Homelessness: Global Perspective

Report of the International Conference on Homelessness

India Habitat Centre, New Delhi India
January 9th – 13th 2006

Introduction

This report details the proceedings of the international conference on Homelessness: A Global Perspective, held in New Delhi 9th – 13th January 2006. The report is in 2 parts. Part one discusses the background to the conference, its aims and the experiences of those who took part. Part 2 presents the majority of the formal papers presented at the conference.

Further details about the conference or the study of homelessness which led to it can be obtained from Suzanne Speak, at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Background

In 2000 Dr Graham Tipple, from the Centre for Architectural Research and Development Overseas (CARDO), produced the draft text for the UN-HABITAT publication *Strategies to Combat Homelessness*. Following this publication, a successful application was made, by Dr Tipple, to the UK Government's Department for International Development (DFID) for funding to undertake an in-depth study of homelessness in nine developing countries[1]. The main aims of this study were to explore the nature and extent of homelessness and interventions to address it in each of the countries.

The study was managed by Dr Graham Tipple and Suzanne Speak from Newcastle University. A researcher was commissioned in each of the nine countries to undertake detailed research in accordance with a carefully developed Terms of Reference. A list of the researchers is provided in the appendix. Each researcher submitted a report and all but 2 of the countries were visited during the project by one of the two Newcastle researcher.

The nine countries chosen for the study presented a range of housing and homelessness situation and degrees of poverty. They gave a range of different cultural experiences and understanding of housing and homelessness. For example, cultures around property ownership differ greatly between Ghana and China. China also offered the opportunity to explore the effects of new population mobility and an emerging market economy on housing and homelessness.

Since the completion of the research a number of academic publication have been produced and this is likely to continue. However, it is clear that our understanding of homelessness in a global context is still in its infancy. The conference on Homelessness: A Global

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[1] Peru; South Africa; Zimbabwe; Ghana; Egypt; India; Bangladesh; Indonesia; China

Perspective was developed not only as a way of dissemination current findings but also to identify ways to take the work forward.

Acknowledgement of UN Habitat

The conference was acknowledged by UN Habitat and was attended by Dr Farouk Tebbal, head of UN Habitat Secure Tenure Campaign. Dr Tebbal read a statement from Mrs Anna Tibaijuka, Under-Secretary General and Executive Director of UN-HABITAT. Mrs Tibaijuka's statement is presented on the following pages

Dr Farouk Tebbal reading the statement of Mrs Anna Tibaijuka at the opening session

The Statement of Mrs Anna Tibaijuka

Under-Secretary General and Executive Director of UN-HABITAT:

Dear Participants and Friends,

I wish, first of all, to congratulate the organizers of this Conference on Homelessness, especially the Global urban Research Unit, for providing us the opportunity to discuss such an important matter, which is unfortunately not always given the attention it deserves.

I would very much liked to have be with you today and to participate in your deliberations because the theme of your conference lies at the core of UN-Habitat's mission. As many of you are well aware, the mandate of UN-Habitat derives from the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements – also known as Habitat II. This Conference, held in Istanbul in 1996, culminated with the adoption, by all nations, of the Habitat Agenda and its

twin goals of "Shelter for All" and "Sustainable Urbanisation". There is no doubt in my mind that both these goals can only be achieved if we eradicate the root causes of homelessness.

Homelessness serves as a reminder that "Humanity is still falling woefully short of putting its universal declarations and principles into practice". Holding this conference in one of the most populous countries of the world also serves as a reminder that the inexorable process of urbanisation will soon turn our planet into a predominantly urban world. Indeed, and according to most experts, 2006 will mark the turning point in demographic history as more than half of humanity will live in towns and cities. While urbanisation brings many benefits to society, it is unfortunately synonymous, in many developing countries, with poverty and social exclusion, the most extreme form of which is homelessness.

The facts and figures that are facing us do not call for optimism. Today more than 1 billion people are living in substandard and inhuman shelter conditions. And this figure does not include transient populations who do not have even a roof to protect them from the hardships of nature. They number in the millions and are ignored by statistics simply because they are not identified as citizens. Many of them are in the prime of their youth. More than half of them are women or girls, often in charge of younger children and siblings. They wander our streets. They are among us. They live with us. And, they form part of our social fabric.

Homelessness has always been a "natural" concern for UN-HABITAT since its inception. This concern was further confirmed by Habitat Agenda which dedidates at least 7 articles directly to homelessness. More recently, in 2000 a report titled "Strategies to Combat Homelessness" was published by UN-HABITAT as a part of its Global Campaign for Secure Tenure. This report is still considered as a reference and I wish here to acknowledge the excellent contribution of Prof. Graham Tipple to the preparation of this report.

At the Millennium Summit in September 2000, the world's leaders decided to recognize the living conditions of slum dwellers as one of the major issues facing humanity. They resolved to "improve significantly the living conditions of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020". While this goal, in and of itself, is a positive step because it puts the urban poor at the forefront of poverty reduction strategies, as a target it is much too modest considering the scope of the problem. It also obfuscates the issue of *the homeless*.

I believe that we need to raise our sights higher and set more ambitious objectives. We need to achieve much more than just improving the living conditions of 10 percent of the people who are currently living in slums. We need to mobilize our efforts and resources to see that all those who are suffering from homelessness today, as well as those who are at risk of becoming homeless, are offered decent alternatives.

This is why UN-Habitat has pleaded for a broader scope of the slum-upgrading target of the Millennium Development Goals. I am pleased to inform you that the Millennium Summit Outcome adopted by the world's leaders last September identified **slum prevention** as a priority along with slum upgrading. Paragraph 56 (m) of the final document calls upon governments to provide alternatives to the formation of new slums. In my understanding, this paragraph calls for nothing less than a concerted approach to deal effectively with the root causes of slum formation and homelessness by combating urban poverty as well as recognising people's "right to the city".

Our strategy and the policies we are advocating are embodied in the principles of our global campaigns for Secure Tenure and Urban Governance. In terms of combating urban poverty, UN-Habitat works with governments, local authorities and civil society to find effective ways and means of providing affordable and suitably located land for the urban poor. This includes technical assistance and seed capital, provided by our Slum Upgrading Facility, for devising and implementing innovative financing mechanisms that combine public resources, community-based micro-credit schemes and private sector investments in pro-poor urban land development.

Another key area of intervention is to facilitate access by the urban poor to basic infrastructure and services, primarily safe water and sanitation. This includes the leveraging of international assistance with domestic capital through community-owned and community-led initiatives to provide, manage and maintain sustainable sources of drinking water supply and affordable sanitation. Our activities under this rubric currently include the Water for African Cities and Water for Asian Cities programmes. Last but not least, UN-Habitat actively promotes the inclusive city where the urban poor are able to have an effective voice in decisions affecting their livelihoods. This includes the effective participation of the urban poor, and of youth and of women in particular, in the decision making process regarding issues such as access to health care, education, vocational training and job creation, transport, and facilitating rather than inhibiting the informal sector.

In terms of the "right to the city", UN-Habitat works closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and a wide range of advocacy groups. I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the immense task carried out by the Special rapporteur on Housing Rights, Miloon Kothari. With its partners, UN-HABITAT is fighting illegal and forced evictions, which are major causes of homelessness and which unfortunately continue to take place in many of our cities at stagerring scales.

"Right to the city" includes not only the right to secure tenure, but also a wide range of actions including access to credit and the review of building codes and standards that are often inspired by middle class Western norms of urban planning that exclude the urban poor. This means also working hand in hand with all stakeholders to ensure that changes take place, that they are supported by adequate laws and regulations and that they are, most importantly, accepted by all and actually implemented in a sustainable manner.

Homelessness is not a phenomenon exclusive to developing countries, and I am happy to see here today the participation of industrialized countries such as Australia. I would have, however, expected a greater participation from the north where the urban poor, especially immigrant populations, are suffering from housing discrimination and urban exclusion. Recent events in parts of Western Europe attest to the fact that this issue is far from being resolved.

The bulk of the problem is nonetheless located in the South. It is the cities and towns in developing countries that are witnessing the highest rates of population growth. It is thus in these cities and towns where we need to develop and apply pro-poor and socially inclusive urban policies and housing strategies to face the combined challenges of rapid urbanisation and globalisation.

Distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

UN-Habitat is a relatively small agency. Our resources are very limited and our principal role is to urge and assist governments to adopt more inclusive urban policies and strategies. We can only expect to make a difference by working closely with our key partners, namely local authorities, researchers and civil society organisations. The first and most crucial step is to raise the awareness of all stakeholders of the issues at stake and to bring to the attention of the public at large and of decision makers the need and urgency to take effective and positive action to improve the living and working conditions of the urban poor and of the homeless.

We need your support on several fronts. Firstly, we need your help to effectively assess the scale of the problem and to monitor trends. We succeeded two years ago with our Global Report on Human Settlements devoted to "The Challenge of Slums" to focus the attention of the media and of world leaders of the social, economic and environmental consequences of the living conditions of slum dwellers. We were able to convince the international community that, if present trends continue, urban poverty and exclusion will dwarf rural poverty and constitute one of the key challenges of the 21st century. We need to do the same for homelessness, and we can only do this with your help and support.

While we work closely with governments and local authorities to introduce improvements to existing legal frameworks in accordance with universally agreed principles and conventions protecting the rights of the poor and disadvantaged populations, especially women, we need the support of grassroots organisations, advocacy groups, research institutions and the media to mobilise the political will to not only adopt pro-poor urban policies, but also to apply them to make a difference.

Last but not least, we need your voice to be heard. This June, we will be holding the third session of the World Urban Forum in Vancouver, Canada. It will be critical that the results of your deliberations be presented and heard at this Forum. The World Urban Forum is unique in that representatives of governments, local authorities and civil society engage in substantive dialogue on an equal footing. While it is a non-legislative meeting, it informs and helps determine the debate and the content of resolutions that are adopted the following year at the Governing Council of UN-Habitat.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Allow me once again to congratulate you for taking the initiative for organizing this conference. I commend the Government and the people of India, a country where we have a lot to learn from, for hosting this important event. I look forward with great anticipation to the results of your meeting and to welcoming you in June to continue our struggle against homelessness at the World Urban Forum in Vancouver and I wish you every success in your deliberations.

I thank you for your kind attention.

The Conference

Delegates

The conference brought together delegates came from a wide range of countries.

India,	Australia
South Africa	Iran
Kenya	England
Bangladesh	Chile
Indonesia	Peru
Ukrane	Brazil
USA	

Many delegates came from developing countries. Their participation in the conference was made possible by generous sponsorship from the UK Government Department for International Development which provided bursaries for 13 delegates from developing countries, who would not otherwise have been able to attend.

Amongst these delegates were four of the original researchers who helped with the 9 country study.

Dr Shayer Ghafur,from Bangladesh discussing his involvement in the 9 country study

Delegates at the closing session

Themes and tracks

There were a total of 31 formal presentations. The names and contact details of those presenting is detailed in the appendix. Papers were grouped by theme as follows:

Definitions X 2	Legality, Regulation and Security
Interventions	Vulnerable groups
Homelessness and economic development	Causes of Homelessness
	Survival Strategies and Characteristics
Supporting homeless people	

Section 2 of this report contains the majority of the formal papers presented at the conference.

Workshops

A central aim of the conference was to facilitate and stimulate frank and open dialogue and debate about homelessness amongst all participants, including local municipality officials and local NGOs. To this end, in addition to the formal papers there were 3 workshops on 'supporting homeless people', 'the role of NGOs' and 'the Delhi context'. The workshops were extremely well attended by people from a range of Indian institutions, as well as those people directly attending the conference, and generated considerable debate. The main points raised during these workshops are presented here.

Workshop1 : Interventions
Panel members: Ranjana Mital, Shayer Gupta
Workshop chair: Rose Gilroy
The participants were asked to consider the following questions:
What do homeless people really need? Is shelter the main issue? Can some interventions be more damaging than helpful?

The first question was quickly recast by the group to be:
By what methods can homeless people express their needs?

- We need to find effective ways of involving homeless people in firstly articulating their needs and priorities and secondly in shaping the solutions
- It was agreed that an approach that simply looked at shelter was inadequate. The need for gainful employment and education were also important. It was

reported that a survey in Bangladesh among the urban poor had cited shelter only as the sixth priority.

- Discussion about how good initiatives can be mainstreamed. It was a universal truth that much good work is initiated but the lessons learned from it are not carried forward.   How can we tie together the work of grass roots organisations with governance and large funding streams?

- There was a universal pressure on organisations that were funded to meet targets that were often unreasonable or simply inappropriate. It was agreed that working with funders to set appropriate targets would be worthwhile.

- There was a heated discussion about whether everyone could be helped or whether it was ethical to see some people or groups of people as more deserving of assistance than others. A lack of resources is an argument put forward by rich nations. A fairer statement might be that there are enough resources but insufficient prioritising of the problem of homelessness and poverty.

Workshop 2 - The Delhi Context
Panel members: Peu Banerjee, Ranjana Mital, Indu Prakash
Workshop chair: Rose Gilroy
While panel members had a considerable body of knowledge and experience about homelessness in Delhi, all participants had seen aspects of homelessness on conference field trips and on their daily journeys across the city. With this in mind it was agreed that the discussion would concentrate on what interventions might be appropriate and what steps could be taken to improve life for homeless people.
The following points were made in a spirited discussion

- Homeless people must be given a voice and their view of their needs heard to ensure that interventions are appropriate.

- Children of homeless families must be given education so they do not perpetuate the cycle.

- A pressing need for regulation to control land use – poor people are displaced for money making ventures

- A need for simplification or joined up thinking and action p Delhi suffers from a fragmentation of governance which stifles change

- A need to repeal punitive legislation that is used to criminalize the poor and the homeless (Beggar's Courts).

We need to

- Use the media to make Delhi citizens accountable – middle classes have become desensitised
- Take the message to families by raising the awareness of children in schools.
- Make better use of under utilised buildings – there has been some action here to use schools as shelters but more could be done
- Build on growing relationship with government which has acknowledged that they have much to learn from the NGOs about working to alleviate homelessness

Workshop 3 – the role of NGOs
Panel Memebers: Ram Kishan; LuKose Jacob; Seroshi Gupta
Workshop Chair: Lukose Jacob

A number of questions were debated including whether NGOs were performing a role which should be undertaken by elected government and what difficulties they experienced in performing their role. The majority of delegates felt that generally government did 'sidestep' some duties because they knew NGOs would do the work for them. However, one important point was strongly debated and agreed. This was that it is important to reduce the barrier or divide between 'official' and 'unofficial' institutions and that it was too easy to 'blame' government for failings. The following points were also made

- Insufficient and insecure funding means that NGOs cannot plan ahead and sometime let people down when their services are cut due to lack of funding

- NGOs and Government need to lean to work more closely together

- Governments and municipalities could deliver some of their core support systems for homeless people (such as Delhi night shelters) via NGOs

- It was strongly felt that NGOs could be effective in some situation where people were suspicious of government agencies

- Because they were less tied by bureaucracy they could react more quickly to changing situations

Fieldtrips

In developing the conference, it was considered essential from the outset that delegates were introduced to a range of housing and homelessness situation existing in Delhi. To this end 3 field trips were arranged.

Field trip 1: slum settlements in Delhi (all delegates)

In the afternoon of the first full day of the conference all delegates were taken to a number of locations in Delhi to meet residents of slum settlements and to engage with the range of housing and homelessness situation in the city. In particular, a very valuable visit to Nav Jeena camp was organised and escorted by members of the *Subhashchand Jankalyan Awas Vikas Society,* a community group of local residents. The images below were taken in that camp.

Proud tradesman and children in slum settlement

Delegates inspecting open drainage channel

Children 'living' on central reservation of major road in Delhi

Field trip 2 Night Shelters (15 delegates)

On the night of 11th January 15 of the delegates elected to go on a tour of night shelters around Delhi to see the different forms of shelter and sleeping arrangements people adopt and access. Being January the weather was cold and temperatures dropped to 0 degrees on some nights. In winter the Delhi Development Authority erects temporary night shelter tents. During the rest of the year people will normally sleet on the streets without shelter. Some may find a place in the shelters run by NGOs, in particular Aashray Adhikar Abhiyan (AAA). These images below were taken on this trip by one of the   delegates

Inside an old railways warehouse, now used and a night shelter by AAA

Delegates at a night shelter speaking with a homeless man who recently broke his leg. Unable to work he risks arrest and imprisonment

Inside a Delhi winter night shelter

Field trip 3: Early morning

It was important that delegates understood the role homeless people play in the economy and development of Delhi. For that reason a 3rd field trip offered delegates the opportunity to see people starting their day and, importantly, looking for day labouring jobs. A group of 6 delegates chose to go on a trip early one morning to see this. Photographs on the following page were taken by delegates on this trip

Homeless men waiting at the side of the road in Old Delhi to be picked for day labouring jobs. Homeless people provide the work to keep Delhi running and to support its further development
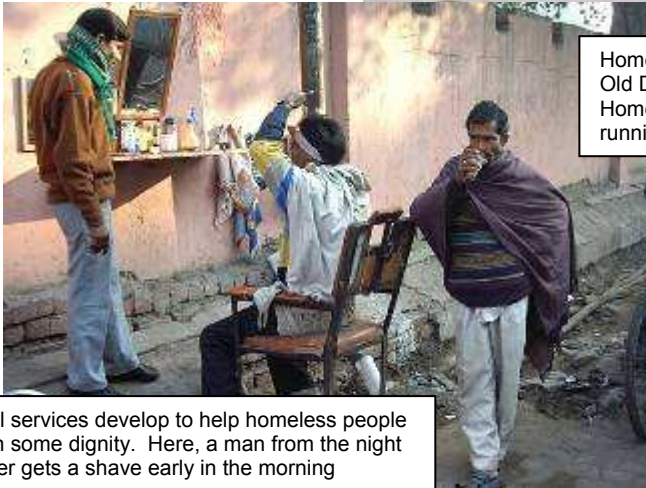
Small services develop to help homeless people retain some dignity. Here, a man from the night shelter gets a shave early in the morning

The next steps

At the closing session two suggestions were made for the continuation of the work on homelessness.

An edited book

It was always the hoped that the conference would produce enough good quality written material to progress to an edited book. We are delighted at the quality of the papers and presentations delivered during the conference. We will be approaching a number of publishers in the spring of 2006 in the hope of getting a publishing contract for a major book on homelessness in a global context. Whilst size, amongst other things, may limit our choice of contributors, all delegates papers were worthy of further development into academic publications. We are supporting those from developing countries to publish in western academic journals.

A global observatory on homelessness

A major development from the conference was the unanimous agreement of the delegates that the work on homelessness should continue. This was strongly

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supported by Farouk Tebbal, head of UN HABITAT's Secure Tenure Campaign. He is eliciting support for such an observatory from the UN .

The idea of a 'global observatory' was proposed and funding for this will be pursued in the coming months by Newcastle University. The observatory would have the task of collecting data on homelessness in as many countries as possible, developing appropriate enumeration methods, informing governments and supranational organisations such as the UN and influencing policy. With the support of Farouk Tebbal and the UN Newcastle University will seek funding for this work in the coming months.

Shelter for the Homeless in Delhi

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Introduction

The census of India defines 'houseless population' as the persons who are not living in 'census houses'. A 'census' house is referred to a 'structure with roof'. The enumerators are instructed 'to take note of the possible places where the houseless population is likely to live, such as, 'on the roadside, pavements, in hume pipes, under staircases or in the open, temples, mandaps, platforms and the like' (Census of India, 1991 : 64). The terms homeless, houseless, roofless, shelterless people, pavement dwellers do not always cover the same target group. The same term may correspond to different definitions depending upon the studies. Problem of reliable estimation and clear definition of houseless population are encountered in the surveys conducted in the urban areas.

The Census of India estimates housing shortage on the basis of number of households, available housing stock, acceptable housing stock, aspects of congestion, over crowding and obsolescence. This keeps in view the pace of growth of 'Pucca' and 'Semi-Pucca' houses in rural and urban areas. The working group for the purpose or urban housing projections assumed the rate of pucca, semi-pucca and Kacha houses as 4.00, 1.16 and 0.76 per annum and the annual exponentional growth rate as 3.4%. The congestion factor is taken as 4.86% and obsolescence factor as 4.14% of the total housing stock. The quality of housing is distributed under the categories of pucca (permanent), semi-pucca (semi-permanent), serviceable kutcha (temporary) and non-serviceable kutcha. The number of non-serviceable kutcha housing stock is taken as the existing housing backlog.

B. The Delhi Scenario

As per 2001 Census, Delhi had 3.38 million houses and 2.55 million (25.5 lakh) households covering a population of about 13.78 million. Number of total houses exceeded the number of households by 8.3 lakh units. Occupied houses were 30 lakhs and number of vacant houses being almost 3.8 lakh. 82% of houses were used for residential purposes. Houses used for residence and residence-cum-other uses totaled 24.5 lakhs.

Thus households exceeded number of (occupied) housing units by a mere 1, 03,332. On an average 1.04 households was living in one dwelling unit. Overall, there did not seem to be much of an overcrowding. Thus, according to Census 2001, housing shortage in Delhi (as in February 2001) in terms of excess of households over occupied housing (residence + residence cum other use) was merely 1.03 lakh. If factors of congestion (calculated at 4.86% of total usable stock) and obsolescence (at 4.14 percent of usable stock) and all temporary housing are included, shortage increases to four lakh units and if kutcha serviceable houses are excluded, shortage is estimated at 3.5 lakh units.

The Census has used 2 indicators of conditions of dwelling units. One is based on households' perception and another on the quality of material used. According to the first, housing stock is categorised as Good, Livable and Dilapidated. The second indicator of quality categorised houses as permanent, semi-permanent (where wall or roof is made of temporary material) and Temporary (where both wall and roof are made of temporary materials). The categorisation according to the first indicator is based on households' perception of their housing condition. As per households perception 58% of households lived in houses in Good condition and another 37% in houses which were described as Livable. A mere 5% were reported living in dilapidated housing. As per the quality of materials used, 92 percent of houses were made of permanent materials, another 5% semi-permanent merely 3.5% was temporary, and out of this 1.3% were unserviceable temporary.

In urban Delhi approximately 30,000 houses fell in the category of unserviceable temporary category and in rural areas this figure was 1609. Thus in quantitative terms, Delhi's housing problem does not seem to be very serious or insurmountable. The number of households living in non-

permanent houses is at around 19 lakh households, which approximates the estimate of slum population given by census 2001.

38% of households lived in one roomed houses, another 27% in 2 roomed units. 2.24 lakh households with large families (6-8 members) lived in one room units. While many small families lived in 5-6 room units, a large percentage of large families lived in small houses. Those living in one room units (or don't have any exclusive room) generally belong to EWS/lower income groups. During the last 5 years fiscal incentives have enabled a large number of middle and upper income groups to purchase houses. The housing situation in Delhi would be much worse in the absence of slums and other unauthorised colonies. For an improvement in housing conditions of Delhi, the focus shall have to be on housing for the lower income groups.

The estimated additional housing stock during 2001-2021 (taking a projected total population of 230 lakh in the year 2021) is around 24 lakh dwelling units. This includes 20 lakh units to cater the population to be added in next two decades and 4 lakh units to meet the backlog. The backlog upto the year 2001 consists of katcha houses requiring replacement and existing housing shortage.

