is sit on the pavement which further dehumanises him and his family especially when they are harassed by the police. Even though the Charter says that everyone was born equal with the same dignity, without enforcers of this specific right, there will always be people like Alfred and his family being treated less than what the paper says.

The three areas of importance with respect to equality and equity specified in the charters all follow the first vision of public space mentioned in Mitchell's (2003: 129) namely that of equal rights in all areas with access to everything that is accessible to everyone. This however is far from the reality in the city, although the charter of the United Nations is used as a framework on how most rules are made, they are made as I stated earlier for an ideal situation. For a society like ours, catching up is needed in order to have equal opportunities and resources shared equally amongst the residents. A lot of people were denied the basic things that would give all people the same chances and opportunities.

The shifting global structure of post coloniality and late capitalism has caused the repartitioning and reinscription of space (Gupta, 2005: 63). These developments have had unfathomable consequences for the imagining national homelands and for the discursive construction of nationalism (Gupta, 2005: 63). Betty and Alfred cannot function and are not recognised under the rights mentioned in the Charter of the United Nations away from the UN pavements even though being on the pavement is still a struggle27. As Gupta (1992) stated in his article *Song of the Non Aligned*; the formation of nation states allowed for space to be contained and boundaries formed so as to control the influx of people coming into a country and the ones living in it as well as giving an identity to people inside the nation states. The fact that Betty and Alfred are in the country without a visa or asylum papers makes their rights null and void. The South African constitution does not recognise them as legitimate citizens, therefore equality and equity does not apply to them in this country or in the city. Even though the constitution recognises citizens of the state as having rights, it does not necessarily

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27 The people at the UN pavements no longer reside there for they were removed on Friday 18 December 2015 by metro and immigration police, some of the people were put in prison and some of the children were taken by the department of Social Development. The pavement now has barbed wire to prevent future inhabiting

mean that every single person's rights are acknowledged thus rendering some citizens more visible than others. The people in the city do not see themselves as equal to people who are homeless according to the actions taken when dealing with homeless people.

5.7: Appropriate Behaviour in Public Spaces

In other countries, ideas of the public and the nature of public democracy evaded and advanced dialectically with both the fact and the philosophy of private property and the private sphere (Mitchell, 2003: 132). The ability for citizens to move between private property and public space regulated the nature of public interaction (Fraser, 1990; Habermas, 1989; Marston, 1990). In the context of a developing liberal state, citizenship is outlined through a practice whereby proprietors of private property freely join together to make a public space (Marston, 1990: 445). To be in public therefore means that a person has access to private space that he/she withdraws to, so that publicness can remain voluntary (Mitchell, 2003: 132).

In part, the desire to sweep the homeless from visibility responds to the dominant paradox of homelessness in a democracy which is comprised of private individuals and private property (see Deutsche, 1992; Mair, 1986; Marcuse, 1988; Smith, 1989; Takahashi, 1998; Waldron, 1991). This paradox turns on publicity: the people who are homeless are all too visible because we see them every time we are in 'public' spaces. Even though people who are homeless are almost always in public; they are seldom viewed as part of the public; people who are homeless are then caught in a double bind. For them, socially legitimated private space does not exist, and so they are deprived of access to public space and public activity by the laws of society that are secured in private property and privacy (Waldron, 1991; Blomley, 2000). For those who are always in the public, private activities are unavoidably carried out in public. Being homeless in a public space therefore becomes outwardly unlawful behaviour. Ideas of what public space is thought out to be are thrown into uncertainty because public spaces have taken the characteristics of a home. They have become places to go to the bathroom, sleep, drink or make love; all these actions are socially legitimate activities when done in private but outwardly they become illegitimate when carried out in public (Staeheli 1996). Since citizenship in modern democracy rests on a foundation of voluntary association, homeless people cannot be considered legitimate citizens because they are in public involuntarily (Mitchell, 2003:135).The presence of people who are homeless in public consequently challenges one of the guiding narratives of democracy.

5.8: The City's Responses to Homelessness

The City of Tshwane is aware that there is no platform to engage with everyone living in the city, so people tend to get looked over. According to city official in the social development department of the municipality, the city acknowledges that homelessness is a problem not just for the city alone but for everyone living and working in the city. The following quote was recorded during an unstructured interview with a city official on 18 May 2015. The city official explained what homelessness meant and the steps taken by the City of Tshwane to aid homeless people and what the city must do to reduce their numbers on the streets. The views that he shared were also similar to the other city officials I had informal discussions with during the homeless summit and the Grulac conference at the University of Pretoria.

"*...the homeless man has ceased to be the typical unclean hobo who walks around rummaging in dustbins and talking to him/herself, they are now educated or skilled or looking for accommodation; they just don't have the resources to get one. The department cannot accommodate social housing because the people are already here and are looking for employment, they might be registered for a house where they are coming from but they won't be here because originally they are not from here.*

The city must find ways to render services and we are struggling with this. We need to consider different directives. We must establish more shelters that are managed right as well as provide skills training within them. We must stop creating and condoning institutionalisation. We must create awareness and partnerships with NGOs within the city and in the policy there must be clear definition of crime and how to handle it. We must have a strategy that incorporates everything so that we work together; the city and everyone in it to help with this phenomenon of homelessness. Most of the things in the city require working on engagement with different stakeholders. Different departments in the city of Tshwane must get involved; it's not just a social development issue you know, the department of labour, housing, home affairs and others need to come to the table. There has to be public participation and the process of it needs to be addressed.

What the city has done so far is create a shelter28, we were the first city to have a shelter run by the municipality, although there is a management issue, the shelter is still there and there are still people there."

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28 The shelter is located at number 2 Struben street also known by that name in downtown inner city

According to the homelessness policy for the City of Tshwane (Kekana, 2013), the city is on the right track to combat and help prevent homelessness. However they are clearly slacking in the implementation of the directives of the policy. By involving the public, non-profit, faith based organisations and the educational institutions in the city; based on the collaboration with these organisations the city has started to make positive changes in the way they are dealing with the homelessness phenomenon. In the month of May in 2015, the city together with the University of Pretoria, University of South Africa and the Tshwane Homeless Forum hosted a homelessness summit where everyone was invited to participate on what can be done to alleviate the problem of Homelessness. The Summit was somewhat a success in the eyes of the various NGOs that attended because since the summit, they have managed to work together without duplicating the services they provide to homeless people in order to impact more people. At the same time the people who are homeless saw it as a positive start to a long and gruelling fight to be noticed in public but they felt that the city still needs to prove itself. The mayor was scheduled for an appearance but he never did show and the city officials that were at the summit kept on insisting that he was going to be in attendance till the last minute before the summit ended. My informants and many of the people who are homeless who were in attendance during the last discussion at the summit saw it as an insult that the mayor never came; they felt that the mayor saw them as unimportant to warrant a visit.

The city has also drafted a new policy that many researchers from different parts of the city and the world participated in. In this draft policy, they included different strategies and functions that different organisations, institutions and departments in the city are to undertake. They have requested for the building of better inclusive shelters that also addresses the skills shortages that people who are homeless have as well as help with finding of employment and a better budget that will allow these changes to take place. Other directives include the effective policing programmes that acknowledge the rights of the people who are street homeless, to create and undertake regular awareness campaigns throughout the city and to develop preventative programmes that will stop people from ending up homeless and on the streets (Tshwale, 2017).

5.9: Conclusion

The debates on the right to the city are long and unclear. Whose rights are being taken into consideration and what are the rights based on? The South African Constitution, the UN Charter and the by-laws of the City of Tshwane all play a role in what rights are accorded to who, when and how they should be used. But when the rights of others are seen as more legitimate and give them better

access to amenities, space and services in the inner city then a lot of questions arise, questions on democracy, citizenship, rights and public space. Why do other people seem to have better rights than others, what is the right kind of behaviour in a public space etc.? In the inner city of Pretoria, invisibility, involuntary participation in public, discrimination and abuse are some of the indicators that exclude people from participating as recognised citizens of the city. There is a lot of work still to be done by the City of Tshwane. The city has started with introducing new strategies to combat and prevent homelessness in the inner city and other regions that fall under the jurisdiction of the municipality as well as make the inner city an inclusive space where everyone is seen as an equal citizen no matter the situation or any lack they might have. Time will tell if the strategies the City of Tshwane has employed to reduce homelessness will be successful or not.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1: Lessons from the Streets

This dissertation has examined how the inner city of Pretoria's socio-spatial dialectics of the right to the city produces projects that reinforce social disparities that impact negatively on the daily lives of everyone in the inner city especially the people who are homeless. By ethnographically analysing the encounters and interactions in the inner city and the daily lives of people who are homeless I have sought to simplify and expand dominant representations and theorisations of power, networks amongst the homeless and the right to the city of homeless individuals. Focusing on homelessness and the right to the city enabled me to sketch out the mundane activities that people who are homeless partake in on a daily basis and by extension, gesture towards the webs of invisible contestations of public space and uneven power relations that govern encounters in these public spaces. I do not want to claim that all the challenges and struggles experienced by people who are homeless are specific to them or to the inner city of Pretoria but to other vulnerable groups in South Africa (Olufemi, 1998, 2002; Breytenbach, 2005; Skosana, 2014). The vulnerabilities and resilience do often bring clarification and understanding of what can actually be done to aid homeless individuals in the inner city and they also shows how the past shaped inner cities in South Africa and how policies and laws were and are still structured to increase inequalities amongst people in our society.