C. The Houseless in Delhi

The pavements dwellers that are 'the poorest of the urban poor' have a discernible pattern of proximity between living and working places. Most of these houseless people live as single individuals. They come from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and other states in search of employment and livelihood. The family and native place are important to them and many of them desire to return back and regularly send remittances to home. The economic activities of these houseless people are varied and dynamic. From begging, cleaning vehicles, loading, rickshaw pulling, newspaper vending, selling peanuts, vegetables, toffees, etc. they are found to work as shop assistants, coolies, cooks, waiters, domestic servants, barbers, mechanics, repairmen, construction workers, painters, porters, hand cart pushers, cycle rickshaw pullers, rag picker, etc. The workers are mostly men having more than one occupation, generally two, which alternates according to the work opportunity and season. 52 per cent of the workers are engaged in transport sector which includes 23 per cent engaged as hand cart pullers, transporting goods to and from wholesale markets of old city. This forms a major section. Another 20 per cent

are engaged in transport of passengers. The congested market places, dense population, adjoining railway station and Inter State Bus terminal provide these rickshaw pullers ample opportunities to earn the living. 8 to 9 per cent workers are engaged in loading/unloading and as carriers of luggage. In occupational category 22% of the workers earn their livelihood as cooks, waiters and related activities. During the season for marriages and other functions, their demand increases and people find part time job to supplement their incomes. The demand for these types of jobs is governed by the seasonal fluctuations. Rag picking and begging are mainly carried out by the children, who in significant numbers are engaged in these activities.

Concealed houselessness is another aspect which includes people living with relatives or friends in the lodges, with employers as household help etc. because they cannot afford shelter without this privately offered housing opportunity they would be living in the streets. This phenomenon is extremely difficult to enumerate, especially in Delhi where the extended family takes care of its members if necessary. Others living under the threat of houselessness are those facing eviction or expiration of the lease, with no prospect for alternative housing, being at 'risk of houselessness'.

People living in inadequate, substandard housing are also included with houselessness because such housing often is an antecedent condition, as well as a temporary situation for those seeking to escape houselessness. Households with insecure incomes are likely to live in such housing units.

D. Socio-economic Pattern

According to a survey carried out by Dupont (1996), the income of average houseless workers in Delhi varied between Rs.520 to Rs.4500. Half of the workers earned between Rs.1000 to Rs.2000. Intra-occupational income differential are very large. Child Rag pickers earn about Rs.520 per month, which was considered enough for a person to feed himself. They saved some money either to contribute to their family or to purchase land or shop in their native place when they return home. The homeless people are integral part of the metropolitan labour force. They are concerned by insecurity and uncertainty in getting sufficient work. Most of them

aspire for regular income and a job in the organised sector. Hiring of a quilt or a cot or renting on a daily basis is part of the pattern of their daily living.

An important factor which is associated with the houseless is the proximity of work to their residence. Most of the people stay at a walking distance from their place of work. Most of the houselessness are on day to day job hunting, and have to reach their site of work early, before anyone else grabs the job. Moreover physical work exhausts them, so they prefer to stay at site or in the vicinity. Many jobs, such as catering, truck cleaning, loading and unloading are available late in the night or continue late when they have no choice but to stay at the place of work. Rickshaw pullers, tempo, truck and bus cleaners are often found to sleep in their vehicles. Those who can not sleep in their vehicles sleep on the nearby pavements or open area so that they can start early and do not spend their money, time and energy in commuting. Houseless condition is almost permanent with notable proportion of people, who remain houseless for ten or more years. Still most of them do not have Ration Card or voters Identity Card. Thus their existence is not officially recognized and many of them are categorized as illegal migrants.

This makes their living insecure as much as suspects in the eyes of police authorities. Anyway, most of the shelterless in Delhi have to face social stigma and prejudice and are often lumped together with criminals, and social out-cast. Many of them are treated as untouchables carrying epidemic diseases. Thus most of the shelterless people have dreadful living conditions and do not have sanitation, toilet and drinking water facilities.

The problems of shelterless are quire different from those of hutment households. It is clear that their priority is not shelter but security and integrating them into wider social network. Conventional programmes like built housing and resettlement have not been able to make a dent in the problem of such households. It is necessary to evolve an approach whereby facilitating the poor to help themselves. The strategy of self-reliance should focus on security of job and enactment of labour laws, which are often flouted in informal sector of employment. The strategy should also include literacy, education, urban basic services, health, nutrition, sanitation and toilet facilities, recreational and cultural development and skill development. In place of individual houses and site and services, it will be desirable to develop a network of night shelters, transit accommodation, dormitories and Dharamshalas for the shelterless, which would enable them to integrate with the urban network. The strategy should offer a wider choice of shelter in Delhi near their

place of work or in their native place, where they should be encouraged to return. Authorities should negotiate and develop working relationship with the State governments from where shelterless families are migrating to Delhi.

It is necessary to involve homeless in identification of their needs, planning process and execution. This can be possible by planning from the grass-roots and by promoting initiatives from NGOs and CBOs. The process of community participation will incorporate mobilization, motivation, orientation, education and cooperation. The focus has to shift from grand design to meaningful small and local programmes with emphasis on self-sustenance. The pooling of resources of the Government, local bodies, community and the NGOs would be necessary to make such programmes self-financing and self-sustaining.

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A Thin Veil of Protection: Fragility of Informal Tenure in Nairobi and Johannesburg[2]

(Paper to be presented at an international conference on: <u>Homelessness a Global Perspective</u>, New Delhi, India 9th – 13th January 2006).

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Abstract

This paper discusses three main ways of access to tenure security in informal housing in Nairobi, Kenya and Johannesburg, South Africa, namely: the protection of informal dwellers through legislative framework; political processes and development programmes. The paper argues that in both cities, this protection is very fragile. First, with regard to legislative framework, Nairobi is characterised by an inadequate and outdated legislative framework, while in South Africa, a transformative constitutional framework has been limited in efficacy through conservative interpretation. Regard for international covenants on evictions in both countries is very weak. Second, there is *ad hoc* and unreliable protection through political processes in both cities. In Nairobi, it is embedded in former president Moi's 'informal politics' and 'informal government', while in Johannesburg it is closely tied to activities of marginal political organisations and elected officials. Third, programmes that respond to informal dwellers in both cities are occasional sporadic afterthoughts, mainly driven by humanitarian organisations. Policy, programmes and planning frameworks, have no space for the poor. The paper uses case study materials and literature review to explicate these positions, concluding that both cities have not started to engage meaningfully with tenure security of its informal dwellers mainly due to rigid neo-liberalism and lack of political will.

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[2] Some materials used in this paper are partly based on the author's primary and secondary data towards his PhD. There is also primary information collected as part of COHRE fact-finding mission to Nairobi, Kenya, in July 2004, in which the author participated. See detailed reports in: http://www.cohre.org (COHRE, 2005b). The author has also had access to COHRE's Johannesburg's reports, through Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) University of the Witwatersrand.

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1. INTRODUCTION
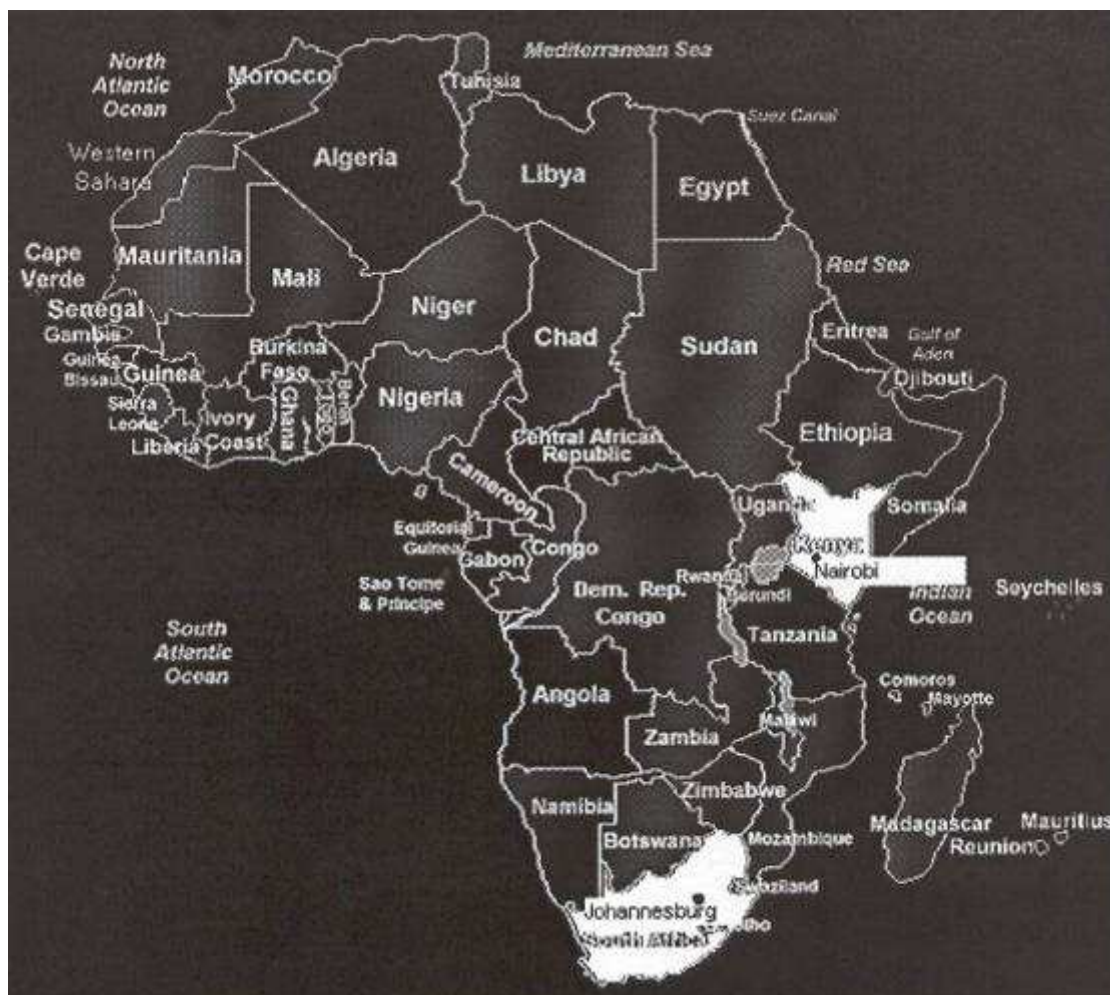
Figure 1 Location of Nairobi and Johannesburg.

After Africa Guide. Internet: http://www.africaguide.com/afmap.htm

This paper explores access to security of tenure by the poor in Nairobi, Kenya and Johannesburg, South Africa (see map above). While in Nairobi tenure security is weakened by lack of supportive legislation and programmes, in Johannesburg, security of tenure for the poor is weak in spite of purportedly supporting legislation, regulation and programmes. In fact, in many cases, legislation, regulation and

programmes are used to make tenure even more insecure, as will be reflected in the case study from Mandelaville, Johannesburg. The central argument in this paper is that the modes of access to land, generally, and security of tenure specifically for the poor in the two cities are inadequate. Additionally, there is no demonstration by the governments of Kenya and South Africa that they are interested in helping the poor get security of tenure. In case of any conflicting land uses in both cities, the poor informal dwellers are bound to lose, regardless of how long they have occupied land, and in spite of their legal and other entitlements. The poor only have a thin veil of protection, when it comes to tenure security.

The paper is organised in six main sections, apart from the introduction and the conclusion (Section One and Seven respectively). In Section Two, I explore the legislative bottlenecks for access to land in Kenya and South Africa. An elaborate legislative system in South Africa has not resulted in access to secure tenure for the poor. This is mainly because of the contradictions within the legal system itself, ensuring that vested interests in land and property are protected, at the expense of the poor. In Kenya, the legislative framework is inadequate and contradictory. In fact, land regulatory system is being overhauled as this paper is being written. The current system in Kenya has been exploited by those in power to the disadvantage of the poor.

In Section Three, I discuss racial and economic class-based access to land in Kenya and South Africa. In Kenya this pattern in rooted in colonialism. In South Africa, the pattern was entrenched through apartheid, in addition to colonialism. In both countries segregated access to land has been perpetuated through neo-liberal policies in land use by the current governments. There are really no meaningful measures to deal with the fact that the poor are excluded from access to land in both countries. In fact most of the measures in place enforce the purportedly undesirable, segregated, status quo. Housing programmes seem to be the only way through which tenure is secured in South Africa. In Kenya, security of tenure for the poor only happens through occasional, often sporadic slum upgrading programmes.

In section Four, I discuss the role of land subsidies and land invasions for securing tenure for the poor. These strategies are hardly successful in Nairobi and Johannesburg, because of legal frameworks that only give the poor a thin veil of protection. Additionally, there is the issue of equating informality to illegality in both countries. This limits proactive engagement with informality; making the governments in the two countries do nothing to help the poor secure tenure in informal or irregular

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settlements. This equation of illegality to informality is done regardless of the length of time the poor have been in occupation of land and/or housing and in spite of international covenants that the two countries have signed in relation to security of tenure.

In sections Five and Six, I present two case studies, from Nairobi and Johannesburg, which illustrate the fact that in both countries the poor have very little protection if any, when they access land and housing informally. The case of Kiambiu shows the futility of the efforts of the poor to secure their tenure in the face of a non-supportive government. In the case of Mandelaville, Johannesburg, one sees that one major reason for insecurity of informal tenure is when there are other stronger agents with interests in the land in question. These interests prevail over the rights of the poor to land. Besides, the case shows that in spite of legislation and government housing programmes, there is no guarantee of tenure security for informal dwellers, however long they have stayed on land. In both cases the tenure for the poor remain insecure in spite of being in occupation of land for decades.

In light of the above discussions, I conclude that mechanisms for access to land and housing by the poor in Kenya and South Africa are very inadequate. Where the poor have managed to access land and housing through non-formal means their security of tenure is weak. Even when informal occupation of land and housing by the poor is tolerated, they only have a thin veil of protection, which can be blown off at any moment by more powerful agents with vested interests in land and housing in both cities.

2. PROBLEMS WITH LEGAL AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS FOR ACCESS TO LAND IN NAIROBI AND JOHANNESBURG

There is recognition, both in Kenya and South Africa, that the means through which land is accessed is inadequate. The response in South Africa has been to develop a comprehensive legislative framework that attempts to incorporate all the conflicting interests, without resolving them adequately. In Kenya, land reform has been going on for the last few years to engage with the land problem, which has been interpreted, narrowly, to mean land regularisation, with little space for engagement with broader issues like equity in access to land.

South Africa undertook very detailed legislation around the issue of access to land during the transition to the post-apartheid policy environment. These included:

Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act 108 of 1991, which repealed Group Areas Act of 1966, one of the apartheid's instruments for restricting black access to urban land. The other legislation was the Distribution and Transfer of Certain State Land Act, 199 of 1993 that would enable the state to use some of its land to redress past inequalities. The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) 67 of 1995 and the Less Formal Township Establishment (LEFTE) Act 113 of 1991 were aimed at fast tracking development in the 'black' areas of the previously 'white cities'. Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994 was intended to help those disposed of ancestral land in the apartheid regime to regain rights to these. Upgrading of Tenure Rights Act 112 of 1991 was to deal with those who had been occupying land informally, but had not acquired legal rights. The Prevention of Illegal Eviction From and Unlawful Occupation of Land (PIE) Act 19 of 1998, was to repeal the apartheid's Illegal Squatting Act, through recognition of tenure rights of persons who had been occupying land for more than six months, while simultaneously recognising the ownership rights of the landlord. Through this legislation a court order is required to evict the squatter.

In spite of this legislation urban land problems in South Africa remain almost intact (Berrisford, 1999). There is very little redistribution of urban land. Rural related legislation, e.g. the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) 62 of 1997 and Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act 31 of 1996 have been relatively more effective in securing tenure for farm workers. Besides, the white landowners are being joined by black elites who are more concerned about property values, rather than social justice (Berrisford, 1999).

Corruption and inadequate land legislation are the two main issues that come through with regard to land in Nairobi. Corruption in land transfers and ownership, and land grabbing by upper income groups enabled through political linkages and patronage are widely reported in academic literature and public documents (see for example Majale, 2002; Syagga, Mitullah & Karirah-Gitau, 2001; Konyimbi, 2001; Republic of Kenya, 2002b). Besides, the legal framework for management of land in Kenya is not merely complicated but almost 'unworkable' (see Konyimbi, 2001). The draconian legislative framework inherited from the colonial government, merely transferred power over land from the queen of England to the President of Kenya, without much transformation. This is reflected in the Government Lands Act Cap 280 and explained by Syagga, Mitullah & Karirah-Gitau (2001)

> *'The president…assumed all authority to 'make grants or dispositions of any estates, interests or rights in or over unalienated government land'. Neither the constitution nor the Government Lands Act imposes limitations on the president on his powers to allocate public land…"*

In exercise of this power, the former president of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi, instituted a commission to review the legal framework for management of land. In 1999 the Commission of Inquiry into the Land Law System in Kenya – 'the Njonjo Commission' – produced a report titled: *'Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Land Law System of Kenya on Principles of a National Land Policy Framework, Constitutional Position of Land and New Institutional Framework for Land Administration'* (Republic of Kenya, 2002b). According to the commission (Republic of Kenya, 2002b: 32) the following were some of the challenges around land in addition to those caused as a result of colonisation: rapid population growth; impacts of HIV Aids; deterioration of production of land; breakdown in land administrative system; rapid urbanisation; uncontrolled development; desertification; poverty; gender; disparities in access to land and involvement of unauthorised persons in land matters. The commission failed to engage with the fact that government land was vested in the person of the president who had hitherto abused this privilege and caused some of the current problems. Corrupt allocation of land, on the other hand, became the subject of another presidential enquiry in 2003: *the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Illegal Allocation of Land* (the Ndungu Commission). A list of land grabbers was produced by this report, but the government failed to make it public. Meanwhile the Land Reform Process is progressing, and the extent to which it will deal with some of these ills remains to be seen, especially when land management seems to be its focus. Additionally it seems to have very little space for engagement with issues of the poor around social justice, access to urban land by the poor, informal land rights, etc.

The inadequacy of engagement with the land question both in Kenya and South Africa has resulted in weakness in urban reforms, perpetuation of urban segregation, and limitation of access to urban land by the poor, which I discuss next.

3. FAILURE TO REDRESS RACIAL AND ECONOMIC CLASS-BASED LAND ACCESS

Colonial and apartheid racial segregation, in Kenya and South Africa respectively, set the basis for post-colonial and post-apartheid economic class-based access to

land. The racial and class patterns remain intact in Nairobi and Johannesburg, with little impacts of new policies to redress them.

Spatial segregation dominates land-use patterns in Nairobi and Johannesburg. In South Africa there are clear intentions to redress: *"ineffective and inequitable cities: the geographic segmentation of living areas according to race and class, urban sprawl, and disparate levels of service provision and access to amenities in different areas (which) make South Africa's cities very inequitable, inefficient and relatively expensive to manage and maintain"* (Department of Housing, 1994:12, in Huchzermeyer, 2001b: 4). In Nairobi, engagement with segregation does not seem to be a central issue. In both cities, the market controls land redistribution in favour of the upper-income. This has led to a situation where geographical locations of new settlements for the poor in both cities are relatively predictable, i.e. in the outskirts of the cities, with limited access to infrastructure, services and urban opportunities. This is enforced through a strong Not-In-My-Backyard (NIMBY) factor. An example of NIMBY in Nairobi was the removal of the Soweto slums from the upmarket Hill View/Loresho area in Nairobi early in 1994[4]. In Johannesburg the numerous litigations against the City of Johannesburg's Rapid Land Development Programme (RLDP) exemplified this NIMBY problem (Bremner, 2000: 98 on RLDP). The RLDP was intended to identify and develop well-located land for the low-income, rapidly, through the provisions of Development Facilitation Act (DFA) and Establishment of Less Formal Township Act (LEFTE) (Bremner, 2000). However, there were oppositions from the host communities, forcing the City of Johannesburg to abandon the programme. It seemed that the visions within the government were conflicting; with the Provincial Housing Board not sharing in the City of Johannesburg's commitment to social and urban integration. The former preferred instead to keep funding projects in traditional (peripheral) locations (Bremner, 2000: 99). Bremner (2000: 99) talks of the upper-income hysteria, fuelled by inaccurate and sensational media reports, racial tension and distrust, as some of the factors that caused the RLDP programme to fail. Thus in Johannesburg, race-based locations are still predominant (see Omenya, 2003), while in Nairobi segregation, which was initially race-based, has now taken economic class lines (Olima 2003) – even as the racial

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[4] I was involved in attempts to help the squatters through an initiative that was being driven by the Architectural Firm I was working for at the time, Planning Systems Services. Our offices were then in the same neighbourhood as the squatter settlement, in Hill View Estate, Nairobi. The businessman in question gave us the go-ahead to help upgrade the settlement, only to refuse when the settlement was mysteriously gutted down by fire. See also Republic of Kenya (1999) on Soweto relocations.

substructure remains intact - reinforced by neo-liberal, non-redistributive approaches the post-colonial Kenyan governments have adopted.

There has been no meaningful land reform in either of the two cities (see Berrisford, 1999 on the South African case; see Olima and Kreibich, 2002; Olima and Rukwaro, 2003 on the Nairobi case. See Republic of Kenya, 2002b on Land Reforms in Kenya). Land reforms remain illusive in Johannesburg in spite of various instruments to engage with them, e.g. the Urban Development Framework; the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) 1995, requiring Land Development Objectives (LDOs); and the White Paper on Local Government, calling for integrated Development Plans (IDPs) (Huchzermeyer, 2001b: 34). The 'good intentions' of the South African government seem to be thwarted by the government's own developer driven housing programme, which tends to avoid good locations, but where they may have to overcome the sort of opposition that the RLDP encountered (Huchzermeyer, 2001b: 9). Besides a legislative system and a constitutional order that recognises the rights of the previously disadvantaged, while almost falling short of giving absolute rights to private property (Section 25 of the Constitution of South Africa) creates a situation where court decisions on rights of the poor to access land often work in favour of the rich (see the Bredell case in Huchzermeyer, 2003).

Lastly, there are limited alternatives for the poor to access land in both cities. The South African Department of Housing's new Housing Plan, *Breaking New Ground* (Department of Housing, 2004: 5) recognises that *"identification, acquisition, assembly and release of state owned and private land in terms of the revised procurement framework has proved to be a slow and complex process".* The situation in Nairobi is no better. One way this obstacle has been responded to, especially among the middle income groups in Nairobi, is the emergence of land buying companies, which do wholesale buying of land and subdivide into plots for their members (see Olima and Rukwaro, 2003: 144). Most members are linked horizontally, i.e. they would belong to more or less similar economic classes. They tend to be formally employed. This is also enabled by a strong culture of savings through cooperatives (Mwaura, 2002). However, cooperatives do not work for the lowest income groups, even in Kenya where the cooperative movement is more pronounced than in South Africa. In South Africa, the role of cooperatives as vehicles for access to urban land and housing is still relatively weak (Mthweku and

Tomlinson, 2000; Department of Housing, 2004). So how then do the poor access land in Nairobi and Johannesburg?

4. LAND SUBSIDIES, INVASIONS AND ILLEGALITY

One way of access to land by the low-income in Johannesburg is through the state's housing subsidy programmes. There are occasional projects based on land subsidies for developments on public land in Nairobi, e.g. in the Mathare 4A scheme and in Kibera Slum Upgrading Scheme, but this is not mainstream policy.

The other way through which the poor access land in both cities is through land invasions. Invasion of well-located land in Nairobi is rare, but not totally absent. Cases in point are the Deep Sea settlements in the upmarket Westlands area and Mukuru in the middle-class South B area[5]. In most cases they occur, in close proximity to other low-income settlements or in un-developable areas like riparian way leaves e.g. expansion of Kiambiu settlement, near Buruburu and Korogocho in Nairobi. I discuss the Kiambiu case in the next section. Huchzermeyer (1999a; 2001b) also noticed this pattern of land invasion in South Africa. In Nairobi, invasions are enabled by strong clientelism, especially from the politicians. Separate studies that I conducted in Gitare Marigo area, in Dandora, confirmed this fact (Omenya, 2005). Invasions in both cities are rarely successful. South Africa has a more detailed legislative framework to engage with invasions, as discussed next.

Huchzermeyer (2003: 62) outlines the legal position with regard to land invasions and evictions in South Africa. Most of the legislation finds its legal basis from Section 26 of the Constitutions of the Republic of South Africa, which states that:

- *(1) Everyone has a right to have access to adequate housing;*

- *(2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right;*

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[5] I took part in a mission to Nairobi in July 2003 as part of a fact-finding mission on forced evictions by Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions. During this time I had a chance to visit most of these informal settlements, in addition to having been brought up in the city of Nairobi. See the COHRE report in http://www.cohrekenya.org.

- *(3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary eviction.*

Sub-sections One and Two, of Section 26, give rise to various pieces of legislation and policies to realise the right to housing. It is the basis of the Housing Act number 107 of 1997. Sub-section Three has been elaborated through the Prevention of Illegal Occupation of and Unlawful Eviction From Land Act of 1998 (PIE Act), which criminalizes evictions. Incidentally, the landmark case on evictions, <u>Grootboom and others versus the Western Cape Municipality</u> was won by the invaders in the Appeal Court on the basis of Section 27(1)(c) that confers absolute right of shelter to children. In that case the rights of shelter for children was interpreted progressively to include the context of the communities they live in. However, these cases are only once off, with property owners managing to evict on all manner of bases, including remnants of apartheid legislation, like the Trespass Act of 1959 and health regulations. Additionally, Section 25 of the Constitution protects existing property rights, making it difficult to realise sub-section 4, which deals with equitable access to land.

In both cities, successful invasions as a means of access to land by the poor, is limited. Application of the law to deal with the rights of the poor with regard to land yields mixed results and as Huchzermeyer (2003) observed that in South Africa, this is marked by an ambiguous interpretation of the law. It seems that neither the market nor the state's legislation can guarantee access to land by the poor. The consequences of this are entrenchment of informality as illegality in both cities.

Turning to informality, in Kenya only 6% of the total land area has been registered under individual titles (Development Plan, 1997-2001, in Konyimbi, 2001: 50). In Nairobi, the local chiefs and councillors allocate public land, irregularly, thereby giving temporary, verbal and insecure tenure. Beneficiaries of this tenure tend to be linked mainly through local politico-economic networks. This system has been massively abused and is considered to be corrupt, as captured in these quotations below:

> "The procedures for allocating public land have been subjected to abuse and violation resulting in corruption in land matters, speculation and improper allocation. This is what has come to be branded as 'Land Grabbing' in Kenya, which is actually an abuse of land delivery system, with public land being

disposed of at prices below the market value to the powerful" (Syagga, Mitullah & Karirah-Gitau, 2001: 83; See also Olima, 1997: 327-28).

"That there has been abuse of trust by the Government and the county councils, its officials and councillors in the irregular allocation of public and community land without following legally laid down procedures that ensure appropriateness, transparency and fairness. The abuse has led to massive grabbing of land reserved for public use..." (Republic of Kenya, 2002: 91)

74% of a sample of households in a study conducted by Olima (1997: 328) in a section of Nairobi had lost their land through irregular re-allocation to government officials and the then ruling party (Kenya African National Union, KANU) officials. Land was reallocated to 'prominent and influential personalities' (Olima, 1997: 328).

Irregularity and informality are also on the increase in South Africa. Some legal experts argue that there is already a legal framework in place, which allows for various forms of non-paper security of tenure (Roux, 2002), a position that is contestable based on the evictions that have been happening in Johannesburg.

Huchzermeyer (2004b: 6) documents that in few circumstances, like in the case of Joe Slovo informal settlement, in Port Elizabeth, the state moved in to help the invaders acquire land legally. This is definitely not the mainstream policy, as acquisition of the land in this case was only enabled through ties between the leadership of the Homeless People's Federation and the People's Dialogue with the Minister for Land Affairs, Derek Hanekom. Additionally, Huchzermeyer (2001d) argues that informality should be interpreted as lack of rights instead on mainstream interpretation as illegality.

In the next two sections, I shift my focuses to two cases, one in Nairobi and the other in Johannesburg, which illustrate some of the bottlenecks the poor encounter in their attempts to secure their tenure in Nairobi and Johannesburg.

5. KIAMBIU, NAIROBI: UNSUPPORTED COMMUNITY QUEST TO SECURE TENURE
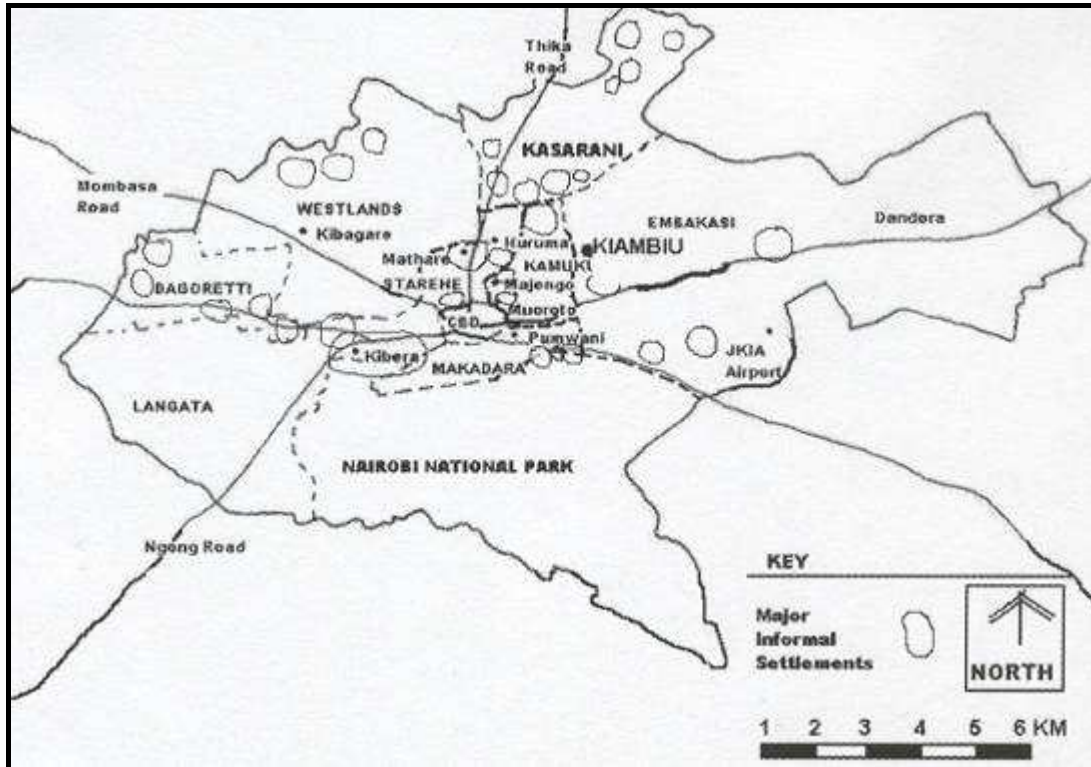
Figure 2 Subdivision of Nairobi, showing Kiambiu settlement and other informal areas

After Omenya and Huchzermeyer (forthcoming)

Kiambiu is an informal settlement in Eastleigh South Location, in Nairobi. It has been occupied since 1950 and has a population of about 10,000 persons[6]. In 1988 the residents got a one-month notice from the Chief of Eastleigh location ordering them to vacate the land, purportedly reserved for the government's Eastleigh Airbase[7]. Ministry of lands had done some planning, signed by the then Kenyan Commissioner of Lands W. Gachanja in 1994 towards upgrading of the settlement[8].

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[6] Letter from Muungano Wa Wakaazi Wa Kiambiu to the Town Clerk, NCC, dated 22nd of October, 2002.
[7] Letter from Chief Okeka, M.A. to Kiambiu Residents, dated 26th July 1988, asking the residents to vacate settlement.
[8] Copy of Plan dated from Ministry of Lands and Settlement for upgrading of Kiambiu.

Former presidents of Kenya, Moi and Kenyatta, had decreed that Kiambiu be developed and tenure secured for the residents[9]. This is yet to happen. As a consequence, powerful land grabbers have targeted land in the well-located settlement. This was attested to by complaints about land grabbing through a letter by a former Member of Parliament for the area to the Ministry of State, in the Office of the President[10]. The residents of Kiambiu have also complained severally about land grabbing to the authorities[11]. In 2001, for example, the community wrote a letter to Hon Kamotho, then Minister of Local Government, complaining about land grabbing in the settlement. The details the community gave included such minutiae as registration plates of the tractors that were being used by the land grabbers[12]. These complaints have not stopped the practice given that Kiambiu is still among the few informal settlements where land is still unallocated. Additionally, the community has faced harassment from local government officials. For example the community has complained about harassment and extortion by the immediate former councillor, the police, including the Officer Commanding Station (OCS) of the local station, and the chief, to no avail[13].

As far as planning is concerned in Kiambiu, the *Muungano wa Wakaazi wa* Kiambiu (Kiambiu Residents Association) received a letter from Mr. Kibinda, Director of City Planning, in 2002 allowing them and the local authority, the Nairobi City Council (NCC) to plan the settlement collectively[14]. The Chief and the councillor, Mr. Kiungu, agreed that allotment letters would be issued to the residents, upon payment of Kshs 5000.00[15]. The Member of Parliament for the area, Hon. Nyaga, clarified in a letter that the councillor was misleading the residents and that the NCC had no jurisdiction over Kiambiu. In his words:

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[9] Letter from Nthenge, G, MP Kamukunji to Minister of State on the Office of the President, dated 8th January 1997.

[10] See also letter to the Director of Physical Planning, NCC, from area MP Hon. Norman Nyaga, dated 10th Feb. 2002.

[11] See for example letter to Commission of Inquiry into Illegal / Irregular Allocation of Public Land from Kiambiu Residents dated the 16th of September, 2003; Letter to the Permanent Secretary Ministry of Lands and Settlement from Kiambiu Residents dated 11th of February 2002; Letter from the residents to Minister of Local Government, dated 16th July 2001.

[12] Letter from the residents to Minister of Local Government, dated 16th July 2001.

[13] Letter to Minister of State in for National and Internal Security, dated 22nd October, 2003

[14] Letter from Director of City Planning, Kibinda, P.M. to Muungano wa Wakaazi wa Kiambiu, dated 4th February 2003; Formalisation of Kiambiu settlement scheme was approved by the Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the NCC under minute 15, page 1427 of 8th February 2000.

[15] Letter from Muungano wa Wakaazi wa Kiambiu to the Town Clerk, NCC, dated the 22nd of Oct. 2002.

> *'The Councillor who is working in cohort with the Provincial Administration is using a misleading resolution of the Council, used in the previous allocation of the same land. More importantly, the Council does not have any mandate to deal with the land, as it has no jurisdiction over it. As the area Member of Parliament, I am sick and tired of trying to protect the land issues within my constituency as the help from government has not been forthcoming. I hope this time that somebody in government will protect what rightfully belongs to it from being sold-off by an individual"*[16]

Thereafter, still in 2002, the Kiambiu residents wrote to Town Clerk, Nairobi City Council, to verify the status of the land on which the settlement lies[17]. This letter was indeed discussed in the echelons of government as in 2003, a Mr. Wickliffe Ogallo, on behalf of the Secretary to the Cabinet, wrote to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Lands, referring to this particular letter and suggesting that Kiambiu was amongst the cases left pending by the Commission of Inquiry into the Land Law System in Kenya[18].

In May 2002 the residents sent yet another letter to the Hon Uhuru Kenyatta, who was the then Minister for Local Government. Thereafter in June 2003, they sent another letter to Hon Raila Odinga, who was then the Minister of Public Works Roads and Housing[19]. Again nothing was done about their plight. The Community alerted the Nairobi City Council on December 2003, of the illegal enumeration that was being conducted through the former councillor, Kiragu Waichai[20]. On the 25th November 2003, Hon. Betty Tett, an Assistant Minister, wrote to the Director of City Planning about the enumeration, issue[21]. According to the residents, nothing was done.

Thereafter the residents experienced a lot of harassment and intimidation, of which they complained about in yet another letter in 2003 to Minister of National and

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[16] Letter from Member of Parliament for Kamukunji to the Commissioner of Lands, dated 12th September 2003.

[17] Letter to the Town Clerk, NCC, from the Muungano wa Wakaazi wa Kiambiu, dated on the 22nd of October 2002

[18] Letter to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Lands and Settlement from Wickliffe Ogalo, on Behalf of the Secretary to the Cabinet and Head of Public Service.

[19] Letter to Minister for Local Government, Hon. Uhuru Kenyatta, from Kiambiu Residents dated the 27th of May 2002 and letter to Minister of Public Works, Roads and Housing, Hon. Raila Odinga. In both letters the residents raised their fears that they would be forcefully evicted.

[20] Letters to the Director of City Planning, the Nairobi City Council and to the Assistant Minister for Local Government from Kiambiu Residents dated the 18th of December 2003.

[21] Letter from the Assistant Minister of Local Government to the Director of City Planning dated 25 November 2003.

Internal Security, Chris Murungaru. This harassment was meted by local vigilante groups, namely: '*Mungiki'* and *'Taliban'*. No action was taken.

In spite of these problems of tenure insecurity in Kiambiu, in 2003, the Kenyan Government decided to hold the World Habitat Day in the settlement. The Ministers for Public Works, Roads and Housing, Hon. Raila Odinga and the Minister for Lands and Settlements, Hon. Amos Kimunya condemned land grabbing in the settlement. The Ministers were aware of the local government officials colluding with grabbers and using Administration Police to harass residents. They prescribed no cause of action, although a list of people harassing residents in the settlement was given to the Minister for Internal Security, Hon. Chris Murungaru[22]. Again nothing was done about either the chief and/or the vigilante groups.

On the 4th of March 2003, Mr. Kibinda, Director of City Planning, wrote to *Muungano wa Wakaaji wa* Kiambiu suggesting a partnership towards upgrading of the slum[23]. Later in the year, on the15th October 2003, Mr. Odongo, Assistant Director of City Planning, wrote to the District Officer (D.O.) Pumwani, under whose jurisdiction Kiambiu falls to clarify that there had not been any council subdivision or allocation of land in the settlement contrary to the plan signed on behalf of the Commissioner of lands way back in 1994[24]. However land grabbing and displacement of local residents continued. On the 20th of August 2003, the villagers wrote to their Member of Parliament, Hon. Nyaga, accusing one Mr. Zacharia Wagura of acquiring a plot, which he paid for and the Nairobi City Council (NCC) issued a receipt to that effect[25]. Thereafter on the 16th September 2003, the residents wrote to Commission of Inquiry into Illegal Allocation of Public Land and complained about land grabbing by their Chief, Mr. Mutwiri and a Councillor, Mr. Kiragu[26]. Again no action seemed to have been taken.

In Kiambiu *'Kama huna kadi huna nyumba'* – 'if you do not have a card, you do not have a house'. This phrase is in reference to some certificates of occupation, which were to be given by a former councillor and the local chief to the residents. These

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[22] Letter to Minister for National and Internal Security from the Kiambiu Residents dated 22nd of October 2003.

[23] Letter to Kiambiu Residents from the Director of City Planning, Mr. Kibinda, dated the 2nd of April 2003.

[24] Letter to the District Officer, Pumwani, from Deputy Director, City Planning, NCC, dated 15th October 2003.

[25] Letter to Kamukunji Member of Parliament, Hon. Nyaga, from Kiambiu Residents, dated the 20th of August 2003.

[26] Letter to Commission of Inquiry into Illegal / Irregular Allocation of Public Land from Kiambiu Residents dated the 16th of September 2003.

were to indicate whether one owned a structure or was a renter in the settlement. These certificates had no legal basis whatsoever and for no apparent reason had to remain in possession of the former councillor. If anything they offered a very thin veil of protection to the residents. The former councillor purportedly keeps these certificates and alters their details to favour his allies. Meanwhile land grabbing continues unabated. In 2005 the community lost the football field to an unknown person who fenced it off and started building flats for rent. Of course the community alerted the authorities. The old man who was spearheading the campaign to protect the field was assaulted several times by unknown people and had to relocate from the settlement. This matter was reported to the police and nothing was done about it. Meanwhile harassment of local residents continues. Another vigilante group *'Wazee wa Kijiji'* (literally meaning 'Old Men of the Village') beat up other community members at the behest of the chief and the Administration Police. Members of a local youth group who resisted the vigilante group and tried to chase away the land grabbers have been charged in courts with malicious damage to property[27].

This case illustrates the neglect of squatter communities in Nairobi, Kenya, and the extreme harassment and exploitation they undergo, in many cases with the use of government machinery. All their complaints have fallen on deaf ears and they simply wait not knowing what their fate will be. Meanwhile the land they occupy is being lost to speculators as government watches. They have several cases in court, but there does not seem to be any efforts at all, from government, to listen to the plight of these people and deal decisively with it. The Kiambiu community are a victim, like many Nairobi informal dwellers of weak instruments to guarantee tenure security. Additionally, they cannot engage meaningfully with the complexity of laws governing land ownership in Kenya. They are also victims of abuse of the existing land laws by powerful individuals. Further, their level of organisation cannot match and counter that of rich individuals supported through personal links in the government perpetuating exploitation by the poor. They clearly seem to have exhausted their options (they seen literally everyone from local chiefs to the country's president) and nothing sort of intervention by the national government and the international community would guarantee them any protection.

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[27] The meeting was organized by a local NGO, '*Maji na Ufanisi*' in Kiambiu on the 9th of July 2004.

6. MANDELAVILLE, JOHANNESBURG: FORCED EVICTIONS
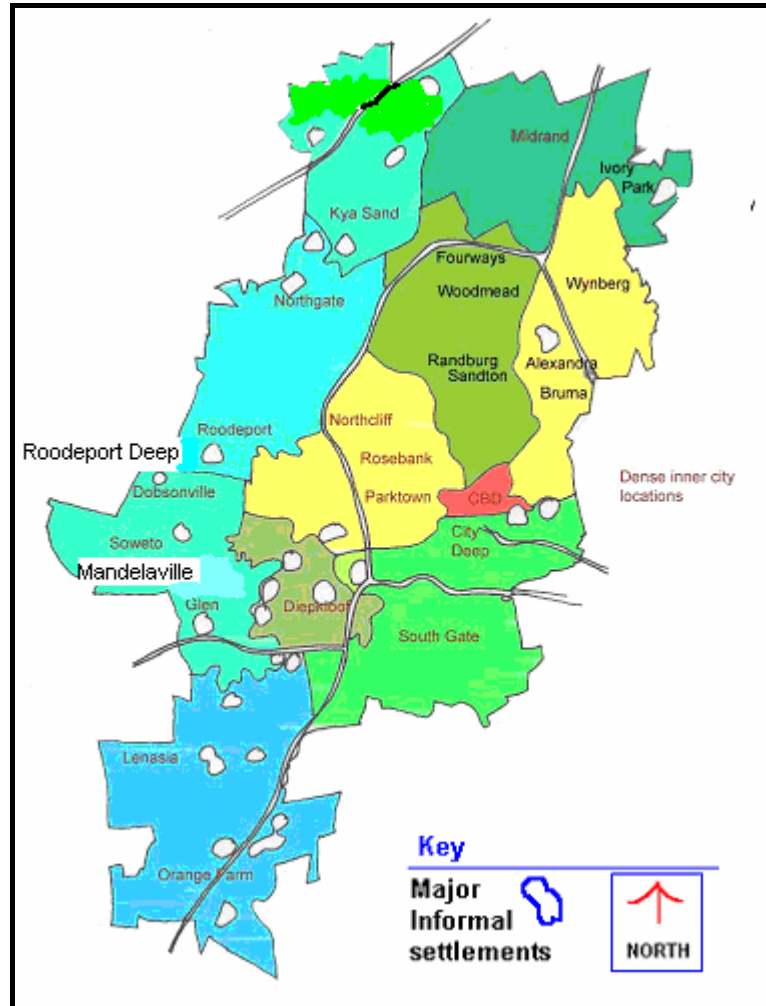
Figure 3. Johannesburg city regions

After Omenya (2005)

Shifting discussion to Johannesburg, the city's applies what it calls 'zero tolerance to informal settlements'. New settlers in informal areas are meant to be evicted within 48 hours without a court order (COHRE, 2005a: 77). This is actually illegal, contrary to the provisions of the PIE Act and Section 26 (3) of the constitutions. But on the whole the municipality has used evictions to thwart efforts of the poor to secure tenure for themselves (COHREa, 2005: 77). As explicated in the case of Mandelaville below.

Mandelaville was a low-income area on the western side of the famous Soweto settlement in Johannesburg. Mandelaville residents were evicted from the area and resettled in an abandoned mine, in an area called Braamfischerville, some 15 kilometres away, in January 2002.

The residents of Mandelaville had settled in the area between 1976 and 2002 (COHRE 2005a: 78). They actually settled in the area legally, as they were granted permission by the then apartheid government to live in the buildings left behind after vandalism associated with the 1976 Soweto uprising. Some residents rehabilitated 'their buildings' and others built informal structures to accommodate themselves. Their numbers increased to about 2000 after the influx control regulations were lifted by the apartheid government. However, things soon changed. In 1994 all residents of Mandelaville were considered illegal occupiers of land, regardless of whether or not they had a permit to occupy land and/or housing (COHRE 2005a: 78). This did not worry the residents much since they had been promised subsidised housing and indeed the municipality had started registering them for the same in 1996 (*ibid*).

Problems soon emerged when the municipality suggested that the residents would be relocated to Braamfischerville, in Roodeport Deep, some 15 kilometres away (see map above). They were to live in new informal settlements and in old apartheid single sex hostels, which had not been refurbished. The community was promised that in due course they would get permanent housing. Mandelaville residents formed a Crisis Relocation Committee after the local councilor informed them that they would be relocated whether they liked it or not (COHRE, 2005a: 79). The crisis committee advised the residents that the relocation site was unsuitable as it was alienated, lacked basic infrastructure, services and social amenities. For example it did not have any single school. This in addition to the fact that it was some 15 kilometers away implying loss of livelihood strategies and disconnection from the larger Diepkloof community that the residents of Mandelaville had enjoyed. However, no negotiation about relocation was entertained since the land in Mandelaville was required 'urgently' for development of a shopping centre (COHRE, 2005a: 79).

In 2001 the municipality went to court for an urgent eviction order. The reason given for the need of this argent action was that there wasn't enough space to accommodate all the residents of Mandelaville was there to be an *in situ* upgrade of the settlement. The municipality alleged, incorrectly, that Rooderport Deep was only 8 kilometres away. Additionally, the municipality alleged that Mandelaville was a source of crime and that the relocation site would be invaded if the residents were

not moved there immediately. Further, it alleged, incorrectly, that there was a primary school and that the reason residents preferred not to move was because they preferred to live in open land rather than hostels. The municipality's offer was made to look good, when it was alleged that the new settlement, Sol Plaatjie, in Roodeport, would have permanent houses, which has not been realised to date (COHRE, 2005a: 80).