As a city, we pride ourselves on generosity and inclusivity steeped in the moral conception of Ubuntu. The community is supposed to be the custodian of the individual. In this conception, an individual is never alone because individualism is frowned upon. And maybe that is one of the reasons homelessness is frowned upon because people who are homeless are almost always alone. Every one of us in the city has a responsibility to help one another, to make sure that the leaders in our city are held accountable for the actions they take. We need spaces in which every member in the city can practise democracy that is part of the constitution (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa No.108of 1996). We must work towards ensuring that the spaces we create in the inner city (transport, parks, and buildings) include each and every one that inhabits the city. When policies are being made for the city, the policy makers must always ask the question how the previous policy has addressed issues as well as what needs to be changed and improved upon. Likewise, there has to be a

political will; it is not okay to have good policies on paper; we need the political endorsement, good leadership and implementation as well as a proper budget. Lots of money is pumped into things that only benefit those whose rights are recognised in the city for example; the bus service system in the inner city is only accessible to those that have the money to pay the bus fare and have a valid identity document. This leaves out most of my informants and other people who are homeless without any means to get around.

The NGOs in the inner city have started to group together in order to impact and help a larger population of people who are homeless along with trying to decrease homelessness. They have started with skills training programs like gardening, security, secretarial training for homeless individuals as well as a place to gather information through outreach workers about education, job, shelter and food opportunities. They have also started a database of people who are homeless so that if they require medical services they will not have to be turned away and denied treatment because they do not have an identity document. A group called street medicine where health workers venture out into the streets treating people who are not able to go to hospitals is also another recent development happening in the inner city. All of these developments need funding. The budget that the city gives is not enough and the NGOs have to rely heavily on sponsors. Sponsors according to the outreach workers working at Akanani are hard to find and sometimes money raised through fundraising and sponsors is not enough to cover all the developments that NGOs have undertaken. The city needs to get more involved not just by making policies but by making sure that they are implemented in addition to a budget that is allocated to projects that help eradicate homelessness. They must ensure that when they say an inclusive city, it must be inclusive for everyone and not just a selected few. When people have accessibility; they are accepted than when they are without it and living on the periphery. As this study has shown, being a citizen of the city is totally different to living in the city.

What I have found through my research is that studies about homelessness in our cities hold great potential for us all. When the people in these communities disperse and seek refuge in urban areas mostly in major cities; they find that they have less rights and freedom than their fellow city inhabitants and this impacts on social relationships, livelihoods and the importance of space in shaping city life. Studies about cities provide policy makers, activists and scholars with a clear picture of the challenges facing us as we continue to fight for economic and social justice as well as the possibilities for a better liveable.

6.2: <u>Chapter summaries</u>

Chapter 1 introduced the study. The topic of homelessness from different parts of the country was analysed in order to formulate the study objectives. The discussion of literature on the right to the city and social justice formed the backbone on which the study is built on. Chapter 2 gave a comprehensive explanation of the research setting and method used during the study. The discussion on ethnography explained the technique for this specific study and why it was chosen to explore the topic the right to the city from the perspective of people who are homeless. The discussion on ethnographic analysis yielded data on participant-observation field notes, informal conversations and ordinary observations that innately took place during data collection. Thematic content was used to analyse informal discussions and documents collected from the media, internet, and literature. Chapter 2 also gave an in-depth description of the groups I joined in order to have access to a number of informants as well as an account of the ethical considerations and challenges I encountered during the study.