The municipality got an eviction order and removed the Mandelaville residents in January 2002. COHRE (2005a: 84) reports that eviction was marked by beatings of residents by 'red ants' (a term used to refer to private security companies that the city of Johannesburg uses to evict; their uniforms are red). People's property was destroyed in the process. Additionally, people lost their employment and livelihoods in Soweto because of lack of transport to and from their new settlement. When it was available the costs were just too high for the residents. Their new location remains informal and has not been upgraded by the time this paper was being written, in spite of the promises by the municipality to do so four years ago (see also COHRE, 2005a: 84). The apartheid hostels have also not been upgraded. The tenure security of the residents remains fragile as they are still living informally in the new location. COHRE (2005a: 85) indicated that there were even plans to relocate the residents further. However, these were stopped through an out of court settlement in which the municipality promised no further disturbances to the Mandelaville/Sol Plaatjie residents (COHRE, 2005a: 85).

7. CONCLUSIONS

In Kenya corruption and inadequate legislative frameworks can be blamed for weak tenure security, but the current land reforms do not seem to focus on securing tenure for the poor. The case of South Africa shows that while the law is important, it is inadequate to guarantee access to land and also to provide security of tenure for the poor. In both countries this lack of secure tenure for the poor impinges on efficacy of urban reforms. Ironically, in both cities, efforts of the state to deal with urban segregation and unequal access to land are thwarted by the state's own rigid neo-liberal pursuits. Land subsidies, invasions, and other means of informal access to land are only likely to succeed in the short-term, on derelict, poorly located areas, where stronger agents within the state and the private sector still do not have interests. Otherwise these efforts for securing tenure become short lived once new

interests in the areas emerge. The state, in Kenya and South Africa, protects such interests in land at the expense of the poor. In both countries informality is not considered an expression of need, but rather as a breach of the law. Currently, it seems that there is very little the poor can do to secure their tenure in Nairobi and Johannesburg. The two case studies analysed in this paper show that whether or not the poor have recognisable legal rights to land, both locally and through international covenants, this is immaterial in light of governments that clearly only give lip service to security of tenure and access to land by the poor. This leads me to conclude that the major impediment to tenure insecurity seems to be lack of political goodwill and a genuine effort to accommodate the poor in the two cities. Currently, all that the poor have in Nairobi and Johannesburg is a thin veil of protection, which can easily be blown off by the slightest breeze.

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Living Homeless in Darwin: Resilience, Resourcefulness and Determination.

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Abstract

Homelessness is a global phenomenon with swelling numbers in both developing and industrialised nations. Australia's homeless population is no exception, yet little is understood about the lived experience of homeless people and their perspective on what constitutes a good quality of life *while* homeless.

This paper presents the story of an Aboriginal woman, Polly, who has experienced homelessness in Darwin, the capital of the Northern Territory of Australia. Darwin has more than 2000 homeless people in a total population of 100 000, with more than 1000 living in the 'Long Grass' or sleeping rough.

The story has been constructed through an ethnographic investigation which explored the lived experience, health and life quality of homeless people accessing a night shelter and free meal service. Information was collected over a period of

twelve months, principally through participant observation, while working as a volunteer in the study setting.

The paper outlines how this story is unique, yet many aspects of Polly's life are comparable to the numerous guests that moved through this institutional setting. Although Polly felt stigmatized by the housed community as lazy, deviant, sub-human and threatening, this study reveals a great resilience, resourcefulness and determination to survive. This survival occurs despite a life existence punctuated by trauma and compounded by physical and mental health conditions, addictions, an inability to work or secure employment and by a lack of accessible and affordable housing.

This paper comes to the conclusion that policies and programs to assist the homeless need to be contextualised in the social, cultural, political, economic and geographical dimensions of daily life of people affected by homelessness, and draw on the strengths observed among Darwin's homeless, such as those illustrated in Polly's story.

Introduction

This research has been guided by the question, "How can environments be created that are supportive of health and life quality for people living a homeless existence?" This paper will draw from ethnographic material gathered during 2004 and 2005 from an institutional setting that provided a meal and shelter service for homeless people. The setting is located in Australia's most northern capital city, Darwin. This paper will start with a brief background to this research, and then turn to its emphasis; the life experience of one key informant, Polly. This story has been reconstructed for many of its parts have been observed among all the people who have participated in this study. This story also describes the rich context and complexities associated with day to day life while homeless in Darwin. The paper will conclude by bringing to the forefront the key issues emerging through Polly's experiences.

Homelessness in the Australian district of the Northern Territory is the highest in the country and is a significant issue in the capital of the Territory, Darwin. There are more than 2000 homeless people among a total Darwin population of 100 000. Indigenous Australians are over represented and account for half of the primary homeless group which consists of the visible population that are sleeping rough or in

improvised dwellings, referred locally as living in the "Long Grass" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2005).

These figures are thought to be underestimated; hiding the magnitude and depth of the challenges faced by the Territory and resulting in inadequate funding, resources and responses. In Darwin, where the inequality gap between the wealthy and poor is so apparent, this underestimation can exacerbate poverty related issues by downplaying them.

Understanding homelessness in Australia

Homelessness is growing on a global scale and some communities are beginning to accept that there will always be part of the community who will live a homeless existence. Australia, however, has had a preoccupation with 'solving the problem', directing efforts toward prevention and early exit strategies from homelessness. While this strategy has obvious merit, we have neglected to consider life quality of people while they are living a homeless existence. By and large, very little is known about 'being' homeless in Australia.

Homelessness research has been fragmentary, and has the propensity to tell us about parts of the phenomena, not the whole. Few have explored the lived experience from the perspective of the homeless person. This has generated recent concern and criticism, such as comments made by Fopp and Parker (2004) who state: "*much of the Australian literature regarding homelessness to date omits the perspective of people who are homeless...particularly in the academic literature, qualitative analysis remains relatively undeveloped…*" (p.145). Further, Robinson (2004) highlighted that access to affordable housing, low education and unemployment, for example, "*take on a completely new force and shape when they are lived…we continue to match our 'solutions' to homelessness with 'causes', rather than looking at what lived trajectories of homelessness actually become*" (p.5).

 Methodology

Since the late 1960s ethnographic studies of poverty and other subcultures in the USA which present the emic view of those from within the culture have made a strong contribution to the development of creative responses to homelessness (Glasser and Bridgman,1999). This ethnographic study aimed to contribute in a small but significant way to understanding the lived experience of being homeless in Darwin, Australia. The health and life quality of homeless Australians has been

explored through learning about the daily lives and events confronting homeless people as they occur within their everyday settings.   Ethnography, with its roots in anthropology, was the most appropriate methodology available to respond to my research question. This methodology utilises tools that are unobtrusive (Lee, 2000), and according to Glasser and Bridgman (1999), anthropology's *"methodologies, theories, and modes of analysis make it especially suited to unearthing the subtleties of problems that arise as societies adapt to the complexities of contemporary life"* (p.x).

 My primary data has been generated through participant observation from engaging in, and then later beyond, an institutional setting that provided free meals and a shelter service for homeless people. Through volunteering alongside homeless people (guests) in this setting I spent between three and seven hours each day doing various jobs, such as setting tables, serving food, washing up and cooking. Much of the time was spent chatting with guests and over time, I was able to develop strong relationships with many homeless people and learn about their daily activities and life experiences, sometimes referred to as rapport building (Agar, 1980). Later this led to the collection of data beyond the institutional setting, for example, when guests invited me to spend time with them, accompany them to appointments or show me local places of importance. As Van Manen (1990) points out, *"the best way to enter a person's life world is to participate in it"* (p.69).

This paper will now turn to the story of Polly. It is about a woman who is homeless, and has lived in the Long Grass of Darwin for more than half her life. During my fieldwork she moved into a flat and continued to face the threat and fear of being homeless. Indeed, Polly's occupation of the flat rendered her homeless according to contemporary definitions; she lived in an environment where there was insecure tenure and in conditions that compromised her health and safety.

The story of Polly

Polly is 38 years old. She is an Aboriginal woman and her country is in the northern part of the Territory. Largely illiterate, Polly finished school and had paid work for a brief time in her community. By age 18 Polly had made the pilgrimage to Darwin to escape the confinement of community life, in search of excitement, money and grog, all to be enjoyed without the perceived constraints imposed by her kin, her place and her memories. Many of her community had made the same journey, some in search of the same things. She would not be alone.

As a teenager, Polly had experimented with alcohol. She was allowed to. It was not unusual. This same experimentation was accompanied by sexual exploration and by 13 Polly had already contracted her first of many, sometimes treated, sometimes not, STD's. Polly was 17 when she fell pregnant. She had only ever had sex when she was drunk. As a slight girl, she was 4 -5 months gestation when she learned of the baby. Polly said:

> "*I did not want a baby, all that humbug[28], I was only 17… I killed my baby myself by hitting my stomach and the baby died. I spent a long time, maybe 5 or 6 weeks in the hospital and they cleaned me. The baby did not come out and I got sick with an infection so they scraped my stomach inside*".

Polly recalled her sadness and explained she drank more to feel better. This event had been the catalyst for making the journey to Darwin.

Polly spent the next 20 years in the Long Grass, drinking everyday, occasionally returning to her home country. She commented, "*It is very difficult to live in Darwin without drinking because everyone does*". She lived with her father, brothers and sisters and members from her own and other communities, linked usually through marriage and in meeting common needs. Staying in a group was a fundamental safety measure against evil spirits, with sorcery underpinning many of Polly's daily activities. In Darwin's Long Grass Polly was part of a different community; a community also with order, purpose and function. As part of a larger Long Grass community there were established rules and practices, for example, where one could sleep or stay in public places, under what circumstances drinking in company could occur or when the free meal service should be avoided.

A feature of this contemporary community was that its members were transient. They moved about the city, usually on foot and traveled many kilometres in an effort to secure money for alcohol; a preoccupation of daily life. Visits to agencies that would provide food, showers, clothes and referrals to other services were also usual, as were visits to fast food outlets, bottle shops and the shopping mall on government welfare pension days. The various seasons generated movement – most obvious in the occupation of new places at night time which offered protection from the wet and the cold. A type of 'forced' transience, pre-emptive and reactive to police, but more

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[28] Polly used the word 'humbug' in this context to describe feels of being hassled and bothered while taking on significant responsibility.

so council infringement officers, was commonplace. Some would also make journeys back to their home country, usually necessitated by a death or illness in the family. This would require additional funds to be obtained through a range of sources including card games, humbugging[29], welfare pensions and prostitution. Some service agencies could be relied on to book transport, arrange wreaths and deliver people to planes along with a pair of thongs[30] for the flight.

Polly was not as successful as others in cards and the pension and humbugging were regular sources for everyday needs. When there was an acute shortage of money for alcohol or an unexpected need to travel, under such circumstances Polly would resort to prostitution. She would have sex with the white men or people she would describe as half castes. Prostitution, however, was not always Polly's idea. Often Polly would be forcibly made to drink cask wine by her sister with the support of the mob until she succumbed to the pressure. Polly, in her sobriety commented, "*They don't care for me. They do not respect me. They want me to go with white men to get money for grog*". Now the mob often comments how good Polly looks. Her sobriety has increased their pressure, particularly when she claims to have no money. Benefits will be greater now she is sober and more attractive. The Darwin Long Grassers are very resourcefulness in meeting their group needs.

The same sister actively encouraged certain relationships for the women in the group with white men. These relationships were seen as a source of income for the mob, although much to the sister's disappointment rarely benefited them directly in terms of cash, ganja[31], alcohol or food. It was through Polly's sister's encouragement that she met Dave. Dave is a non-Indigenous man, at least 30 years Polly's senior. Dave had been instrumental in the pivotal changes that occurred in Polly's life over the last year.

Polly had experienced abdominal discomfort for some time. It had been Dave that had persuaded her to give up alcohol along with advice from a doctor that she would be dead within a year if she kept drinking. This news would have a profound affect on Polly's life. She participated in a rehabilitation program but left early when she received news from a family member that her father was unwell. Her Long Grass family was there to pick her up and take her for a drink – after all her government

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[29] Humbugging here refers to begging or hassling people for money and other goods or services.
[30] Cheap and basic footwear made from a rubber base with two straps.
[31] Marijuana

pension had accumulated and the trip would be a good investment. Her 'unwell' father turned out to be as well as he usually was. When Dave caught up with Polly she said, "*this was one last fling…now no more*".

 Polly has not had a drink in more than 12 months. Dave often laments "*they all said she won't be able to do it, no way…and they are all wrong*"; a demonstration of her incredible determination. After rehabilitation, she lived with Dave in a little flat rented through the private market. Both their names were needed on the lease as Polly alone would never have been considered favorably by real estate agents and landlords for rental properties. Rent was paid via automatic bank transfer from the government pension, along with electricity. The little money that remained Polly would try to use for food, video hire, cigarettes and other incidentals.

After a few months Dave needed to travel. Polly had been reluctant to access the meal and other essential services available to people with little money due to the humbugging. She saw both her size and sobriety as being disadvantageous in these settings. Being small framed, she was an easy target for being threatened and physically overpowered. Being a non drinker, it was assumed she would have money that previously would have been shared among the Long Grassers. Polly's hunger would eventually over power her fear and she would access the meal service.

With Dave away, Polly was more accessible to her family. They would visit her flat daily to humbug her. They would usually be after money, cigarettes, food and a place to sleep. Sometimes they wanted a place to drink without being threatened or moved on by the police or council officers. The wet season increased the demand for access to Polly's flat by her mob. Polly's resistance to letting her family in and sharing her scanty belongings was received often with animosity. Polly had decided very quickly that she needed her money for herself. She commented:

> "*I need my money for living and for food, I do not want them to spend it on alcohol, I need it to live…if I lose my flat I will end in the Long Grass and I will die…I don't want to die, I want to live".*

She explains that to stay dry means she can not choose her family. They get angry at her. But she will die if she drinks any more. In conversation Polly often says, "*I am finished with the drink…no more*". Polly goes out for a walk most nights until 12.00pm or 1.00am so she is not bothered by family knocking on her door and

shouting to her. She then is usually wakened by 6.00am by family again humbugging. Polly explains, *"I am very tired from this life and want to be left alone"*.

The real estate agency is in receipt of complaints from surrounding tenants over Polly's flat. The complaints relate to noise, humbugging, defecation, drunkenness and people sleeping in the corridor of the flats. A notice is served on Polly to cease allowing people to cause these nuisances, to be complied with in a week, but the agency has closed down for Christmas and there is no one available to talk over the notice, let alone challenge its validity. Polly had not let anyone sleep in the corridor nor had she let anyone cause the other complaints to happen. She has been very active in calling the police and night patrol to respond to these issues, but her family is relentless. Polly, who had been a little excited by Christmas, is suddenly deeply distressed and fearful she will lose her flat. The flat has come to symbolise a future life.

Part of Polly's Christmas excitement has been spurred on by Reg. Reg is the son of Polly's sister. The sister, a Long Grasser, drowned a couple of years earlier swimming while very drunk. Polly is nostalgic when she shows the location of her death and is visibly disappointed to discover that where her sister's name had been etched on a post had been painted over – a desecration of her memory. Polly feels partially responsible for her being dead, but not the death itself, as this is well beyond her control. The death was not caused by swimming drunk either. Polly explains the evil spirits took her sister because Polly would not stay with the man she was promised to, bringing this punishment to their family. Polly explains:

> *"…when I run away they use magic. My sister, she was with the white man at the shop and he took her blood from here (pointing to the side of her stomach). Then she is in Darwin, drinking here and swimming, then she drowned. It was caused by the man taking her blood… Everybody talked about it and everybody knows it was the magic…because in Aboriginal way, my sister can be punished for me, because I was running away".*

Polly went on to explain the devil or evil spirit would take blood and burry it in the ground, and in a few days you would be dead.

> *"You have to be very careful so they don't get your blood…maybe it is a person, someone you know or maybe it is a dog…sometimes they will say 'you come and drink with us', but they want your blood, it is a trick…that is*

why families must stay together – when they sleep and drink. It is more dangerous at night, so we sleep together to be safe so they can't get us…they get your blood and usually when you are away from the community here in Darwin in a few days you will die. It always happens this way. Maybe you just die or maybe there is an accident…The white people, they don't know, it will happen".

Reg joined Polly at the start of the school holidays. Polly takes her assumed responsibility as a mum very seriously ensuring the boy is fed, clean and clothed. Frightened about the future, Polly comments, "*I can not go to the Long Grass. I will die. The Long Grass no good for me and is no place for the little boy*".

Polly managed to receive a fair hearing from the real estate agent. When the agent learned the great lengths she went to avoid causing complaints and problems, she was stunned and kept repeating the words "*I had no idea, I had no idea*". Not long after, Polly received two more notices indicating she had not paid rent. Polly had never fallen behind in her rent, and was in fact ahead by two weeks after paying twice one fortnight when they had suggested she was behind. The agent acknowledged an administrative error and rectified the problem. These errors, however, reignited Polly's fear about the Long Grass and her ultimate survival.

The complaints continued and within a couple of months the same agent had found a little flat in another location; a location Polly had talked about favourably as it provided access to shops, transport and recreational activities she was interested in. Polly believed her family would not find her there. It was two days before a sister had found her and it was not long before Dave had to travel again for urgent family business.

Polly worked hard to get Reg to attend school, sitting in on the class and walking him to and from school. The family back at Polly's home country was pressuring her to return Reg. They were concerned that the boy would not get an Aboriginal education and also that Polly would get the government allowances for him. Eventually, Reg returned home. Reg continued to be very protective over Polly telephoning her often and asking when he can return to live with her and checking that she is not drinking. Polly laughs as there is no doubt in her mind that she will ever drink again, but Reg is worried the mob will make her.

The humbugging started up again. Although this time it was in full force. It was two different Long Grass mobs; her family and the mob some of her sisters had married into. It was this mob Polly feared the most.

Polly's new flat was positioned on the ground floor, in a prominent location and easily accessible from a number of locations frequented by homeless people. There were many public places in the immediate vicinity that allowed a good vantage point for seeing the comings and goings. The police, her primary strategy in maintaining her tenancy, were therefore less of an impediment to her family despite having a shop front across the road from her flat. Polly was caught in a very difficult predicament. Family would come and expect entry. When Polly refused, they would threaten her. They would cause a scene, which could potentially lead to a complaint. On occasion to avoid complaints and conflict, Polly let them inside. Other times they would force their way in regardless of whether Polly was there or not. Eventually, the complaints piled up against Polly and the agents sent another notice indicating she was to cease drunkenness, parties and rowdy behaviour.

Polly was devastated, although this time she was better informed about the process. Previously Polly had felt intimidated when she had received notices. This time more resilient, she knew they could not throw her out, and that she would be invited to go to court to have her say. Polly would say, "*When can I go to court and tell that judge?*"

Polly became more active in refusing entry and this amounted to daily calls and visits to and by the police, daily disputes against sometimes up to ten family members, and mounting tension between Polly and the landlord. Eventually Polly's brother threw a rock through the window leaving a gaping hole.

Polly reported the damage to the police and the landlord. The landlord was irate and held Polly responsible. The agent too said that Polly would have to take responsibility for what her family did – it was written into the lease. Polly did not have this kind of money and could not understand why she would have to pay for the damage caused by someone else.

Over the following week Polly's family were able to enter her flat as they pleased, without regard for Polly, generating more complaints and police action. Polly complained of being very tired. She had been caring for an older woman who had a sore back. The old woman also complained of being tired. They were unable to get sleep at the flat. The both said they were frightened when family was there and also when they were not. Family members insisted they were there to help Polly to which Polly retorted:

> "*they are full of shit…they are the problem, just like the other mob…You know that old lady and me have to sleep on the kitchen floor or in the laundry, with no pillow or blankets. They are not here to care for us and look out for us. I can't get them out of my bed. They just come here and sleep in my place and eat everything, make a mess and cause trouble for me. They all tell just lies, just lie*".

The real estate agent advised Polly the landlord had decided to try and take immediate possession of the property. This was different to receiving a notice. Papers would be served on Polly to attend court, and on that day, if the judge decided in favour of the landlord, Polly might have a couple of supervised hours to collect her belongings from the flat. This was very stressful as Dave had not planned to return until a few days before the expiry of their lease. They had taken a short lease believing Polly would soon be eligible for public housing. After the agent wrongly accusing Polly of not paying rent once again, she learned the landlord had decided not to proceed with applying for immediate possession. He would never lease his flat again to another Aboriginal person.

With less than a couple of weeks left in the flat Polly met again with public housing. They indicated a further eight month wait for housing. Polly had not been able to meet their requirements - a reference stating that they have lived in private rental for three months successfully, without any complaints made about them for any reason, regardless of whether they were individually responsible.

It had been the view of the housing officer that Dave was setting Polly up in flats and leaving her to fail. Polly did not wish to engage with the officer – she was annoyed, confused, frustrated and upset about this new wait for housing – she would look out the window instead. The officer concluded Polly was not capable of understanding what was going on and recommended she move into one of the two shelters where she could get the support she needed.

Polly did not like the idea for many reasons including access to school for Reg, travel expenses, time on public transport and proximity to big Long Grass mobs and humbugging. Polly was keen to secure another private flat in the same vicinity, although was insistent she would tell no one her address.

With nowhere to go Polly and Dave left, packed and distributed their belongings at the expiry of the lease. They slept in Dave's van until a friend with a Territory Housing flat offered them his bedroom in exchange for $130 per week while he slept on the couch. This worked out for a while. On returning to the flat one day, without warning their friend told them to leave and not to return. They stayed in a motel for the night and soon secured temporary accommodation in a shelter. The landlord and real estate agent from their private rental flat had refused to return their bond and Polly and Dave would need to go to a tribunal to recover it. Private rental was therefore not a housing option. Dave and Polly had taken their concerns about the bond to the Department of Fair Trading who categorically stated that what the agent had done was unlawful.

Polly and Dave returned to the Long Grass. While they had had their ups and downs as a couple, they were excited about their good news. They had an appointment with a doctor to discuss getting pregnant. Polly had desperately wanted a child and they had been trying to conceive for sometime unsuccessfully. Polly said, "*I do not know the feeling of being a woman with a baby. I am not a woman with this experience and a baby is all I want for my life*".

In the mean time, Polly and Dave had had some altercation. Polly went out one afternoon and had consensual and non-consensual sex with four different men and contracted syphilis. She was ashamed of the disease not the sex and believed she had contracted it from one man who she described as having "*big boils on his head and his arms are one big scabe infected mess - he is the one with diseases. He says the arm is because he does not eat vegetables, but it is not. He 'has sex' with any woman*". Polly said in the same determined and final manner in which she talked about drinking, "*I will not follow any more men. No more, that is it. I don't want to get diseases*". Polly believed an STD could compromise her potential for becoming pregnant. Polly and Dave got through this.

Still living in the Long Grass, Polly had met once again with the public housing authority sporting all the references and other evidence they had been instructed to gather since their last meeting. Their promise of housing turned into another 18 month wait. Dave and Polly were irate and Dave took their complaints to anyone who would listen, ending up at the Ombudsman's Office. Public housing promptly arranged a further meeting and repeatedly asked if they could tell the Ombudsman that everything was OK. Dave repeatedly insisted they tell them only that they were in negotiations.

Polly and Dave continue to live in the Long Grass and life goes on for the time being.

Conclusion

Polly's story is all about resilience, resourcefulness and determination. In the face of extreme injustice and poverty her capacity to resist oppression is captivating and inspiring.

For the homeless people in this study life has been punctuated by traumatic events relating to sexual abuse, death and violence. Life in the Long Grass increases exposure to these events with fear just one factor that underpins daily functions. The role of sorcery and evil spirits in Aboriginal Australian homeless populations is profound. The primary cause of a death in the Long Grass for an Aboriginal person is often attributed to sorcery rather than alcoholism, organ failure, disease, malnourishment, injury or accident. A death is discussed at length and if someone is found accountable for this sorcery, payback may result. Being in the Long Grass generates fear not only from police, council, the housed and other strangers, but also fear from one's own family group and rival groups. Guarding against sorcery is a constant concern.

Educational and employment experiences and opportunities are few among Darwin's Long Grass communities and the idea of employment being rewarding in any way other than financial is an alien one. Having a feeling of potential is rarely owned, understood or realised. Grief, boredom and a limited outlook sustain substance abuse and misuse. And Sobriety, as illustrated in Polly's story, can result in a further loss of place creating a sense of not belonging, isolation and loneliness. Yet despite this backdrop, the Polly's of this world continue to be resilient. Polly, determined to have a child, sees her potential as a good and capable mother. She sets about

making full use of the resources available to her to achieve this 'feeling'; this level of wellbeing that is critical to her quality of life.

Patterns of transience, prostitution and strategic relationships, while necessitated by circumstance, are also demonstrations of resourcefulness and resilience as Darwin's homeless negotiate their ongoing survival. Daily survival is compounded by poor physical and mental health, either a precursor and/or is symptomatic of living homeless, and in turn affects life length and quality. For Polly and Darwin's Long Grasser's, attending to physical and mental health needs occur typically when the issue affects their ability to meet daily demands and to the extent a visit to the clinic can be facilitated. At some stage most will have reached crisis point within the context of their own homeless existence.

It is clear that the provision of a house alone can not address the challenges of daily life that someone like Polly will face. The more established someone is in a homeless existence, housing becomes isolating and lonely. To be successful at being housed can reduce one's wellbeing, and to be housed it is necessary to cease communication with the homeless community; a community that acted to keep you homeless and at the same time kept you alive. Contemporary models of housing and societal pressures in Darwin neglect the important function of social ties with family and community that exist in and beyond the Long Grass, even if they appear unconventional. From the experience of many homeless people in Darwin, housing and societal structures do not support a cross over between the housed and the homeless.

Housing for Polly and the majority of the people in this study is also a tentative and insecure arrangement. The Polly's of this world effectively have fewer rights and are readily exploited. With Darwin's housing demand far exceeding supply, homeless people must compete against well educated and employed people for a limited number of substandard rental properties asking for exorbitant rents. This squeezing out diminishes the capacity of the homeless person to produce the evidence required by public housing. As in Polly's story, this necessitates the person to be creative and resourceful in order to meet these otherwise unattainable requirements.

Private rental experiences consistently result in the loss or partial loss of bonds. If unlawful, the person must engage in a legal dispute from a position of relative weakness and in an alien system. This is compounded by the fact that the homeless person has routinely been denied rights and must also pursue the battle from the

Long Grass. Great determination is necessary for this battle to continue as it must now compete with meeting daily survival needs.

The people in this study describe their experience with public housing system in Darwin as one that: exercises power without regard for the health, safety or wellbeing of the person concerned; is desensitised and has an inability to empathise with the homeless person; continues to freely and unaccountably move the bench mark; and one that tells the chronically homeless they can not have a house because their circumstances are so bad. Most importantly, the homeless people perceive the system does not regard their experiences as being valid or real, but rather as the ambit claim of a deviant underclass.

In Polly's story the public housing system is surprised by Polly and Dave's resourcefulness and determination and is propelled into a self preservation mode. When challenged, the system is understood as a suspicious one which works concurrently to protect, deflect and defend criticisms mounted against them. Like many agencies Polly has dealt with, public housing reconstructs notions of support; usually to her disadvantage. They are critical of Polly for having the support of Dave and have defined her as in need of supported living, incapable of looking after herself. They have underestimated Polly's resilience and capacity for life. She is determined to live life her way and is clear about her pathway to a better quality of life.

Polly's story provides a wonderful example of the determination of homeless people to fight for a better life quality. Some fight harder than others and others fight hard sometimes. Yet even among the most chronically homeless, there are sporadic attempts at improving life quality and attending to health concerns, which do not necessarily have anything to do with securing a house.

This research is a call for appropriate policies and strategies that respond to people affected by homelessness. Such approaches must have regard for the life experiences and circumstances of this population, as well as the context in which daily decisions are made. To be effective it is critical that action be responsive to the demonstrated resilience, resourcefulness and determination that is characteristic of many homeless people. Strategies that build on identified strengths in order to respond to limitations and the challenges of daily life are more likely to be successful. A meaningful contribution by homeless people in the development of government policy is regarded an important first step forward.

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Living in the cities of plastic and cardboard: the homeless survival strategies and resistance in São Paulo, Los Angeles and Tokyo

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Abstract

This paper is a reflection on the material aspects of the homeless' culture: the informal habitat created by the homeless and its impact on the urban environment of global cities, such as São Paulo, Los Angeles and Tokyo. How do they survive in the cities of plastic and cardboard? Although large numbers of highly visible homeless, with their spontaneous living arrangements, have long been associated with Third World cities, in the latter part of the past century some of these cardboard and plastic cities began to appear in the world's major cities, in a very dehumanizing environment.

Homeless culture in each of these three cities has its own specific political, social and cultural components. But in each locale the material culture of the homeless reveals their creativity, ingenuity and resistance practices.

The paper also focuses on certain dominant representations of the city of plastic and cardboard and homelessness in contemporary media. These images are present in contemporary documentary films, some of them are part of ethnographic journeys or academic surveys, as well as some images are presented in general media, as journalistic coverage of homelessness in major cities across the world. The paper

presents the main result of ethnographic journeys to the homeless squats taken in these three cities.

Introduction

At the beginning of the Third Millennium we see a dramatic phenomenon that is characteristic of the large metropolises: a spatial and urban concentration of poverty, deprivation and human suffering that has taken on astonishing proportions. The current development model contributes to social exclusion; it produces unemployment, indebtedness and homelessness. This is a perverse process, which affects people individually but, above all, it is part of a complex logic of economic, social, cultural and political relations of global capitalism, and at the heart of this process is the issue of land ownership, the right to land, the right to the city.

The paper presents partial results of a comparative study of the informal habitat by the homeless in three major cities, São Paulo, Los Angeles and Tokyo, which provide us with appropriate data to examine a number of different aspects related to the issue. The selection of these three cities is based on the nature of life on streets in cities in different countries and cultures, such as Asia, South America and North America.

In São Paulo the phenomenon is very serious and it is related to an exclusion cycle, in Tokyo, there was low level of homelessness before mid-1990 and in Los Angeles it is a relatively recent problem, dating from the late 1970s.

What does the urban environment offer to implement the habitats of the homeless?

The central regions provide to the homeless:

➔access to the market of leftovers - downtown areas of cities are places where things are discarded, where there are wastes, where the consumer society's culture of waste is most visible.

➔ dig for things ranging from white paper or cardboard, to aluminum, and based on these wastes.

➔set up survival strategies, which vary from one moment to the next .

➔at night, the homeless can use the urban built-up environment to set up their fragile, provisory structures and spend the night in the informal habitats.

Tokyo

Besides the images of prosperity, fantasy and gigantism, contrasting with the technology of postmodern buildings, Tokyo has another face. There is another, hidden and subterranean city, occupying the subway corridors, the river banks and the traditional parks, some of which are national icons. The most emblematic of them was *Danboru Mura* (cardboard village), located west of Shinjuku station, where the homeless in the Shinjuku area huddle together in cardboard condominiums.

Tokyo informal habitat in Shinjuku Station. Shigeo Kogure

Tokyo informal habitat Sanya – Sumida River, Cecilia Loschiavo

Tokyo informal habitat Sanya – Sumida River, Ken Straiton

Tokyo informal habitat Arakawa River, Ken Straiton

Tokyo informal habitat Arakawa River, Ken Straiton

Tokyo Arakawa River, Ken Straiton

Los Angeles

Los Angeles is the capital of fantasies, the whole world still dreams of it, but alongside these spectacular visions, Los Angeles presents a real, dramatic face, the highest concentration of homeless in the United States. In Downtown L.A. are the endless plastic and paper condominiums, that are the frequent target of exclusion and eviction action by the police or by local business people, as well as the targets of the mass media which usually shocks the public's sensitivity discussing topics concerning the homeless. There is an intense, well-characterized homeless street culture in L.A.

Homeless people navigating the Broadway Avenue, pushing their buggies, Cecilia Loschiavo

Cardboard tunnel at Broadway, Cecilia Loschiavo

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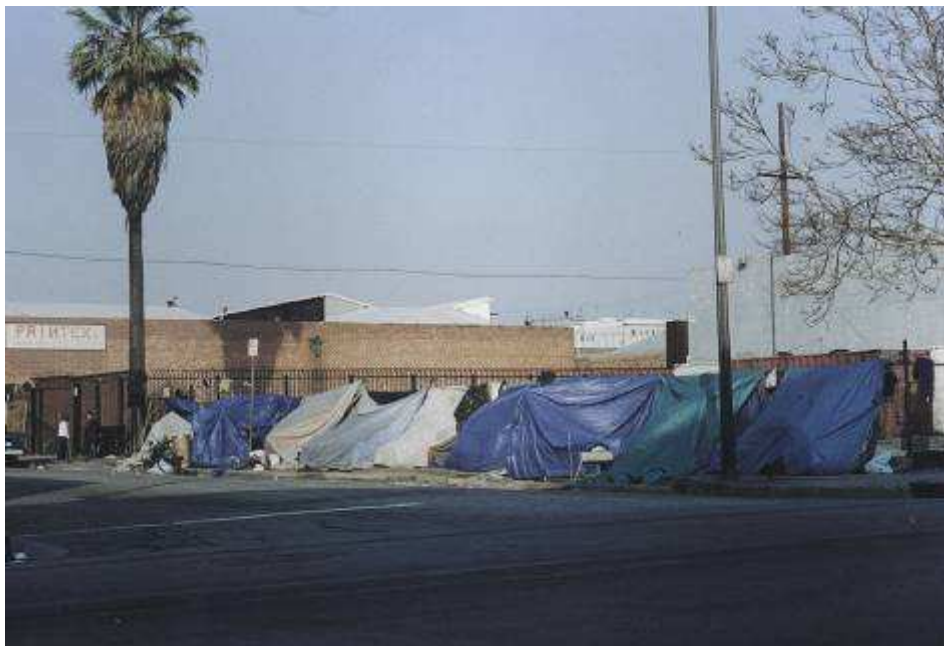
Skidrow, Los Angeles, Mario Barros

São Paulo

In a situation of urban environmental precariousness, the homeless are at the far extreme of exclusion in the municipality of São Paulo. They live immersed in an informal economy, daily reinvent new forms of survival and alternatives for shelter, they have created a new income generation form as recyclable collectors.
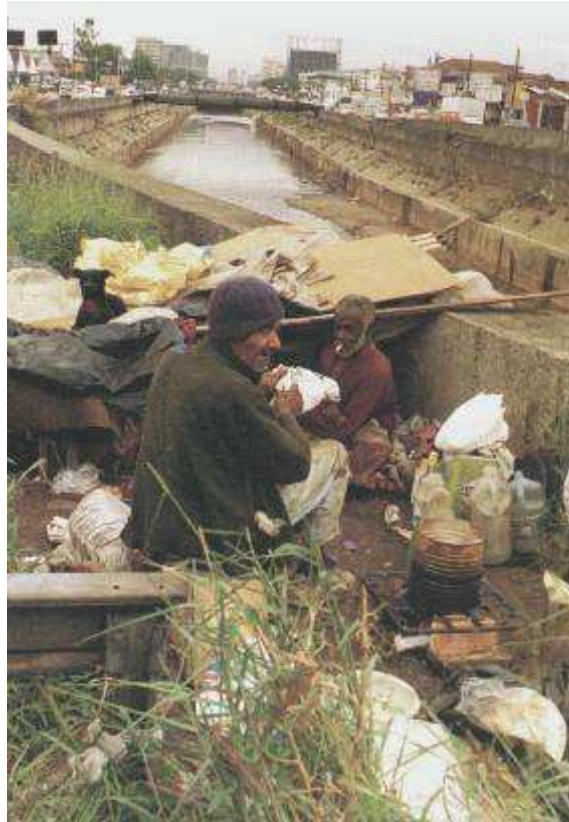
Informal habitat São Paulo, Tamanduatei River, Douglas Mansur

Informal habitat São Paulo, Sumaré Avenue, Cecilia Loschiavo

Cardboard cradle, São Paulo, Douglas Mansur

Cardboard collector, São Paulo, Douglas Mansur

Poverty and waste: a parallel and informal economy

Defunct, defuntus, de-functus, disfunctionalized and abandoned. The degraded objects rest on the city streets, as garbage of the technological and industrialized culture. They have transformed the streets and the open spaces of the metropolis into a true receptacle of surplus products. The unceasing search for material strategies of survival brings to the homeless a possibility of exhuming these dead products, linking thus poverty and waste.

The issue of the environment is at the center of the contemporary debate and there it will stay during the 21st century. As says Tomas Maldonado, in the preface to the book by Medardo Chiapponi, it is the "issue of issues". Environmental questions magnetize an extraordinary load of urgent conflicts that require solutions and cry out for policies, since our life on Earth, our place in the Universe depend on them.

The survival strategies of the homeless raise some points for thought about the relations between urban poverty and waste. These practices are creating a new paradigm so that we can understand the more perverse dimensions of globalized society: the nodal relationship between discarding industrialized products and materials and discarding human beings. And thence results the seminal importance of the presence of the homeless and collectors of recyclables in the cities studied.

A parallel and informal economy has been created, using wastes, and this has been altering the urban context of the large cities significantly. Poverty and waste have reached a significant level of connection that is expressed emblematically in the three cities analyzed in this study.

Reuse, recycling using waste, has become part of a main daily survival strategy. It is an activity of non-designer who re-invent and create new products from the discarded industrial products. During a time of intense, abundant consumption, the non-designers create mutating products. These products are part of material culture of resistance, daily exposed on the streets of large cities.

Reuse is at the center of a broad, complex problem in which the matter of refuse, waste, obsolescence is dialectically linked to the category of value. The homeless have developed a spontaneous practice of reuse. Here I use the word spontaneous to express the nature of the constructive practice of the homeless, despite the difficulties introduced by this word. Strictly speaking the word spontaneous implies self-generation, and therefore the absence of a project process, which, I attempt to show, does not correspond to the reality of the informal habitats created by the homeless, since even though in a very primary form, the homeless design their structures to preserve life.

The main materials reused in informal recycling are: cardboard, plastic, wooden fruit crates, foam, materials, threads, white paper, newspapers, magazines, aluminum, supermarket carts, carts, furniture, sleeping bags, carpeting, and others.

The informal habitat complexes that have been documented, express pragmatic and vital concerns that mix and superpose on each other with creative drives. The materials are resized and worked on with many different constructive techniques that include among others: holes, fitting, cutting, taking apart, collages, tieing, in other words *bricolages*.

Thinking about daily survival strategies implies taking up the dimension of resistance expressed by the behavior of these homeless. In this regard I would like to briefly discuss the meaning of what I have called daily strategies for survival on the streets. Actually the homeless person does not build strategies, but he creates, invents, thinks up and improvises solutions. Michel de Certeau established a useful distinction between strategy and tactics. I will now go back to following his thoughts.

Strategy implies a base, a point of departure, a specific location, that is also a *locus* of power. None of these factors is available for someone who lives from the leftovers of a consumer society that is also a destruction society. De Certeau says: "I call strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of the power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a businessman, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own, and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed. As in management, every "strategic" rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its "own" place, that is the place of its own power and will, from an 'environment'. A Cartesian attitude, if you wish; it is an effort to delimit one's own place in a world bewitched by the invisible powers of the Other. It is also the attitude typical of modern science, politics and military strategy"[32].

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[32] DE CERTEAU, Michel. The practice of everyday life. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984, p. 36.

According to De Certeau, strategy may be replaced by tactics. It is a more adequate description of the daily survival routine of the homeless on the streets. Tactics are not autonomous acts, they are defined by the absence of real power. He states: "(…) tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus(…) The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it, and organized by the law of a foreign power. It does not have the means to keep to itself, at a distance, at a desistance, in a position of withdrawal, foresight, and self-collection: it is a maneuver "within the enemy's field of sight", as von Büllow put it, and within the enemy territory. It does not, therefore, have the options of planning general strategy and viewing the adversary as a whole, within a district, visible and objectifiable space. It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of "opportunities" and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up on its own position and plan the raids. What it wins, it cannot keep. This *nowhere* gives a tatic mobility, to be sure, but a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and the seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment. It must vigilantly make use of the cracks, that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches in them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse. In short, a tactic is an art of the weak"[33].

As discussed, tactics are individual, defensive practices. We believe that they can also be thought of as practices of resistance, even though they do not directly challenge the definition of the political and economic situation. It is this sense of practicing resistance that should be highlighted regarding the material culture of the homeless.

The tactics, the leftovers of a society of waste are the last resources available to him to survive. With them, the homeless person creates a culture and exploits his greatest talent: remaining alive. His desperate architecture, very much present in the city of plastic and cardboard conveys his resistance against the public policy neglected.

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[33] DE CERTEAU, Michel. The practice of everyday life. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984, p. 36-37.

Dominant images of exclusion

The images of exclusion today have become a dominant factor in the urban landscape of the large cities, contained in the habitats created by the homeless. Exclusion has provoked the re-creation of urban space, the homeless built his home on the street and established his place in the world. Home is one of the most fundamental and complex concepts of our culture. As part of an orderly human world, houses are used to demarcate space, to express feelings, ways of thinking, social process, in other words to provide the shelter that shelters life. A home does not only contain our material possessions, it is also the receptacle of our dreams and memories. Despite its profound significance, the right to a house to a home, to housing, is not assured to all. Today we see a dramatic explosion of the crisis in the sector and the lack of house/home very much attracts the media attention.

 In Brazil the situation gains the specificity of the metropolises on the edge of capitalism, and living on the street may often stumble against the perverse limits of a society that cruelly murders by setting fire to its excluded, as occurred in Brasilia with the Brazilian Indian, Galdino Jesus dos Santos, and, as occurs anonymously in São Paulo victimizing one homeless person a month, as informed by the statistics, pointed out by Father Julio Lancelotti, of the juvenile's pastoral and the homeless pastoral. There are other violent, aggressive and brutally oppressive practices performed against the homeless, such as the barbarous homicide of seven homeless in downtown area of São Paulo, on 19 August,2004. In this context, a high proportion of the social problems in the news, both texts and images, are present for a long period of time, or even completely absent.

The plastic and cardboard cities warn us that either we change the economic and political scene in which we live, or, in a very near future, we will see apocalyptic, but not at all Hollywood-like scenes, similar to those predicted by Ridley Scott in Blade Runner. It should be emphasized that the movies developed a completely incisive pedagogy with an advance view of cities of the future. In these projections there is

often a transposition of collective fears, corresponding to a vision of the collapsing cities, in which urban and human degradation predominate.

What is the meaning of this public exposure of poverty on a global dimension, by the media?

In order to answer this question it is important to consider that documentaries explore the diversity of homeless image, in their daily routine, from a very general point of view. This dominant image of the homeless raises the issue of the responsibility of media about the production of it, as well as the cultural significance of it. This is a theoretical and methodological question raised by these images. In many of the visual material on the homeless there is a voyeuristic aspect, watching from an exploitative manner. It is important to stress that a frequent attitude of media news and images on homelessness evoke a spectacle that is a construction, not a set of facts and real images. The spectacle is an interpretation, reflecting the diverse social attitudes towards the homeless. Thus, the prominent image of the homeless is shown as: outlaws, as parasites, troublemakers, people who are breaking the tacit rules of use and behavior in the public space. Contemporary media constructs and re-constructs an endless spectacle, a set of symbols and misconceptions of the homeless.

In so doing, the media does not recognize the aesthetic tradition the homeless person participates in, which is so well analyzed by professor Teshome Gabriel, as a nomad aesthetics. According to him, this kind of aesthetics is very much present in the independent black cinema. In his opinion these filmmakers, as well as some from the Third World, amongst whom he mentions Glauber Rocha, work based on a nomad sensibility and aesthetics, i.e., an aesthetics as transient or traveling. Both blacks and the nomads are racially and ethnically distinct, the two are united by the idea of the marginalized space and deterritorialized peoples. According to Gabriel: "Just as the nomads sum up the neighboring cultures, blacks also do. They live in an industrialized world, but they do not belong to it; they pass through it. Both choose not to adopt, but to adapt. They incorporate some aspects but not others. Both appear not to be governed by the idea of the physical home, but by the mythical and

spiritual home that they feed in their system of beliefs and carry in their cultures. Both are obsessed by be essence of freedom"[34].

The aesthetization of misery and the use of poverty images was a central theme and significant question in the sixties, in Brazil. It was raised by the film maker and

director Glauber Rocha, the creator of Cinema Novo. In his article "Uma Estética da Fome" [Aesthetics of Hunger], in 1965, commenting on the possibility of communication of the Cinema Novo and its miserabilismo [preoccupation of the poor aspects of Brazilian society] he argued:

"While Latin America complains about its general misery the foreign interlocutor cultivates the taste of this misery, but not as a tragic symptom, only as formal data in his field of interest. Either the latino communicates his true misery to the civilized man, or the civilized man truly understands the latino misery."
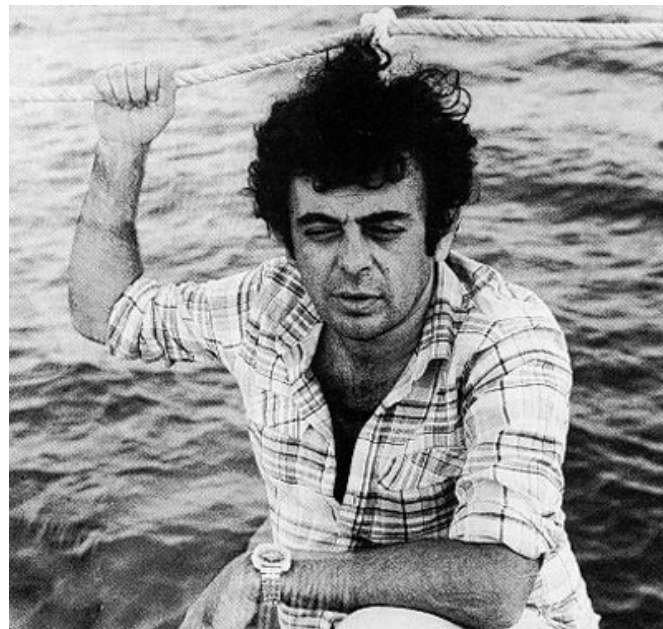
Glauber Rocha, Brazilian filmmaker

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[34] GABRIEL, Teshome. Thoughts on Nomadic Aesthetics and the black independent cinema: traces of a journey. MIT Press, 1990, p.402.