Chapter 3 looked at the day to day living of homeless people in the inner city. I relied on the discussions that I had with the informants to show the idiosyncrasies of their daily lives and how they teach and enlighten us on the real issues of homelessness, not the educated guesses and stereotypes placed on them by the masses. Despite the many ways of living adopted by people who are homeless to alleviate the major problems of hunger, lack of proper ablution facilities and humiliation that they face on a daily basis in the inner city, they are still living in disagreeable conditions that are caused and at the same time are limited by their lack of rights in the city. Homeless people have found new ways of inhabiting the city through mapping out the areas that are of importance. Areas that most important to them are those where they can get food, clothes, ablution facilities and employment. Some homeless individuals according to my informants rely on day centres that offer skills training programs and counselling while other homeless individuals use alcohol and narcotics to numb the reality of being on the streets. Another topic of discussion in chapter 3 was loneliness amongst homeless individuals on the streets due to the movements and other factors that make it difficult to establish relationships. Chapter 3 made use of quotes from informants to illustrate the realities of their everyday and case studies. Their lives are sanctioned through multiple discourses and actions of people in the city.

Chapter 4 utilised pluralism theories to critique and analyse the power distribution between the city and its residents, which then led to the discussion of inequalities, lack of access and limited

opportunities experienced by people who are homeless. Most came to the city to escape poverty in the areas that they were living in only to end up in worse situations than they expected. Chapter 4 discussed access to public spaces and how difficult it has become to navigate public spaces when one is 'powerless' and homeless. Movement is circumscribed to particular places in the inner city. Public spaces are not only controlled by predeterminations of how a person in the inner city is thought to be but moreover by applying a specific standard when one is in these spaces. These methods subsequently lead to ignorance amongst the general public on how to deal with and act towards homeless people. Chapter 4 also sought to trace patterns of the relationship between homelessness and power within the inner city. This relationship is best understood through the use of language, how words and concepts shape people's behaviour along with how they view others (Olufemi, 2002: 462). By carrying out the power to name, we create a social trend. The homeless people have been classified as the underclass or are seen by many as hopeless and undeserving of help (Daly, 1996: 7). Through words they are also classified as dirty and therefore operations to clean the city are encouraged and accepted even though they destroy and disperse individuals living on the streets.

By documenting the destabilising effects of the current power restructuring among the inner city's officials and residents, chapter 4 highlighted the discrimination and stigmatisation that start because of lack of housing, money or 'proper' attire and this results in the disregarding of people who are homeless. Excavating the relationship between homelessness and power in this chapter also works to show how space in the city is socially constructed and shapes the way that the people who are homeless live in the city.

Chapter 5 discussed debates on the right to the city. Whose rights are being taken into consideration and what are the rights based on? The South African Constitution, the UN Charter and the by-laws of the City of Tshwane all play a role in what rights are accorded to who, when and how they should be used. Chapter 5 also looked at the indicators that exclude people from participating as recognised citizens of the city. The indicators included invisibility, involuntary participation in public, discrimination and abuse. These indicators also point to the inequalities that are caused by the lack of access to public amenities and spaces. Even though the South African Constitution, the UN Charter and the by-laws of the City of Tshwane state how things are to be on paper, in reality the implementation of the laws that speak of equality and human rights are myths. This due to the inequalities that are still present amongst the different residents of the City of Tshwane. Chapter 5 also considered the few spaces that are inclusive and offer equal treatment and opportunities. Spaces

like the drop in centre Akanani where the environment in which it is situated as well as the activities and services it offers to all people show that it is an inclusive space.

The distinction between private and public behaviour was also examined in this chapter. Homeless individuals live in public therefore their private activities are conducted in public. In a way being homeless is outwardly unlawful behaviour because it violates ideas of what being in public really means. Chapter 5 also visited the responses the city has towards homelessness in the inner city. There is a lot of work still to be done by the City of Tshwane but the city has started with introducing new strategies to combat and prevent homelessness in the inner city and other regions that fall under the jurisdiction of the municipality as well as make the inner city an inclusive space where everyone is seen as an equal citizen no matter the situation or any lack they might have.

6.3: Areas for further research

An area for further study relates to the lack of data on women on the streets of the inner city and the rest of the Tshwane Metropolitan. As I went about during my time in the field, I noticed there were not that many women occupying the pavements like the men and yet Statistics by the City of Tshwane show that women make up almost 50% of people who are homeless and on the streets. I speculated that women sometimes find lodging with friends and boyfriends for they do not mind asking for help when the need arises. Women may also take up dodgy employment that sometimes keeps them invisible. There are also more shelters in the city that cater to women more than there are for men. These are just mere speculations based on observations and interviews I had in the inner city. Research on homelessness on the outskirts of the inner city of Pretoria is minimal, not a lot is known about homeless people living in townships, suburbs and the surrounding rural areas. Research on what shelters actually do for the people that frequent them can also be done in order for the City to see what else can be done to lessen homelessness in the city. These grey areas in research are important because they can be used to inform future policy as well as allocation of resources and creation of employment so as to minimise the phenomenon of homelessness in the metropolitan as well as the rest of the country. Nevertheless, these areas of research will only offer temporary solutions to the phenomenon of homelessness. Until the economic and social climate of our country changes to include and offer equal opportunities and resources to every individual in it, there will always be people living on the streets.