This is an epistemological question: What are images of homelessness trying to convey? Is it really possible to communicate about the problem?

The juxtaposition of the images of the informal habitats constructed by the homeless in São Paulo, Los Angeles and Tokyo, selected from the research creates a visual dialogue offering multiple interpretations of homeless material culture and its identity. Certainly they are an "alarming symptom" of the present situation of the Brazilian homeless and their desperate search for shelter and life protection, but also they are portraits of the homeless from different countries and cultures as well. I hope these images create an awareness of the dimensions of the lives of the homeless in the urban context, making their plight more visible.

The homeless phenomenon has also become the artist's concern. As always, art is in the vanguard with its vocation for social justice to reflect on the indignity, humiliation, agony and pain of this population. One should look, for instance, at the work of Krzysztof Wodiczko, Candace Hill or Martha Rosler in the United States.

Wodiczko [35] is a brilliant artist, whose work is insistently social, operating on different scales: from the mobility of a simple person, to the buildings, parks, to the national state or global culture. Wodiczko created a series of nomadic instruments for homeless, collectors of recyclable materials and immigrants. About his involvement with the homeless and collectors of recyclables, he stated: " I believe that, potentially, an artist must be able to develop projects relating to the life of any person; we are on this planet to deal with all topics that afflict us. I do not explain my work through my biography. Obviously, the phenomenon of the homeless, among its different dimensions, has a psychological one, and all of us have a certain connection with the problem, or some form of estrangement, fantasy, nostalgia or stereotype about it. In the 1980s, when I developed my projects for the homeless in

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[35] Wodiczko is a designer and artist. He graduated from the Fine Arts Academy of Warsaw. Currently he is a professor at MIT..

New York, it was impossible not to connect to the problem. It was during the Reagan Administration, when there was an extraordinary explosion in the number of homeless in one of the wealthiest cities in the world. The city became involved in fighting the use of public spaces by this population. As a designer, belonging to a generation with an Ulmian formation, it was necessary for me to give an answer and get closer to this population. I began to draw and show them my ideas, I was criticized, some laughed, others gave me advice and exchanged ideas. But, what became clear is that there was no possible vehicle for the homeless, and that it was necessary to hold a workshop to develop this project, which did not happen, since the cultural center of the homeless, located in an abandoned building was closed down by the police. These conversations enabled me to accumulate a wealth of information on the needs and conflicts of the homeless, and I realized that no design could solve it. Anyhow, I continued trying and reached a provocative product that was tested by the homeless and massively reproduced by the media, becoming what I called a functionalist scandal. The vehicle was an incredible means of convergence of questionings and interactions of passersby with the homeless who became a performance artist, and the great capacity for tolerance of the homeless within the sphere of public space became clearly visible. I now believe that it is important to add information about my personal life. Immigrants are more inclined to understand the homeless, because there is a high number of immigrants among the homeless in New York, and I immigrated twice from Poland to Canada and then to the United States. I experienced the situation of being a stranger, I underwent the devastating immigration process, I did not have a fixed address and moved from one apartment to another. The life story of many homeless includes these displacements, until definitive expulsion, the loss of a job and the use of inhuman, dangerous shelters. But, on the contrary of what is believed, immigrants and nomads know their terrain very well, possibly better than the domiciled and the natives"[36].

For Wodiczko, the vehicle, "incisively exposed the needs of the homeless and the scandalous conditions that created these needs, the contradiction of the city which endorses a recycling policy, encouraging people to salvage recyclable materials, but at the same time does not tolerate homeless people living on the sidewalks or in empty buildings, preferring to build shelters to keep them invisible. The vehicle combines both functions: a work tool to pick up recyclables and a shelter".

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[36] Interview to Maria Cecilia Loschiavo dos Santos. São Paulo 7-8 December, 2001.

Perhaps, it is not an exaggeration to consider that these images could be considered a public ritual of commiseration, what Henry-Pierre Jeudy called "the spectacle of a collective aesthetics of pity", a certain mechanism that feeds commiseration when faced with the consumption of evil and of other people's misfortune.

It is time to re-think the homeless image's production by the media, going beyond picturesque and exploitative way. It is important to take a consideration of the political implications of these images and make a serious effort to carry out an extensive research on the issue, which could lead to a re-examination of existing power inequalities. There is no better place then India to provide a proper atmosphere for starting the dialogue. I believe there is hope, let's contribute to producing a better future.
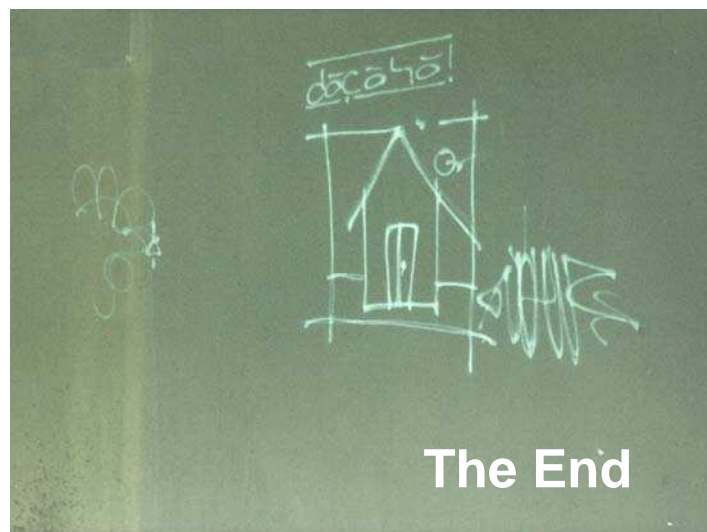
Grafitti under a homeless condominium in Sao Paulo, Cecilia Loschiavo

The role of distance education in improving knowledge, attitudes and life-qualification of the homeless people in developing countries, the case of Iran

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Abstract

Distance education has been developed as an alternative educational method in last decades in most parts of the world. Its main motto is: "Education for all, anywhere, anytime". If, taking an optimistic view, it is carried out successfully; it will have remarkable influences on the attitudes of people, gradually leading to global peace and overall welfare all over the world in the future.

There is little doubt that distance education is destined to become a larger part of learning experience at school, in universities, on the job, at home — indeed, lifelong and life-wide learning. Those who cannot access any kind of education, will be excluded from the new industrialized and post industrialized civilizations, and consequently disadvantaged economically, politically, culturally and educationally in the decades to follow. Distance education, through E-learning, corresponding materials, T.V programs, video-cassettes and other appropriate ways of delivering educational programs, is a widespread educational methodology for all people, particularly deprived and homeless people who have been suffering from serious educational shortages due to poverty as well as such natural disasters as earthquakes, floods, hurricanes, Tsunamis and so on.

Many children in remote regions of Iran have lost their parents, home and school because of economical problems, earthquakes, floods, and other social and natural crisis in recent years. Should they be left illiterate and deprived of education for all their lives, just because of lack of face-to-face classes and teachers at their homes? It is clear that traditional schools and universities cannot meet these challenges because of various constraints. In the era of explosion of information technology, nobody is allowed to be deprived of education on the excuse of poverty, disability, homelessness, discrimination etc.

This paper discusses the vital roles of distance education and religious charity organizations seeking to solve the disastrous problems of deprived and homeless students in developing countries, the case of Iran.

Introduction

We all know how important school is to children. It is a place where they find out themselves, and the world that they are growing in ; it is a place where they meet and learn from each other and from people who are older than them; older children, concerned adults, and, of course, teachers. It can be of no surprise that what goes on in school will have a significant influence on the growth of children as well as on their intellectual development, their knowledge, their global attitude and their social awareness. The children learn how to overcome the new challenges in their future lives. The schools also have the potential not only to build academic achievements but also to develop emotional literacy and intelligence in all students. There are many children in developing countries who need to be educated and need to access to all levels of education. Do the traditional primary schools, high schools and universities meet these challenges? Previous and recent researches reveal that the students in conventional high schools have limited number of approaches to study.

Regarding the development of human resources, vast population and the various constraints in conventional ways of education, many poor and homeless students cannot access to appropriate education because of some factors such as poverty, social disorders, corruption, political decisions, and fanatic beliefs. Therefore, access & equity to education have been major challenges in some developing countries, particularly for the children who have no parents, no homes, no security and no future. Unfortunately, many of these children are forced into illegal employment such as smuggling, selling narcotics, and prostitution and have to give up any opportunity of studying at schools and universities. Homeless children in today's world have become subjected to various forms of exploitation ranging from forced labor and drug trafficking to mendicancy, sexual abuse and violation.

What is homelessness and who is a homeless? Homeless are individuals who lack a certain, permanent, safe and adequate night-time residence. We are often asked: What causes the innocent children homeless and why are they wandering in the parks, streets … all days and nights? The street children are those who have no accommodation, living in hospitals, night shelters or parks, camping grounds, public spaces, abandoned buildings, bus or train stations due to the lack of parents, poverty and wicked illnesses. As a whole, there are two main reasons for disaster of homelessness, i.e., Social and Natural factors:

Social factors : They are such as Violence in the home, Divorce and Separation, Behavioral Problems, Living away from home, Anxiety and obsessions, Alcohol, Drugs, Abuse, Child and Adolescent Mental Health Problems, Crime and corruption , Depression, Poverty, Government Policies, Religious prejudices and Ethnic fanatic beliefs, Strict social Laws, Legislation and Advocacy, Sexuality and Gender and also illiteracy and lack of education.

Natural factors: They are such as Earthquake, floods, hurricanes, lack of raining and drought ness, forest fires, volcano, Tsunami, etc. However, most of them finally will be linked directly or indirectly to the social factors.

The importance of education for the homeless students; Actually, there are some educational challenges in case of accessibility and equality to the homeless, therefore the debate and main duty in distance education has often been focused the issues of accessibility and equality of education. It is clear that the educational problem of the poor and homeless students must be taken into serious consideration when designing curriculums in distance-learning programs in a community.

It is imperative to meet these challenges through distance education system, since employing conventional education at both universities and schools is impractical and too expensive, particularly to the homeless children in many developing countries. For many people in the industrialized post modernized countries, higher education has become a basic right rather than being seen as a privilege, while, on the contrary, the elementary education and primary literacy has not been taken into consideration seriously in some developing and underdeveloped countries yet (Teichler-1988).

Is Payam Noor University (PNU), regarded as a suitable way for educating the homeless? PNU is a state distance education university with the Headquarters

based in Tehran, 10 Regional Centers, 130 Study Centers, and 99 Study Units throughout the country. The nature and scale of its operation make PNU the most flexible and cost-effective higher education institution in Iran. In 2005, the University enrolled about 543,000 students in 62-degree programs at 230 study centers and units. The instructional media include self-study textbooks, TV Programs, audio-video tapes, slides, films, CD's, group and individual tutorials held at weekends and educational TV programs broadcast on Channel 7 of IRI Broadcasting network. (PNU-2005)

Regarding the 130 study centers as well as 100 local units of PNU of which the most are located in the far away and deprived regions of big cities and towns, we can schedule helpful programs for the homeless as follow;

The study centers should be helpful enough to encourage developmental progress in homeless students for all levels of education via some means such as T.V, video cassettes, reading libraries, reference materials, computers loaded with educational software, printers, scanners, and digital cameras etc. The goal of these Learning Centers project is to provide poor children as well as those who reside in homeless shelters with equal accessibility to the same educational opportunities as the other conventional students benefit at face-to-face schools and universities.

Most importantly, the PNU Learning Centers, with the cooperation of other public places such as mosques, libraries, charity houses, welfare organizations can serve as rehabilitation places for those children who are wandering around the parks, streets and abandoned regions. It is clear that we can employ some local PNU students as voluntary itinerant social workers for tutoring and consulting to the poor and homeless students wandering in public places of big cities as well as in remote villages and towns.

These educational centers are very important in providing appropriate educational materials and tutoring to the homeless children as well as supporting them financially via Islamic charity laws such as Zakah, Khoms, etc., which I will talk in brief in next paragraphs. In this way, we will be able to reduce the dangers of various crimes and illegal actions in many deprived regions of big cities. They will also minimize the risk of the young homeless'

involvement in the juvenile courts, preparing them for future employment, in this way promoting a brighter future for them.

The cooperation of PNU students together with the religious charity organizations as well as the appropriate educational programs delivered to the homeless children via textbooks, books, videocassette, video conferences, movies etc. can be regarded as a very helpful way of training and teaching the homeless. Part time face-to-face classes, occasional presence of voluntary experienced professors, attractive and congruent educational textbooks provided in the headquarters and regional centers of PNU will surely improve the thirsty homeless children to a better future in their lives through distance education.

The importance of Islamic charity laws to the homeless and poor children in Iran; A society can flourish only when its members do not spend all their wealth on the satisfaction of their own desires but reserve a portion of it for parents, poor relatives, neighbors and the homeless. It is clear that if they are carried in any society in their appropriate ways, there will be a few people deprived of education and welfare life.

Charity, preached by every religion of the world, is a way of bringing justice to society. It can be used as a helpful means to educate the homeless and poor students. If it is used properly together with help of PNU study centers, there will be high improvement on the literacy, knowledge and life qualification of the Iranian homeless. As a whole, there are two forms of charities in Islam, Shi'et Moslems—legitimacy and voluntary, called Khoms&*Zakat* and Tabaro't & *Sadaqa*t respectively. However, there are some other ways of alms giving in Islam; some of important ones are as follow:

Zakah. *The literal and simple meaning of Zakah is purity. It is one of the five pillars of Islam, which means increment purification of one's wealth. A Muslim who has money beyond a certain quantity is to pay the Zakah. There is no equivalent for Zakat in any other language. It is not just a form of charity or alms giving or tax. The taxes we pay to governments nowadays do not substitute for this religious duty; while Zakah must be earmarked as a religious special obligation and should be paid separately, aside from the government taxes. They should pay their Zakah to the deserving beneficiaries and then claim the sums paid as proper legal deductions. The law of zakat is to take from those who have wealth and give it away to those who do not.*

This rotation of wealth is a way to balance social inequality. The charities in Islam can also be used for the general welfare of the community— for the education of the people, for public works, and for any other need of the Muslim community. It is thus not just the payment of a tax as it is generally understood, but is rather an act of religious significance.(Ansari-1995)

Sadaqa in the form of *wakf* is known as *sadaqa-e- jaria*, or permanent alms. That is, helping someone to establish himself in business, giving someone a proper education; helping someone recover from some disease by monetary assistance to looking after the orphans and the destitute; giving scholarships to students and etc.

Khoms is an Islamic endowment law. As Quran states, eat and drink but waste not by excess, for Allah loves not those who waste, "Quran, Sura 7, Aya 31, therefore the extra money left is subject to Khoms. "It is an act of economy to build up the strength of society. To prevent of accumulation of one's wealth, every one should consider a day for himself as the beginning of his calendar year and upon that day, if he has extra saved after his expenditures, then from his savings he should share one-fifth with the needy. It also serves as a means of justice in the economic system in that it fills up the gaps in the society or the sharing of wealth is the economic need for Islamic activities and fulfillment of the needy. (Sistani-1995)

Waqf is also another religious endowment, a property giving revenues, as regulated by Islamic law. It should be noted that there is a holy organization in Mashad, Astanee-Ghods Razavi, with more than one thousand employees which is run by the Waqf incomes and also there are some PNU local study centers in remote cities of Iran which were built and supported and run financially through the incomes of Waqf's

Nathr is a pledge when somebody expresses in words that if successful in something or resolving any problems, he will fulfill or do sth. Such as giving a certain amount of money to the poor and homeless or teaching some months to the schools of poor students not being paid any money. (Al-Awadi-2005)

Kaffareh **is a legitimacy duty, that is, the money given to the poor when one makes a big mistake.**

Cooperation of traditional religious schools (Maktabs) with PNU study centers. **Madrasses or Maktabs were the old educational religious schools established in the house of the teachers or in separate buildings in last century in Iran. These educational institutions generally made with no charges for their instruction. During the medieval period, these Madrasas flourished in tens of thousands throughout the Muslim world, particularly in most parts of Iran. The wealthy people helped in running Madrasas, not only through Z*akat,* but also by making endowments (W*akf*) of their properties to the expenditures of Madrases. The income from these properties met the needs of these schools. Muslims in large numbers have devoted themselves to educate the other generation after generation. This spirit of helping others to earn God's pleasure is best reflected in Muslim society in the field of education. Muslims on a large scale have engaged themselves in receiving education and imparting it to others, individually as well as by establishing Maktabs and Madrasas.**

It is a good idea that we try to reuse and rehabilitate the traditional schools of Iran, i.e. old Madrassa, equip them with the new educational methods. In other word, a combination of the past and present in the field of education. Therefore, we can reestablish the traditional Madrasses through PNU study centers as well as using the thousands of mosques in Iran and make them as the centers of educating the homeless children as well as the places where they can find food, temporary shelters and small medical places. Fortunately, there are high potentialities of charities in Islam, which are very helpful to the homeless children if they are well organized via cooperation of PNU regional and local study centers.

To my opinion, every society has its own culture and characteristic. We cannot prescribe stereotyped and unchangeable inscription for all people in the world. It is very important to find the particular features of each community and then expand and strengthen them in suitable ways adapted to the cultural, economical and political conditions of that community.

The welfare, social security and charity organizations in Iran. Welfare and social security are carried out in form of support (non-insurance) and insurance services by several government and nongovernmental organizations. You will find some organizations active to the poor, low-income groups, homeless children as well as improving life conditions of those socially damaged, families of martyrs, and Ex-war disables in Iran. (SCI- 2000)

IranianStateWelfareOrganization,(**BehzistiOrganization**)

Prior to the year 1359(1960-61), a variety of units were responsible for rendering relevant services throughout the country. The state welfare organization was officially established in 1359(1960).The social deputy of state welfare organization, Mohammad Reza Khabaz, emphasized that the number of run away women decreased in 2003. According to him; the number of run away women was 1800 persons last year but this year is 1500. He also pointed out that the safety free houses established in some cities to support the run away women, the homeless girls who ran away their houses because of some family problems. He added that 800 girls came to the safety free houses in Tehran in 2003; however, they are now about 2900 homeless girls in these houses. (Khorasan-2005**)**

Emam Khomeini Relief Committee. This Committee was established in 1357(1978-79) to deal with the affairs of the socially deprived, homeless as well as low-income families of Iran.

Islamic Revolution Martyrs, **Mostazafan and Janbazan Foundation**: These two foundations were established to deal with the affairs of the martyrs' relatives and those disabled because of the war in Iraq or the police members who were martyred or disabled in wars with opium smugglers.

Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran Formerly titled the Iranian Red Lion and Sun society, this organization was established in 1302(1923-24). This organization is to help the homeless people due to earthquake, floods and other natural disasters.

Social Security Organization In 1309(1930-31), the first step was taken for insuring workers against work- connected accidents and then this organization tried to assist the homeless in the wars, earthquakes and floods. It cooperates with the insurance companies in giving different kinds of services for disability, jobless, work-connected accidents, death as well as family allowance by paying some money as insurance funds.

A short report on the street children and the homeless in Iran;. Latest UN reports suggest that 246 million children around the world are working; 500 million do not have access to sanitary lavatories; 400 million are deprived of water; 270 million live without medical and health services; 90 million are without sufficient food, 140 million do not go to school and 300 million have no access to information.(UN -2005)

With an estimated population of 71.4 million, Iran is the most populous country in the region. Iran is one of the world's youngest, with 35 million people under the age of 20. Iran continues to experience a transition from a traditional rural-based society to an industrialized country and faces many challenges. These include: a) high unemployment (generally estimated to be above 25 per cent); b) a distorted distribution of income; c) inequality of opportunity (although poverty is officially set at 18 per cent of the population. Unfortunately, Iran is a major passing point for drug traffickers, connecting drug-producing countries -- particularly Afghanistan -- with the markets of the Gulf and Europe. Iranian police seize about 250 tones of opium and its derivatives each year. It is clear that this terrible geographical situation together with some other social, political and economical conflicts has caused many children homeless. Based on a report from BBC, there were about one million homeless in Iran in 2002. (Namdar-2002)

Conclusion

Majority of street children are those who ran away from their homes for different reasons. Growth rate of population of homeless children famous as "street children" is growing very fast. It is clear that worsening of families' economical condition, weak inspecting systems, uncompleted covering law regarding this issue caused increase in the number of "street children". This problem has been growing so intensely in recent years in Iran that authorities are facing difficulty finding a solution for that.

State Welfare Organisation is one of the responsible foundations for the problem of "street children" in Iran. They manage some consulting centers, aiding other salvation foundation to keep street children while they supervise their activities. They are active in most populated cities around the country but statistics shows no success with this activity.

The problem of providing suitable education for the homeless and street children is a highly technical issue. Welfare organisation together with other charity organizations as well as PNU study centers should overcome these challenges. PNU has a high flexibility in offering education to all people everywhere, anytime and anybody. This university has the most widespread local study centers together with a huge numbers of local students (about 5ooooo) and some experienced staff and tutors all over the country. If PNU is supported financially by various ways of charities such as Zakah, Khoms, Nathr, Kafareh, etc., PNU teachers & students will potentially be helpful to educate the homeless, disadvantaged and low-income people. It is clear that this university should have a close cooperation with other alms giving religious organizations and follow the below goals for the homeless and deprived people all over the country:

- Collaborating on resolving social issues through cooperation with religious charity organization as well as welfare organization in supporting the homeless and poor children economically, culturally and educationally.

- Cooperating for the popularization of scientific knowledge and promoting the scientific attitudes for all, particularly the people of deprived and remote areas.

- Facilitating the expansion of knowledge boundaries, creating proper and appropriate scientific views for all people through T.V programs, internets, video cassettes, etc.

- Improving the quality of life for the poor and homeless people in remote and deprived areas needed to be supported financially and culturally through PNU study centers and charity organizations.

- Providing psychological consultants for the homeless by the help of the psychology students and teachers of PNU study centers as voluntary social workers and assistants.

- Increasing non-fanatic religious & ethical beliefs in remote areas by holding public ceremonies, lecturing, movies and part-time classes, seminars mostly held in the mosques nearby PNU study centers.

- Using appropriate technologies in education adapted the economical, social and geographical situations of the local study centers.

- Preventing of childhood malnutrition through teaching the parents of poor families and if possible help them financially via the Funding and charities of the nearby people and religious organizations

- Teaching Public health and HIV/ AIDS to the homeless and poor adults as well as the other people by the professors of PNU local study centers and video cassettes programs, movies and textbooks.

- Providing Psychosocial &Medical supports in emergencies for the homeless through the educational clinic study centers of PNU.

Here, I end my paper with some verses of the late great Iranian Poet, Sa'di Shirazi;

All men are members of the same body, created from one essence, If fate brings suffering to one member, the others cannot stay at rest.

You who are indifferent to the burden of others' pain, are not deserved to be called human being (Sa'di-1998)

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Images of Homelessness in the Inner City of Johannesburg: Hillbrow, Kotze Street

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Abstract

It can not be disputed that almost everything in life is perceived and acted upon because of the images we have about them. In the city, malls, ghettoes, waterfronts, museums, etc all have images that contain what we know, but most importantly, what we do about them. Homelessness carries images too. Some are more vivid than others. These images are the basis on which we construct our vocabulary – language and influence the world with impressions and expressions. In turn, urban spaces take form largely from the ways people understand expressions. Consequently, the form, structure, and norms of the city seep into and affect all the other elements that go into the constitution of meaning. This paper seeks to capture the images of homelessness in Johannesburg, Inner city and begins to interrogate how these images are constructed and have influenced action – policy interventions in the city. This is not only a study of the powerful tool of image as a means of action control, but an analysis of the relationship between image control and policy development.