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Appendix A: Informal Discussions Schedule with homeless informants in the Inner City - all the names of the informants were changed to protect their privacy.

1. Kevin 29 from Angola, informal discussion took place on 5/03/15, 2/04/15 and 4/05/15 at Akanani

2. Jack 36 from QwaQwa, informal discussion took place on 3/03/15 at Akanani

3. Keith 29 from Mpumalanga, informal discussion took place on 10/03/15 and 17/03/15 at Akanani

4. Jacob age is unknown , from Limpopo, informal discussion took place on 5/05/ 15 at Akanani

5. Jimmy 30 from Mamelodi, informal discussion took place on 10/03/15 at Akanani

6. Carlinho 28 from Angola, informal discussion took place on 17/03/15, 24/03/15, 13/05/15, 11/06/15 at Akanani and 4/06/2015 in Church Square

7. Gomo 20 from Mozambique, informal discussion took place on 12/0315 in Nana Sita Street

8. Eric 22 from Tanzania, informal discussion took place on 24/03/15 at Akanani

9. Ernest 28 from Tanzania, informal discussion took place on 24/03/15 at Akanani

10. Thabo 26 from Atteridgeville, informal discussion took place on 25/03/15 in Fraancis Baard Street

11. John 25 from Zimbabwe, informal discussion took place on 26/03/15 at Church Square

12. Oupa 29 from Mabopane, informal discussion took place on 25/03/15 at corner Prinsloo and Bloed street

13. Randal 26 from Cape Town, informal discussion took place on 26/03/15 in Pretorius Street

14. Betty (Female) 40 from DRC, informal discussion took place on 1/04/15 in front of the UN building

15. Alfred 46 from DRC, informal discussion took place on 1/04/15 in front of the UN building

16. Kitty's mom (female) 43 Somalia, informal discussion took place on 1/04/14 in front of the UN Building

17. Zen 44 from DRC, informal discussion took place on 2/04/15 and 29/04/15 in front of the UN building

18. Beauty (female) 34 from DRC, informal discussion took place on 2/04/15 in front of the UN building and 10/10/15 in Burgers Park

19. Edmond 31 from Mabopane, informal discussion took place on 10/04/15 in Paul Kruger Street

20. Victor 24 from Mamelodi, informal discussion took place on 2/04/15 t Akanani

21. Gift 22 from Potchefstroom, informal discussion took place on 10/04/15 in Paul Kruger Street

22. Vusi 41 from Mpumalanga, informal discussion took place on 7/04/15 in Jacob Maré Street

23. Siyabonga 35 from the Eastern Cape, informal discussion took place on 14/04/15 in Minnar Street

24. Sipho 48 from KwaZulu Natal, informal discussion took place on 14/04/ 15 in Minnar Street

25. Nomsa (female) 30 from Swaziland, informal discussion took place on 15/04/15 in Lilian

Ngoyi Street

26. Tahlil 51 from Somalia, informal discussion took place on 15/04/15 at corner Bosman and Nana Sita street

27. Themba 20 from Katlehong, informal discussion took place on 10/03/15 at the Bosman Bus Station

28. Kgotso 24 from Hammanskraal, informal discussion took place on 12/04/15 in Bosman Street

29. Bra Petros 46 from Rustenburg, discussion took place on 4/05/15 at TLF

30. Piet 36 from Centurion, informal discussion took place on 7/05/15 in Burgers Lane

31. Sarah (female) 29 from DRC, informal discussion took place on 29/04/15 in front of the UN building

32. Sadiya (female) 41 from Somalia, informal discussion took place on 3/06/15 in front of the UN building

33. Omar 37 from Somalia, informal discussion took place on 3/06/15 in front of the UN building

34. Sibongile (female) from Boksburg, informal discussion took place on 13/06/15 in Brown Street

35. Patrick 34, from Soweto, informal discussion took place on 4/05/15 at Akanani

36. Peace 20, informal discussion took place on 20/05/15 at Akanani

37. Tawanda 24 from Zimbabwe, informal discussion took place on 4/06/15 at Church Square

38. Arthur 27 from Zimbabwe, informal discussion took place on 2/06/15 at Akanani

39. Sandile (female) from Thokoza, informal discussion took place on 21/03/15 at the democracy centre, on 16/04/15 at TLF and on 27/04/15 in Pretoria

40. Sam 23 from Soshanguve, informal discussion took place on 16/06/15 in Church Street

41. Jabu 32 from Kagiso, informal discussion took place on 18/06/15 at Akanani

42. David 62 from Limpopo, informal discussion took place on 18/06/15 at the corner of Nana Sita and Bosman

43. Joseph 35   from QwaQwa, informal discussion took place on 26/05/15 at the Ditsong Cultural Museum

44. Tiaan 37 from Pretoria North, informal discussion took place on 14/07/15 in Thabo Sehume Street

45. Tshepo 24 from Garankuwa , informal discussion took place on 14/07/15 in Thabo Sehume Street

46. Luckmore 26 from Zimbabwe, informal discussion took place on 26/05/15 at the Ditsong Cultural Museum

Informal Discussion with a Human Rights Lawyer

47.   Human rights lawyer James, informal discussion took place on 21/0315 at the democracy centre in Visagie Street, Pretoria

Informal Discussions with a Social Worker and Two Outreach Workers

48.   Stanton former social worker from Akanani discussions took place on 19/02/15 in front of the UN building, on 5/03/15 at corner Lilian Ngoyi and Francis Baard street , on 12/03/15 at TLF

49.   Jacob outreach worker from Akanani discussions took place on 26/02/15, 3/03/15, 10/03/15 at Akanani

50.   Martha an outreach worker from TLF, discussion took place on 4/05/15 and 22/04/15at TLF

## An Unstructured Interview and Four Informal Discussions with City Officials

51.   City of Tshwane official working with sports and culture portfolio, informal discussion took place on 25/05/15 at the Ditsong Cultural Museum

52.   Themba, a City of Tshwane official working on substance prevention campaigns, discussion took place on 25/05/15 at the Ditsong Cultural Museum

53.   An MEC in the department of transport, discussion took place at the University of Pretoria in the Sanlam Auditorium on 21/04/15

54.   City of Tshwane official in the department of social development, unstructured interview took place on 18/05/15 in his office at the Sammy Marx