Introduction

The title of my paper is quite deliberate. It is intended to trigger those images of homelessness that can possibly surface in your minds without much conscious effort, in order to understand the relationship between image control, policy development and its implementation. It seeks to show how urban spaces take form largely from the ways people understand expressions of images and how the form, structure, and norms of the city seep into and affect all the other elements that go into the constitution of the meaning of space.

The drive to explore images of homelessness is motivated by the fact that most literature on urban South Africa reads cities from an economic and spatial perspective. Economically, the city is seen almost exclusively as a product of the material transformation of nature. Emphasis is placed on the physical spread of urban developments like malls, glamour residential areas, edge cities and their associated consumerism of McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Levis, etc. Spatially, Cities are cast as a template for various forms of mobility such as the flows of people, commodities and information. The percolating dynamic of symbolic culture or images is not seen as a subject of change. As such, the role of images in the reconfiguration of the city is neglected. Yet, images are central and integral to the construction and constitution of urban meaning in a politically-charged space such as that of South Africa.

This paper therefore seeks to explore the discursive construction, enactment and contestation of the images of homelessness in Johannesburg, Hillbrow. The exploration cuts across processes of social exclusion, social justice and social control. Although these processes are not mutually exclusive, for the purposes of this discussion, they are explored in successive order. The process of social exclusion is largely reflective of the apartheid era and is briefly discussed as a preamble in the paper. This is followed by the stage of enacting social justice in which a new narrative of reconstruction for the post-apartheid city was developed. The following stage deals with processes of social control which has inadvertently resulted from the implementation of the Johannesburg's urban policy.

Images of Social Exclusion

Social exclusion in South Africa, and homelessness in the apartheid city, in the broad sense of the word, is largely associated with and is emblematic of the experience of black people. This association between the experience of black people and homelessness is evident when homelessness is seen as a complex and a challenging social problem (Dail 2000: 331) that goes beyond the reductionist notion of characterising it by middle-aged or elderly hobo, street children, single mothers with children, and young single men sleeping on the street. It is glaringly visible when it is seen in terms of Beavis et al. (1997) who include in their definition, the United Nations definition of homelessness as individuals who have no homes and those whose shelters do not meet U.N. standards as well as that of Brundridge (1987:15), suggesting that there are three different groups of homeless people:

- *Situational homeless*, who are homeless temporarily due to an acute life crisis (e.g. family conflict, divorce, eviction, release from prison);

- *Episodic homeless*, who alternate for different periods of time between being sheltered and unsheltered (e.g. skid row residents, runaway youth, prostitutes);

- *Chronic homeless*, who are homeless for extended time periods (e.g. "bag ladies," chronic substance abusers, deinstitutionalized mentally ill (Beavis et al, 1997: 6).

The racial division of power and living space so noteworthy of South African cities prior to the 1990s was indirectly a denial for black homes in the cities for more than an entire century. The Native Land Act of 1913 established the racial character of land ownership of which 93% of the territory was reserved for Whites's ownership (Lanegran, and Lanegran 2001 p673). The control by Whites of other races in urban settlements, although long standing particularly in mining areas, was codified by the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. It defined an African's legal ability to be in urban areas as contingent upon employment and empowered White authorities to control non-Whites' access to such areas. An African who was not needed to work for Whites had no right to urban residency and those with permission to be in town lived in segregated areas. The notion of "homeland" as areas designated for Africans depicts the epitome of homelessness in South Africa.

The apartheid's urban project was largely implemented through the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950, which empowered White authorities to demarcate urban neighbourhoods for specific races, and to remove people living in the "wrong" areas. Pass Laws enabled White authorities to control Africans in Urban areas, and thousands without the correct documents were arrested annually (Lanegran, and Lanegran 2001 p673). Towns and cities were considered the exclusive domain of whites, with specific areas within them reserved for 'coloureds' and Indians" (Berresford 1998, p217). The designation of the so-called "black spots," "black reserves," "black townships" epitomised by the experiences of Soweto, Alexandria and Lenasia in Johannesburg are prime examples of homelessness in the city.

In the pure belief in binary exclusion, where the law proved insufficient to achieve state goals of instituting black homelessness in the city, the physical removal of

people and destruction of their shelter became a frequently used permutation of state policy (Posel 1991). Parnell (1997, 901) argued that "the colonial discourse excluded concentration of African settlement from the definition 'urban' and thus perpetrated the myth of 'Africans' inherently rural, traditional, and uncivilized position." Binaries here expressed the recognition of duality between opposites which are comprised barriers or spaces of exclusion. "Barriers have connotations with physical space or obstructions such as walls, fences or other demarcations which prevent people from having access from one place to another" (Imrie 2001, p232).

However, beyond physical barriers there are broader societal value systems and relations which served to create non-physical barriers or images which shaped urban spaces. These were racial (black vs white) barriers which were inextricably intertwined with the metaphor of boundaries. They were the product of what Dorn (1999, p47) terms "sustained cultural work" or where the meshing of socio-cultural values and the political practices (re) produce distinctive and differentiated city spaces, identities and experiences." Andrew Merrifield (1999, p348) reckoned that this is "the world of right and wrong, of truth and falsity, of life and death, of dogmatism and tanks, of demos and nightsticks which people inhabit." For Sibley (2001, p245), this world of good and bad oppositions when continually constructed lead to stereotyping of others and when reproduced by the state and the media it may fuel moral panics.

Quest for Social Justice

However, the implementation of the GAA was never achieved and in the 1970s, the control of the apartheid authorities over the urban landscape was diminished. There was an influx of Coloured and Asian families, together with a steady inward movement of African residents into Johannesburg's inner city. The urban policies of the apartheid government changed significantly in the 1980s. The influx control legislation was removed in 1986 leading to the rapid "greying" (black influx) and consolidation of black presence in the city. Consequently, the proportion of whites to blacks in the CBD was 7:1 in 1960; by 1970, the ratio had changed to 2 white employees to every 1 black employee. In 1990, the situation was closer to 1 to 1 (1 white worker to 0.85 black worker) (Inner City Ivukile, May 1995). By the 1990s, inner city neighbourhoods such as Johannesburg's Hillbrow, had gradually become (illegally) desegregated due to economic considerations as landlords sought to replace existing White tenants (Morris 1996).

Within the Inner city the development of backyard rooms, overcrowded flats, rooms on balconies and in underground car parks became the new metaphors to signify the images of homelessness in one degree or the other. It is worth-noting here that even securing a home in these environments was not so homely, because the influx process was often riddled with a traumatic political experience of violence and displacement or the combination. Take Hillbrow for example, the context of my case study and one of the first inner city areas to experience "greying" or black influx. Phaswane Mpe's (2000) courageous novel, *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* describes the environment of this high-rise former working class suburb through his experience of the snippets of news from Thobela FM radio station. The news:

> "Five men were found with ribs ripped off by what appeared to have been a butcher's knife… Two women were raped and then killed in Quartz street … Three Nigerians who evaded arrest at Jan Smuts Airport were finally arrested in Pretoria Street for drug dealing… Street kids, drunk with glue, brandy and wild vision of themselves as speeding Hollywood movie drivers were racing their wire-made cars through red robots, thus increasingly becoming a menace to motorists driving through Hillbrow, especially in the vicinity of Banket and Claim Streets… At least eight people died and thirteen were seriously injured when the New Year's Eve Celebrations took the form of torrents of bottles gushing out of the brooding clouds that were flat balconies… Men going anywhere near the corner of Quartz and Smit Streets were advised to beware of the menace of increasing aggressive prostitutes … a few men had allegedly been raped there recently."

This news may epitomise the graphic stories and warnings that one often finds in the South African travel guides for international tourists such as *Lonely Planet* and *Lets Go* series (Dirsuweit, 1999:189), but, the real issue here for this paper is that these stories describe the 'homelessness' of this area. They are socially constructed by the media to erect identities in a particular alienating way. As Coke's Johannesburg page asserts "Hillbrow is the Crime Capital of Johannesburg" (http://members.virtualtourist.com/m/859f7/21eac9/8/). Mpe (2000) states that Hillbrow is "a menacing monster, so threatening to its neighbours like Berea and downtown Johannesburg, that big, forward looking companies were deserting the inner city heading to the northern suburbs such as Sandton" (p4)…. "Hillbrow is the sanctuary in which Makwerekwere (foreigners) basked" (p5) and others say, "AIDS was caused by the bizarre sexual behaviour of the Hillbrowans." As a result, you will

find that banks are shunning to loan money in these areas for homes because a homely environment is not imaginable in this area.

The attainment of democracy in 1994 therefore motivated the government of South Africa to produce a new narrative in an attempt to bring social justice to the City of Johannesburg. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) emerged as an important narrative at the time in changing the face, practice and character of the country. As a reformist programme, the RDP had a strong basic needs and social justice orientation and emerged as the key strategy to address social and economic inequalities of the apartheid era (Maharaj, 2000). The most striking images of social justice within the RDP were encapsulated in such metaphors as the ubiquitous 'Rainbow nation,' 'Simunye' (We are One) of the national broadcaster, the 'Proudly South African' campaign, 'The New South Africa,' and 'African Renaissance.'These phrases have entered the psyche and everyday language of citizens (Battersby 2004, 151). Bremner (2000, 189) observed that a sense was ringing that beyond linking to Johannesburg's inherent identity of its founding feature as a modern city, it sought to incorporate its Africaness. Indeed, an effort was made by the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council to project the city as a trading hub of Africa thriving through participation, partnership and spirit of *ubuntu*-meaning reciprocal care (Roysten: 1997, p5).

The Rhetoric of Social Justice and the Images of Social Control

However, the influx of Africans into the inner city of Johannesburg made its reputation to become "one of being dirty, crime filled, violent and only attractive to greedy people" (Dirsuweit 1999, 189). Reading alone the lines, there was the equation of Africanness with homelessness. Their movement into the city was synonymous with the 'crime and grime', 'murder,' 'rape' and desolation. Such images displaced the sense of home in the inner city. Consequently, there was an exodus of business from the CBD to the new decentralised nodes. A large segment of small and medium-sized white-owned business left the city as well (Tomlinson 1999). This equation cannot be underestimated because it is central to the images through which the city is perceived and acted upon by planners as will be seen in the following discussion.

The departure of business from the inner city was attributed to 'crime and grime' situation and there were arguments that a new macro economic polity should be adopted to deal with the situation – the situation here being the 'blacks.' Therefore,

the RDP was soon surpassed by the neo-liberal macro-economic strategy known as the Growth, Employment and Reconstruction strategy (GEAR) in 1996.

In Johannesburg, the neo-liberal policies led to the creation of utilities for water and sanitation, electricity and waste management; the creation of agencies for roads and stormwater, parks and cemeteries, the privatisation of Metro Gas, land, housing, the Fresh Produce Market, Rand Airport and stadiums; the corporatisation of the zoo, the Civic Centre, farms, housing company, property and projects urban and economic research and promotion and special projects; the establishment of a core administration for community services, planning and development, corporate services and finance, finance and contract management; the creation of a metropolitan police force and a metropolitan transportation authority, representing the 'client side" centralised contractor for arts and culture, museums, sport and recreation; and, emergency services and regional directors contracting for local community services was created.

This structure and its constitutive policies were accompanied by an array of images centred for consumption practices and wealth generated by the 'new' liberalising black middle class. The newness of this middle class became a cultural characteristic that is marked by attitudes, lifestyles and consumption practices associated with commodities made available by the liberalising economy. As in India, Fernandes (2004, 2415) notes that the construction of this category marks the potential benefits of globalisation for emerging market-oriented contexts in which the middle class is the visual urban embodiment of globalisation. The growing cultural visibility of the new middle class marked the emergence of a wider national political culture in liberalising South Africa. This visibility represents a shift from older ideologies of state socialism to a political culture that is centred on a middle class culture of consumption. Middle class consumers represent the cultural symbols of a nation that has opened its borders to consumer goods that were unavailable during earlier decades of state controlled markets.

To use Lefebvre's notion - representations of space from the viewpoint of state authorities and capital, coordinate and control spatial practices through the phenomenon of 'globalisation.' It was "changing forms of the spatial organisation of social relations and social relations have, as always, a spatial form and spatial content" (Massey 1994, p168). This spatial practice became technologies for the

production of a vision of a liberalising South Africa that centres on the visibility of a new South African middle class. The production of middle class identity is thus linked to a politics of 'spatial purification' (Sibley 1995) which centres on middle class claims over public spaces and a corresponding movement to cleanse such spaces of the poor.

A social control emphasis therefore emerged within the new neo-liberal policy framework as those in the streets are increasingly viewed as an 'anti-social behaviour' problem. This coercive shift in street homelessness policy is clearest in relation to begging, street vending, gambling, and hawking which has now been made a 'recordable offence' and is subject to prosecution by law in the city. At the sharpest end of homelessness are the rough sleepers and street begging which are prime targets of government.

Generally, Jordan (1996) has identified growing 'politics of enforcement' whereby ever tougher sanctions are demanded by mainstream society against 'anti-social' behaviour by marginalised groups, thus translating issues previously treated as ones of social justice into ones of criminal justice. Indeed, the city's bylaws make it a criminal offence to beg and be seen on the street. Consequently, some degree of repression or at least social control is deemed necessary to achieve cohesion in an unequal society where the status quo favours some groups more than others. While social control of various kinds is a pervasive and indispensable feature of all society, social justice concerns are raised particularly by the use of 'hard techniques' of control such as coercion (securing compliance by threat of deprivation) or force (direct physical constraint) against disadvantaged or marginalised groups (Lukes 1974; 1986).

Enactment of Homelessness through Paranoid Urbanism

One of the significant consequences of the new wave of corporate-led residential gentrification in Johannesburg is the creation of precincts in the inner city as a major force of displacement for 'undesirable' and 'unfitting consumer practices.' This was accompanied by displacement of marginal groups from these newly remade spaces, with the poor, ethnic minorities, the homeless, teenagers and other groups who do not conform to what Sibley (1995, xi) terms the "middle class ambience associated with international consumption style." There are outstanding examples elsewhere

where marginal groups are displaced because of international consumption style. Such examples include: the displacement of street kids and vendors in the Sandton area during the 2002 Earth Summit in Johannesburg. A similar displacement also occurred when Braamfontein corporate precinct was developed. Street vendors and homeless people were displaced to other areas.

This is typical of flagship projects such as London's Docklands, New York's Battery Park, Barcelona's Olympic Marina, etc that have had their industrial eyesores demolished, obsolete waterfront scrubbed clean and public spaces enhanced with suitably boosterist public art (MacLeod and Ward 2002). The result was post-industrial city where a string of aestheticised zones and scenographic enclaves surrounded a revitalised downtown that was host to the work of star architects.

Notably, while growth promotion created images of prosperity in such declining cities such as Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Glasgow, it did not redress problems such as shrinking number of employment opportunities neighbourhood decay, and fiscal squeeze. Similarly, the creation of the Hillbrow precinct has created new forms of urban inequality, striating society and space along visible fault lines- not least those separating valued consumers from those who fail to live up to the eligibility criteria of the consumer society. Upon the construction of the Constitutional Hill project in Hillbrow, the marginalised sections of society were forced to move to the other end of Kotze Street. Even, the *Osindisweni*, an old-age home for the homeless, which was directly opposite the entrance to the museum for women in the Constitutional Hill precinct was removed. You have a Hillbrow that is a sanctuary for international consumption style and a Hillrow that is a focal point for 'homelessness.' As such, urban policy represents what Brenner and Theodore (2002) saw as an attempt to regulate uneven capitalist development by encouraging some forms of capital accumulation (but not others) in some spaces (but not others).
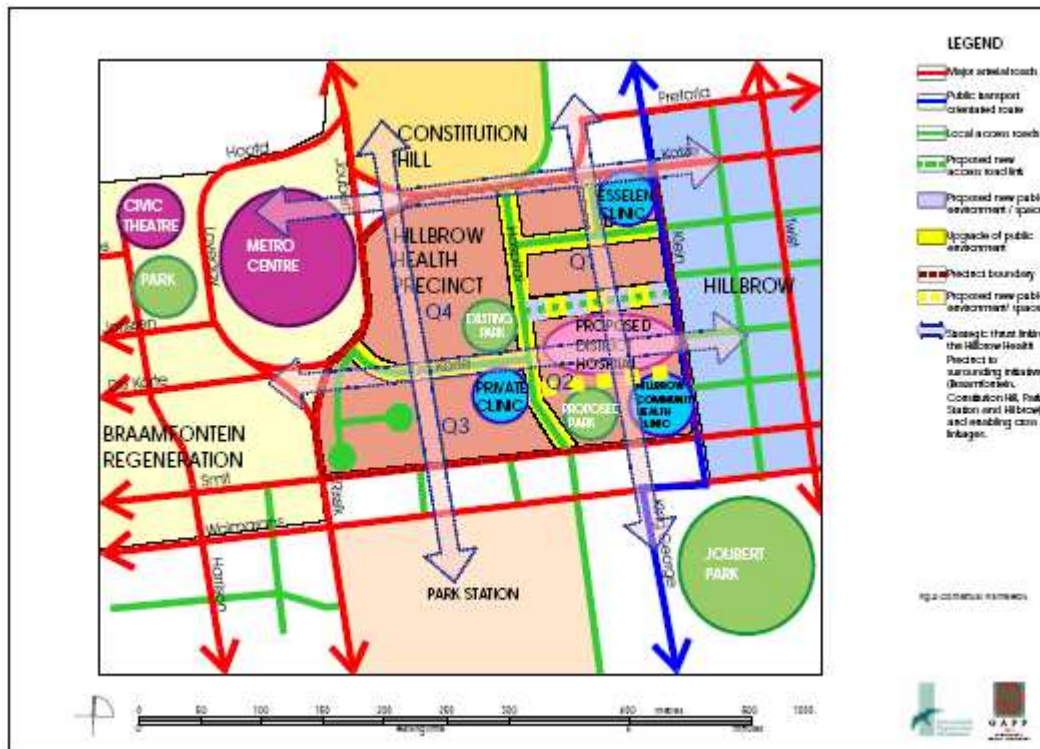
Hillbrow Precinct Plan (Source Johnnesburg LIDP 2005)

Flusty (2001, p658) observes that materially translates into a city that has, in many parts, become a veritable labyrinth of interdictory spaces: barricaded streets, privately administered plazas, police helicopter over-flights, and traffic lights festooned with panning, tilting and zooming video cameras. Such urban dis-amenities have in turn aggregated to form paranoid built typologies: gated residential 'luxury laagers', for instance, where clusters of expensive single-family homes are surrounded by guarded palisades, or 'strong points of sale', shopping malls equipped with video observation cameras, palisaded parking lots and police sub-stations. The Johannesburg CBD has adopted this form of materiality. Hillbrow is highly policed and partitioned by social boundaries constructed out of social identities. The Braamfontein Constitutional Hill is cordoned by police officers, high fencing, surrounded by blue neon lights as markers of the perimeter of the precinct and it is marshalled by visible security guards.

Such interdictory space is not just space that operates neutrally to intercept and filter world-users. It is commonly designed, built and administered by those affluent enough to do so, and with the wants and sensibilities of the similarly affluent consumer in mind. It functions to systematically exclude those adjudged unsuitable and even threatening, people whose class and cultural positions diverge from the

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builders and their target markets. In maintaining itself though, the exclusion of others, interdicted spaces and precincts redefine the remainder, indeed the majority, of Johannesburg and Hillbrow's diverse community landscape as 'Other' and work of exclude that otherness.

Indeed, Flusty (2001) generally observed that interdictory space is selectively exclusionary space. "This is not to say 'Others' making up the bulk of the city are forever banned from interdicted precincts. They are, in fact, often welcomed in, but only so long as they behave appropriately. What constitutes appropriate behaviour in interdicted space is rigidly defined and strenuously enforced by management. In short, difference is fine, so long as it is surrendered at the gate" (Flusty (2001 p659).

The Case of 'Street Kids'

In Hillbrow, the displacement of the homeless kids has pushed them into the far end of Kotze Street next to the Nigerian drug sellers and prostitutes at the centre of Hillbrow's shopping and crime infested spot. Depending on the weather, they are on Kotze street or Quartz Street. However, both Kotze and Quartz Streets are popular for the social delinquency in Hillbrow in terms of prostitution, drug lordism, informal sector, hobo haven, crime, etc. The kids stay at *Emathrasini* (meaning Mattress) where the street kids sleep.

There is an aura of fear in this area because the street kids seem to possess power from the sheer image of the area. The perceptions of the Twilight Shelter (NGO facility for street kids) perhaps epitomises the image of this area when pointing out that this area is "dangerous," "rough," because "kids learn to do drugs," "girls are raped and boys are sodomised." Some of the abuse arises from the contest for space amongst them since their space is territorialized into regimes of order and hierarchy and there is bullying if the protocol is broken. For example, "if one kid starts begging on a spot that is not his," said the Shelter responded.

The fear also emanates from the behaviour of the kids. These kids are feared for making harassing statements especially to women and passers-by. They can make embarrassing gestures that are humiliating and their associating with dirt and squalor rebels a lot of people from associating with them. For that reason, the researcher had a hard time figuring out a way of doing interviews with them. Even after securing the first interview with some of them, they were reluctant to introduce the researcher

to the other kids at *eMathrasini* for fear of harassment or bullying – for bringing an alien amongst them.

Fear is also is motivated by the proximity of 'Nigerian drug lords' in the area. There is a danger of being shot when they feel that you are a police spy especially when you are carrying a camera. The students that buy dagga in the area complained bitterly about the visible camera since the researcher was in their company when some of the photos were taken.

The fear that abounds Hillbrow has attracted law enforcing agents to keep this area under control for being unhomely. A series of door-to-door house investigations by Hilbrow police are done to keep 'undesirable' elements at bay and to pave way for the Hilbrow Community Regeneration Project (part of the Precinct). In the process, street kids find themselves removed from the streets and relocated in shelters from time to time. In the United States Neil Smith (2002) gives details how squatters, squeegee merchants as "street people" in areas such as Manhattan earmarked for "improvement" were ruthlessly dealt with after the election of Mayor Rudolph Guiliani and appointment of Police Commissioner William Bratton. Espousing a rhetoric of Zero Tolerance for miscreants, these figures were pivotal in labelling the urban disadvantaged as 'disorderly population.' This urge to tame urban disorder triggered notorious policy brutality against minorities, justified with reference to improved quality of life, but actually intended, Smith Argues, to make the city safe for corporate gentrification.

Indeed, Zero Tolerance policing is most loudly touted in areas like Hillbrow, Kotze Street. The chief of Hillbrow Police Station, Director Oswald Reddy since 2001, aimed to change the crime-ridden face of Hillbrow. Reddy identified three priorities to clean up the streets of the suburb: to address the crime, especially drugs, prostitution, illegal firearms and armed robberies on the streets; to root out corruption in the police force and other government departments in the area, and; to improve the police's service to the community. This will happen by implementing certain actions, including: zero tolerance of any crime, even urinating in public; seizing the assets of buildings used for criminal purposes; and, efficient and effective staff development (Source: *Sunday Times*, October 21 2001).