## Conversations with Members of the General Public

55.   Mary (female), not homeless, informal discussion took place on 17/04/15 at a coffee shop in Madiba Street

56.   James, not homeless, informal discussion took place on 17/04/15 at coffee shop in Madiba Street

57.   Pinky, questions asked on 8/05/15 in Thabo Sehume Street

58.   Zanele, questions asked on 8/05/15 in Thabo Sehume Street

59.   Phelo , questions asked on 5/06/15 in Francis Baard Street

60.   Lucia, questions asked on 5/06/15 in Francis Baard Street

61.   Maryse, questions asked on 5/06/15 at the Tramsheds shopping complex

62.   Sean, questions asked on 29/05/15 at the Booysens bus stop in Pretorius Street

63.   Yves, questions asked on 29/05/15 at the Tuine bus stop in Pretorius Street

64.   Jono, questions asked on 29/05/15 in Paul Kruger Street

65.   Dineo, questions asked on 4/06/15 at Church Square

APPENDIX B: MAP OF PRETORIA'S INNER CITY
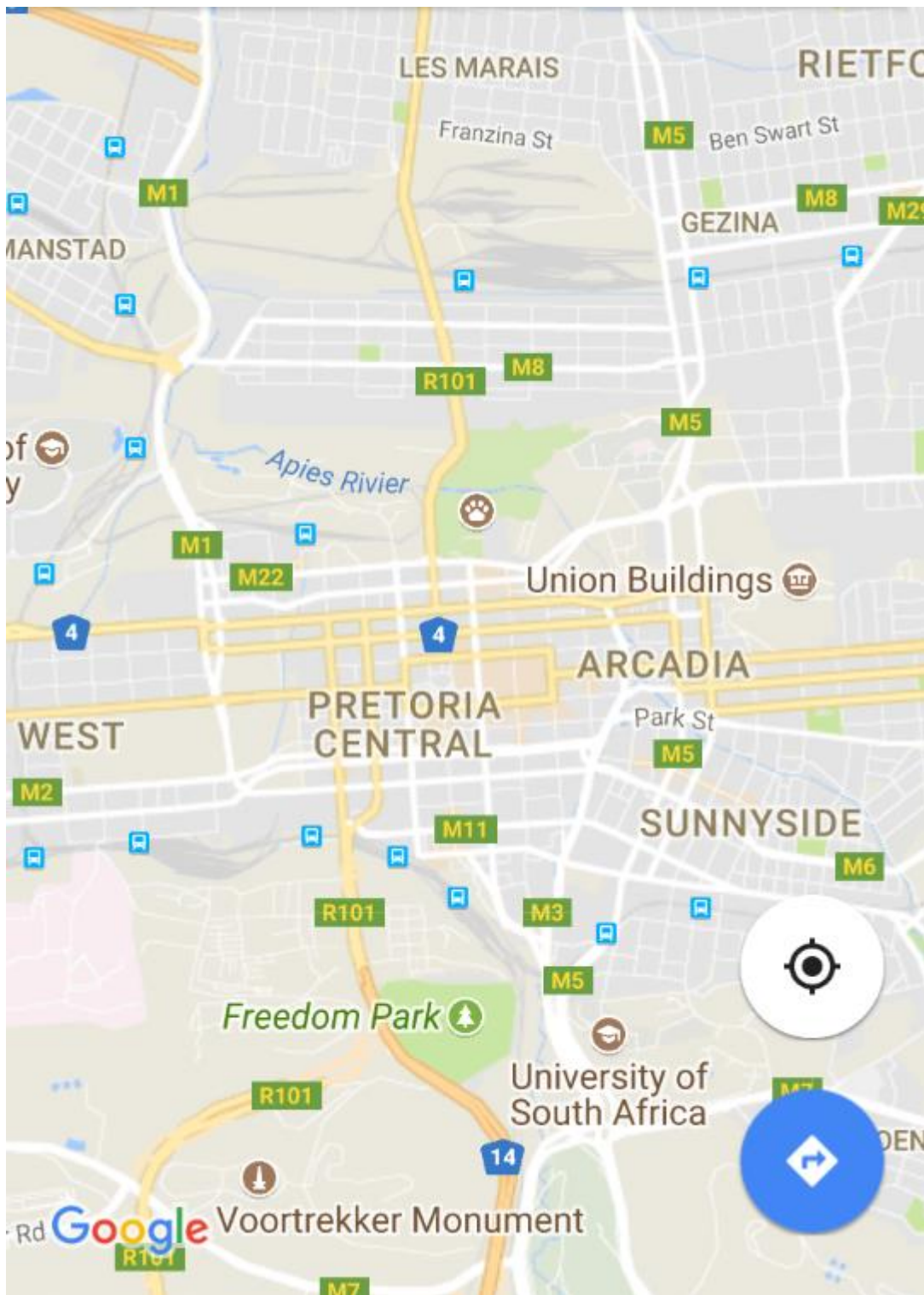
Map of inner city Pretoria, taken from Google Maps 25 May 2017.
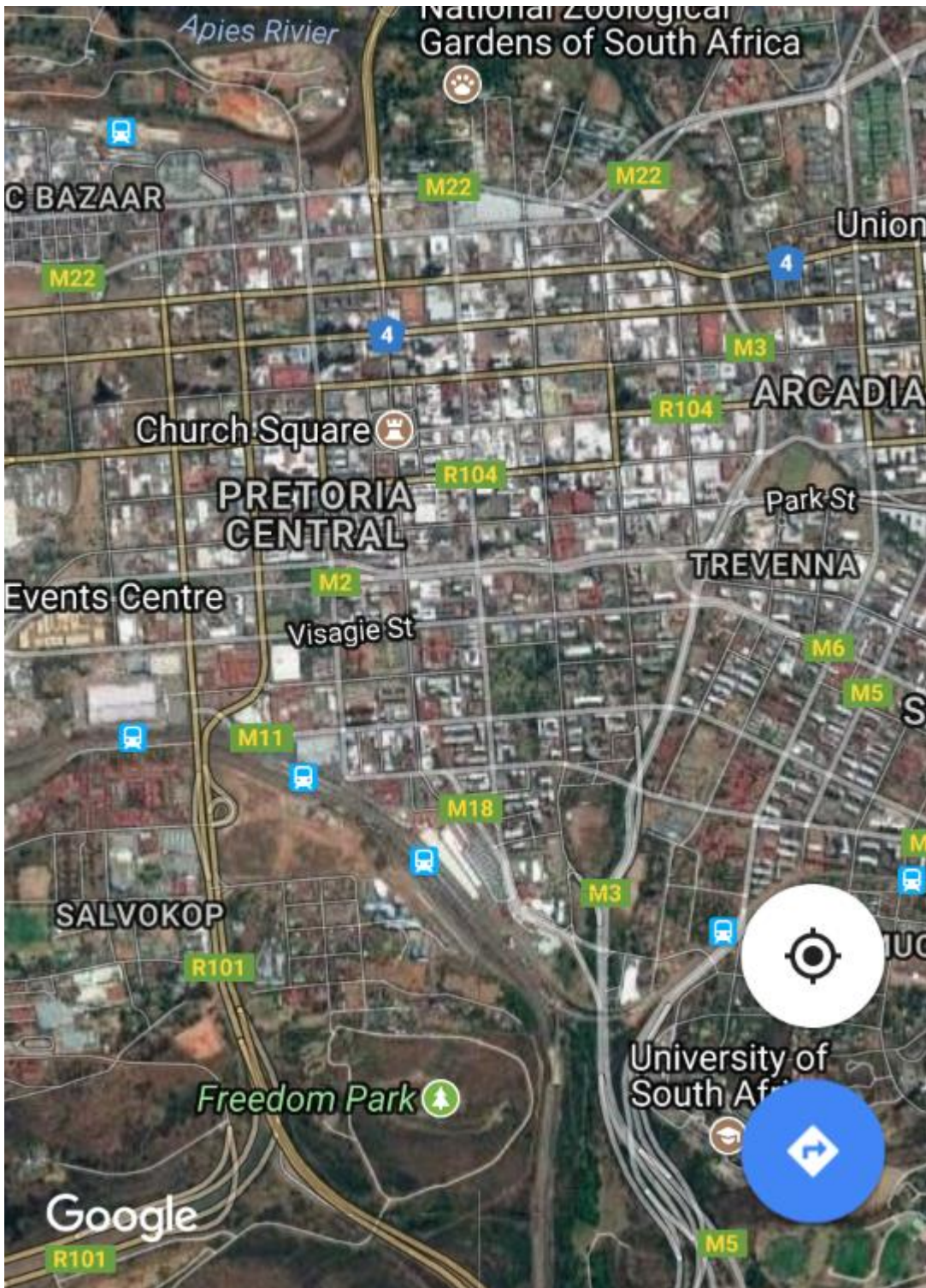
Satellite Image of the inner city of Pretoria, taken from Google Maps on 25 May 2017.

APPENDIX C: IMAGES FROM THE FIELD

Image 1: Picture taken by an informant at Church Square in the inner city 3 May 2015

Image 2: A small group discussion at Akanani in Burgers Park 14 May 2015

Image 3: Steenhoven Spruit used as a bathing amenity by Marianne de Klerk; picture from The Pathways out of Homelessness Research report 2015

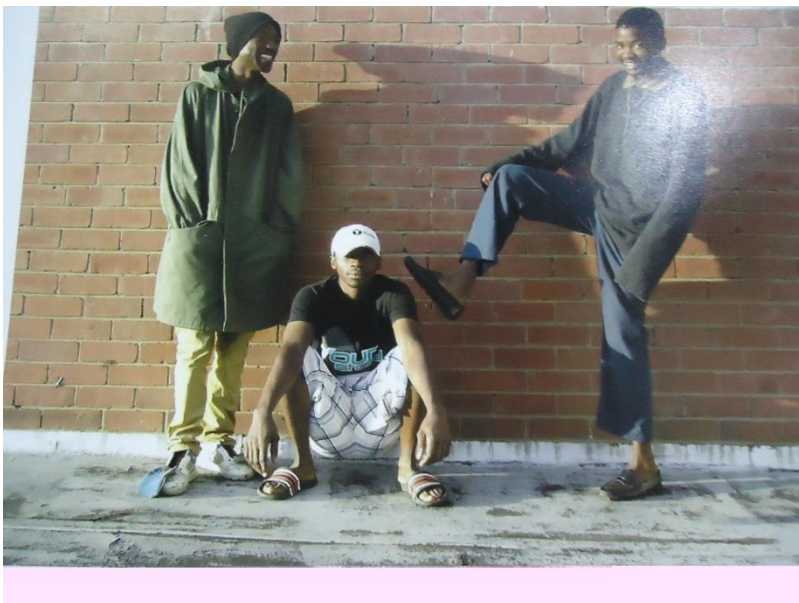Image 4: Some of the informants posing for a picture during a break at the homeless summit

Image 5: picture taken from The Pathways out of Homelessness Research Report 2015

Image 6: Woman who posed a question to the presenters during the summit; picture taken from the Pathways out of Homelessness Research Report 2015