Fernandes (2004) points out that it is the active nature of this politics of purification that underlies the political project of 'forgetting' subordinated social groups such as squatters, street vendors and homeless people. The assertive middle class identity is

articulated both in public discourses as well as in a range of cultural and social forms such as the development of new urban aesthetics and assertive claims on public urban space as well as the emergence of a new civil and community organisations. As spaces are transformed to perform a specific function, they are "programmed" and, through the use of state authority and commodification, everyday life is being "colonised" (Gregory 1994: 403). Therefore, certain types of behaviour that conflict with the use assigned to it by authorities simultaneously exposes power relations that are embedded in (built and social) environment and suggests other ways of appropriating space (Cresswell 1996; Graeber 2002; Swyngedouw 2002).

In Neil Smith's (2002) view this is because neo-liberalism is intimately connected to a "third-wave" gentrification with the state providing the infrastructure that serves up the central and inner city real-estate markets as un-missable opportunities for productive capital investment (Hatchworth and Smith 2001). Smith argues that gentrification does not diversity the class mix of the central city, but merely allows the (upper) middle classes to retake control of the "political and cultural economies" of the largest cities (Smith 2002, 445). Simultaneously, there is logic of self-exclusion evident, with marginal population feeling "out of place" in spaces devoted to affluent consumption (Hubbard 2004). In many cases, they simply cannot afford to participate in leisure rituals that revolve around sophisticated interests and taste of the middle class. It is evident in the interviews of the kids below that most of the run away from the 'purified' spaces and they prefer the 'underground,' 'the hidden' and 'in the pale' as more and more of public spaces become 'sanitised.'

Hubbard (2004) noted that the attempts to regulate the visibility of disorderly bodies in city centres make perfect sense in the context of policies designed to encourage consumer-oriented reinvestment. As Smith (1988) highlights, it is those who are 'Other' to real-estate developers and their target market who are subject to such exclusionary urges, depicted as perpetrators of "quality of life" crimes that threaten the "urban renaissance." Flusty (2001) argues that exclusionary tactics are now taken for granted with the consuming majority rarely stopping to question why non-consumption should be a legitimate basis for removing people from public space. Consequently, several geographers have written the obituary of urban public space, lamenting the decline of a mode of metropolitan street life that was unpredictable and sometimes dangerous, but open to non-capitalist relations.

Images of Homelessness in Kotze/Quartz Streets, Hillbrow

Four kids were interviewed, Mlungisi from New Castle, Bongani from 0range Farm, Richard from Daveyton and Mpho from Orange Farm. Mlungisi was the first interviewee. He did not want to tell his age (approx. 23) as I was working around Hillbrow. Originally, he comes from Kwa-Zulu Natal in New castle and came to look for a job in Johannesburg. He claimed that he worked for a while but did not state the nature of the job. He also claimed that he leaves around Randburg with relatives. He appeared quiet dubious. He is a hardened street sleeper – was hiding his identity and could not talk about his parents, things he does, where he stays and he denied that he stays in Hillbrow although the researcher sees him there all the time.

Richard

He is 19, from Daveyton. His parents died when he as young. He stayed with his grandmother who was not working. His uncle later moved in with his four kids into the house and that is when trouble began. Richard was unnerved by the fact that his uncle bought clothes only for his kids and he was left out. He did not have clothes and school uniform. The grandmother passed away and it got very became very abusive to stay with the uncle. He chose Hillbrow because it is busy and well known for people living in the streets. "I knew I would get shelter and get means to survive," he said.

He went to stay at Twilight in 1998. But he left because 'through peer pressure'- "bajuthana," they ganged together with friends to go to the streets. He was subjected to bullying and he left for Martha Johnson Shelter. He also did not get joy there since there were older kids who bullied him. Then he went back to eMathrasini. He survives by getting gifts from people. There is a shop owner who gives them food in the morning. He also get money by helping people carry groceries by getting tips. Since he gets lunch from Twilight. Shelter, he uses the money to buy glue to sniff. He stated, "Glue is enjoyable since it makes you forget about worldly problems."

Mpho

Mpho is 17 and he comes from Orange Farm. His parents are still alive. He stays with his single unemployed mother in Orange Farm together with is brother. He does not have a relationship with his father in Meadowlands, Soweto because the mother refuses to contact him. The mother is selling chips, ice, sweets in her house to subsists for her family. The brother works in a car wash at the Orange Farm Taxi

rank. Currently, his mother thinks he is staying at Lenasia at a twilight shelter. Only the brother knows that he is staying on the street. He left home because he could not get what he wanted and could not keep up with the curfew for playing, sleeping, visiting, etc. He was influenced by peer pressure to get involved in petty crime. He stayed at a shelter in Paradise where he attended school at first, but he criticised the school for not being helpful to him. He stated that there was no freedom there. The school was too strict and there was bullying and so he left and went back to the street. He believes that he was bewitched since he just can't stay at home.

Bongani

Bongani is a 16 year old boy from Orange Farm in Johannesburg. He is the fourth child of four children and his mother is a single unemployed parent. Before he decided to run away to stay in the streets, he was arrested for theft and house breaking in the township. He claimed that when he was discharged from prison, he ran away from his home. He thinks peer pressure played a major role in his escape. He said that they told themselves "amajita kumele aphande" meaning 'men are supposed to work.'

The other reason is that he sought freedom and independence away from home. At his home, he was labelled 'the naughty one' (black ship) and there was too much control. At school, his teachers used to tease him because he was the eldest in class. For that reason, he ran away from Twilight shelter because he was made to clean toilets and do laundry for other kids and the older children were bullying him. So he feels they were treating him like a prisoner. Therefore, he is not planning to go back home or to school because of the bad experiences. Instead, he feels safer and freer in the streets because no one intimidates him and in that spot (eMastrasini) "they are the ones who are ruling."

Admittedly, he survives through robbery e.g. taking lunch money from young school kids, washing cars and some times by helping truck deliveries to bars in packing beers and cold drinks to get tips. Sometimes, he earns a living in the street by begging at traffic light junction, helping people with luggage, and buys clothes with the money. He showed new tekkies and a trouser. He claimed that he does not sniff glue but we saw him doing that. He sees himself as a criminal and he says so because that is how people take him, but his ego is boosted when ordinal people are scared of him. He has a tattoo that looks like a knife on his arm. He does not mind when people calls him a street kid because "that is what I am" and "that is the life I

have chosen to live and I'm happy," he said. He claims that he will always get money in the street and actually he gets more in the street than he ever did at home.

He does not trust anyone, but would like to meet his father. He eats at Maxsells, a shelter around Hillbrow to which he could not direct us. He likes the social worker at Maxsells and admires her because she does not force things to him and she does not compel him to stay there or force him to attend school there. He hopes to get a job soon since someone came to take their names and promised to give them jobs from the 1st December, on World AIDS Day.

Table 1: Reflections on their Images

Respondents	Mlungisi	Richard	Bongani	Mpho
Image of himself	Sees himself as an outsider to Hillbrow but belongs there	He sees himself as a normal human being did not much opportunities	He sees himself as a street kid, and criminal	He sees himself as human being who has been bewitched by his original

		like other kids		community
People's image of him	Hobo	Street kids and criminals that live and survive like dogs	Fail pop – dirt person	Bad influence for kids. Not good for the community because they make it look dirty
Image of their environment	Negative environment	Dirty place, home, and the place of survival	Home, it gives a sense of belonging and security	Homely, freedom, and it gives independence
People's Image of their place	Bad environment	A place that criminal activities take place	Crime and dirtiness, den of homelessness	Hobo, crime infested place
Image of their future	Wants to go to school and get a job	Go back to school next.	Dying in the streets and does not want to go back to school because of past experience	Want to meet his his father; go back to school next year; hopes to train and get a job
Their image of people	Does not care	Protectors when bullied in the streets	Victims of crimes and powerless	Do not trust them and fell that people are coercers
Images of their spot	Bad area	Scary, comfortable, and unnoticeable	Scary, power centred that gives them a sense of	Very dangerous for ordinal people because of

			ownership	criminal activities. He is not intimidated
Image of Hillbrow	Not a good place	A place for survival and well known for high rate of crime and people living in the streets.	A place where everyone comes to do crime freely and everyone does any thing to survive. A place of freedom and independence	High rate of crime and place for street kids and shelters that one can go to get food
Images of Shelter	No response	Prison like, no protection	Prison, oppressor, no security	Constraining, no security and treated like prisoners
Other Kids	No response	Envy them because they have a good life with their parents	Targets for crime because they are powerless	They are controlled and they do not have the freedom they have in the streets
Space in the Street	Space of survival of the toughest	Space of sanctuary away from abuse	Space of empowerment	Space of freedom for now

Contending Images of Street Homelessness

From the reflections of the images of the kids, there is a notable trend about the discernable difficulty that all of them seem to have experienced from their original 'homes.' All of them are driven by 'push factors' from their original homes in the townships. The townships or black spots were earlier discussed as emblematic of

homelessness in South Africa. The experience of the kids therefore seems inextricably intertwined with the trying conditions of the township. Most of them come from families on single parenthood and abuse of one form or the other. As well most of them do not want to attend school as a direct consequence of the school experiences such as bullying that they experienced at school.

The images that the kids have about the home and school is largely different from the conventional one, however a lot of these images has been translated from the townships to the urban areas. While some of the home and school experiences are new in the urban areas, others are simply enforced. Whereas the kids seem to have been displaced due to powerlessness in their original homes, there is a sense that some form of power is gained in the street. Almost all the kids feel that the streets offer that freedom and independence. People are generally fearful of their spot.

There is a contrast between the perception of the people and the kids. While the people view their spot, eMastrasini as a "den of homelessness," the kids take it as their home even if it is not so homely. Whereas, the people see suffering, dirt, squalor and danger in their 'home,' they find a place to sleep, collegiate relationships and a sense of power. These diverse perceptions create some cultural boundaries between the kids and the people epitomised by the common attitude of "us" and "them."

The "us" and "them" attitude is mostly epitomised in the enactment of state policies that seek purports to tackle relatively minor disorders before they can escalate into more serous crime the so-called 'broken windows' thesis. Although the goal is nothing other than 'civic cleanliness,' middle class images of visibility are largely a source of remaking inner city areas in order to attract capital and international patterns of consumption. As such, the use of coercion towards the marginalised groups raises serious concerns because the relative powerlessness of these groups means that their interests can be easily overridden by those of other sections of society (Luke 1974). Merrifield (2000, p484) lamented that Zero Tolerance is "an illusory obsession with order at all costs" and thence, the biggest complainant is that the homeless now get to move on with no place else to go.

Conclusion

This might contravene the objective of creating an 'inclusive society' which is the goal of the government since 1994. It is this logical understanding that seats at the

base of the post-apartheid agenda imbued with the sense of social justice that South Africa has engendered as a process of urban reconstruction. The renaissance of this thinking is related to Nelson Mandela's sentiments for reconciliation, rainbow nation and national unity. However, the gravity for achieving this goal sits uncomfortably between the visible images neo-liberal agenda and the agenda for social justice.

The government's approach to employ social justice as well as social controls to street homelessness is invariably in opposition to each other. Social cohesion and social justice objectives seem diverge where increasing of opportunities for homeless people gives way to coercion (through making it more difficult to survive on the streets) or enforcement (criminal and civil sanctions). Such coercive policies could be argued to promote a more socially cohesive society as understood by Gray (2000) but they are much more difficult to justify within a social justice framework. This is because the control mechanism has got to do with the illiberal nature of policies that seek to impose solutions on marginalised people. As such, while government seeks to extend assistance, it increasingly does so in a coercive manner.

Merrifield (1996) cogently argues that policing and urban policy should not stifle public disorders and uncertainly neither should they crush street spontaneity and vibrancy. But neither, too can democracy allow all types of disorder to run amok. "Differentiating 'bad' from 'good' disorder will doubtless involve negotiation and argument, as well as a toleration of conflict, discordance and painful encounter, which has always had a rightful place in an authentic urban culture" (Merrifield 2000, p485).

Merrifield argument takes special relevance in South Africa. However, beyond this argument, and in order to surpass rhetoric, there is a need to divorce blackness from the image of homelessness. As a start, homelessness should be imagined in broad terms beyond the simplistic perceptions of Sir George Young, then Minister of State and Housing in Britain, who described homeless people in 1991 as "the sort of people you step on when you come out of the opera" (quoted in *The Independent* 29th June 1991). There is a need to see homelessness in its complex dynamics of changing circumstances.

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The Urban Poor, the Informal City and Environmental Health Policy in Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

The main policy challenge addressed by the paper is how to support and regulate the urban informal sector in a way that promotes shelter and livelihood for the poor, and at the same time ensures a safe, healthy and socially acceptable environment; how to ensure that the struggle against urban poverty and slum dwelling does not result in a campaign against the urban poor and slum dwellers themselves. The paper examines how urban poverty and the informal city have developed in Nigeria over the last 50 years; the extent to which government policies and programmes have helped or constrained the poor, and how these slums and irregular settlements can be upgraded and progressively integrated into the urban mainstream. It considers how housing and planning codes, standards and regulations inherited from the discriminatory policies and segregation of the colonial period have continued to inhibit the access of the poor to affordable housing and tenure security; how the inadequate provision of water, sanitation and waste management has led to the spread of a wide variety of water-borne and filth-related disease. The concluding section considers the essential elements of a strategy to improve the informal sector and the conditions of the poor, paying particular attention to the roles which state and local authorities, the international development community and the urban poor themselves could play in a collaborative effort to build safer, healthier, more inclusive and more equitable cities.

INTRODUCTION

Poverty alleviation dominates the international development agenda of the 21st century, and one of the primary concerns of the Millennium Development Goals

is to improve the health and living conditions of at least 100 million slum dwellers around the world by the year 2020. (UN-Habitat, 2003). Up to the 1980 poverty was largely associated with the rural areas in developing countries; but the situation has changed with the dramatic increase in the numbers and proportion of the population living in urban areas, and a corresponding increase in the level of urban poverty. The ILO estimates that the proportion of the urban work force engaged in the informal sector is highest in sub-Saharan Africa, and accounts for more than 50 per cent of urban employment in two-thirds of the countries surveyed in 1999 (Population Reports, 2002). These slums and irregular settlement have become so pervasive in Africa that they now outnumber legally planned developments, and their social legitimacy appears to be no longer in question; but the appalling environmental conditions associated with them constitute a major threat to the health and well-being of the urban community. The urban setting has many potential health advantages because it reduces the unit cost of providing good quality water supply, sanitation, drainage and preventive and curative health care; but without these essential prerequisites, concentrating people and their wastes in crowded slums would certainly increase health risks and the spread of infectious and parasitic disease. As the World Health Organization has emphasized, it is the home not the clinic that holds the key to a better health delivery system. In Nigeria and other developing countries, "the urban poor are at the interface between underdevelopment and industrialization and their disease patterns reflect the problems of both. From the first they carry a heavy burden of infectious disease and malnutrition; while from the second they suffer the typical spectrum of chronic and social disease" (Werna et al, 1996, p. 201).

The main policy challenge addressed by the paper is how to support and regulate the urban informal sector in a way to promote shelter and livelihood for the poor, and at the same time ensure a safe, healthy and socially acceptable environment; how to ensure that the struggle against urban poverty and slum dwelling does not result in a campaign against the urban poor and slum dwellers. The paper examines how urban poverty and the informal city have developed in Nigeria over the last 50 years; the extent to which government policies and programmes have helped or constrained the poor, and how these slums and irregular settlements can be upgraded and progressively integrated into the urban mainstream. It considers how housing and planning codes, standards and regulations inherited from the discriminatory policies and segregation of the colonial period have continued

to inhibit the access of the poor to affordable housing and tenure security; how the inadequate provision of water, sanitation and waste management has led to the spread of a wide variety of water-borne and filth-related disease such as diarrhea, typhoid and cholera; the various forms of ill-health associated with malarial mosquitoes and other pests and disease vectors; the problems of malnutrition and food contamination, especially in the fast growing street food and catering industry; and the high incidence of respiratory infections among women and children, caused by indoor pollution from open cooking fires and stoves.

Attention is drawn to the health disparities between the rich and poor areas of the cities, and to the equity implications of such repressive government policies as the so-called "War Against Environmental Indiscipline" under the Military in the 1980s, and the more recent forced eviction of over 300,000 inhabitants of Maroko in Lagos Island by the Lagos State Government. The paper also discusses the more pragmatic policies of the 1990s to support the poor through the establishment of the National Directorate of Employment to promote skills training and self-employment, and the setting up of Community and Peoples Banks to provide micro-credit and other forms of financial and business services. The aim is to identify the lessons that could help to promote a more positive view and policy regarding the urban poor and the informal city.

The concluding section considers the essential elements of a strategy to improve the informal sector and the conditions of the poor, paying particular attention to the roles which state and local authorities, the international development community and the urban poor themselves could play in a collaborative effort to build safer, healthier, more inclusive and more equitable cities. For this the paper explores the UN conferences of the 1990s, especially the urban dimension of Agenda 21 of the Rio Earth Summit, and the Habitat Agenda of the Istanbul City Summit which advocate the principles of enablement, decentralization and partnership as essential for improved urban governance and sustainable urban development. It also draws from such other global initiatives as the WHO's Healthy Cities Programmes, and the Cities Alliance for Cities Without slums sponsored by the World Bank, the UN-Habitat and other development partners which propose effective ways to ensure more inclusive and equitable cities, and adequate shelter for all. The paper suggests that what is needed is not less government, less control, or mindless deregulation of economic and planning activities, but rather a more

enlightened, more integrated and participatory, and more equitable form of state intervention that would eliminate needless restrictions, and provide a more appropriate and flexible regulatory framework that is compatible with local conditions and yet reasonably efficient and environmentally responsible. We shall consider how best to reconcile the 'informal' and the 'formal' city, and how the positive attributes of the informal sector and other non-formal institutions of civil society can be harnessed and enlisted in the current campaign for good governance, poverty reduction and economic recovery in Nigeria.

POLICY ISSUES AND DEBATES

Opinions differ widely on what the appropriate attitudes and policies towards the informal sector and the poor should be. Some of the more optimistic advocates of the informal sector tend to present it in romantic terms as a form of popular development, a vital source of employment and income for the poor, the seedbed of local entrepreneurship, and a potent instrument in the campaign to combat poverty and social exclusion (Danida 1997; De Solo 1989, 2000). They dismiss earlier characterization of the sector as easy to enter, requiring little money and skills, etc., which led to the misconception that the sector required no form of official support. They also condemn the large number of regulations and bureaucratic procedures from the different institutions and levels of government which tend to stifle entrepreneurship, and to inhibit the realization of the full potential of the informal sector (Durand-Lasserve et al, 2002; McAuslan, 1987, 1992).

On the other hand critics, including many planners and government authorities dismiss the sector as an anomaly, a source of disorder, and an obstacle to the development of a modern economy (Abumere et al, 1998; Sachs, 1997). They condemn the slums, health risks, insecurity and exploitation associated with the sector, and hope that like other transitory phases in the course of development, the sector will wither away with time and economic progress. Even those who idealize the sector recognize that it is at best a mixed blessing. "In-so-far as informal sector activities do not respect legal, social, health and quality standards, and furthermore do not pay tax, they violate the rules of fair competition" (Sachs, 1997). Indeed they argue that the sector has run its course, is now saturated, and may just be replicating the disguised unemployment that prevails in the rural areas. These conflicting positions pose a difficult dilemma for planners and policy makers, and tend to reinforce the ambivalence and hostility of official attitudes towards the sector. If the informal sector thrives because of its informality, and because rules and regulations

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are minimal, does it make sense to try to formalize and integrate it into the formal economy with laws, codes and standards that could disrupt its activities and growth? On the other hand, what about the health hazards, as well as the rights and safety of the vulnerable groups that work in the sector? (Rogerson, 1996, 1997; ILO 1991).

These uncertainties about the informal sector are part of the age long debates about the rural and urban paths to development, and doubts about whether urbanization in general is harmful or beneficial. Stereotypes about 'urban bias' suggest that the allocation of national resources is usually skewed disproportionately in favor of the urban areas. It is said that if conditions in these cities continue to be improved, more and more people would be attracted to them to aggravate the problems of unemployment and squalor; that the worsening health and environmental problems of the cities are caused by the unregulated activities of the informal sector, which, if allowed to continue, could make the cities unlivable and unsustainable for present and future generations of towns people. However, the drive for sustainability has often tended to emphasize the "green agenda" for long term environmental security, and to overlook the more pressing "brown agenda" for improving the appalling living and working environment of the urban poor (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989, Nwaka, 1990, 1996). Until recently the concern for environmental protection in Nigeria has tended to focus on non-urban issues such as soil erosion, desertification, oil spillage, the dumping of hazardous wastes, etc. giving only scent and largely negative attention to the worsening deficiencies in housing, water supply and sanitation, pollution, waste management, food safety and security, etc., which directly affect public health and welfare. The improvement of urban conditions has often been sought indirectly through migration control and other policies to contain or reverse the trend of urbanization. This approach has not only failed to stop the inevitable and irreversible process of urbanization, but has pushed the cities to grow in a disorderly way, and for urban problems to accumulate.

Current research suggests that the path to urban sustainability lies in greater realism in building and managing a more inclusive and socially equitable city. This would involve reviewing continuously the legislative and administrative environment in order to improve the security of land and housing tenure for the poor, to upgrade slums, and to strengthen urban local governance through broad-based partnerships that take the needs and participation of the poor and the informal sector fully into account (Fernandes et al, 1998; N-AERUS, 2001).

THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN NIGERIA: FROM NEGLECT TO RECOGNITION

Nigeria is the 6th largest oil producing country in the world, and the largest and potentially the richest county in Africa. It has the largest concentration of black people in the world - with a land area of close to one million square kilometers, and a population of well over 125 million. Estimates at the turn of the century suggest that 43.5 per cent of the population live in urban areas, and is projected to reach 50 per cent by the year 2010, and 65 per cent by 2020. The rate of urban growth is thought to be 5.5 per cent, roughly twice the national population growth rate of 2.9 per cent. More than seven cities have population that exceed one million, and over 5000 towns and cities of various sizes have populations of between twenty and five hundred thousand. Greater Lagos, the former national capital, has grown from 1.4 million in 1963 to 3.5 million in 1975; is currently about six million, and projected to be 24 million by 2020. Information on the size and employment structure in the informal sector is hard to obtain, but estimates suggest that the sector accounts for between 45 and 60 per cent of the urban labour force, up from about 25 per cent in the mid '60s. Life expectancy at birth is about 52 years; infant mortality rate is as high as 19.1 per 1000; and the per capita income in Nigeria is thought to be USD 274 (Okunlola, 2001; Nwaka, 1992).

The development of the informal sector follows closely the general pattern of urban development in the country. Each phase in the development of the cities and the economy has its own dynamics in informal sector development. A large number of the cities pre-date British colonial rule -- as centres of traditional political and religious authority (Zaria, Benin, Sokoto, Arochukwu, Ile Ife, etc.) or as centres of internal and international trade across the Sahara and the Atlantic (Kano, Lagos, Calabar), or as military fortifications that attracted large numbers of farmers and craftsmen for defense and related purposes (Ibadan, Abeokuta, etc.). These native towns, with large indigenous populations, subsequently had European Reservations and migrant quarters grafted onto them during colonial rule, but they have often retained their traditional characteristics - with traditional compound houses, customary attitudes and practices regarding food handling, waste disposal and personal hygiene, urban agriculture and livestock keeping. The areas of informality in such cities are very extensive.

British colonial rule neither anticipated nor approved of the growth of large African urban populations. Although many port cities, rivers ports, rail-side towns and administrative centres owed their growth to the activities generated by European

presence, colonial officials remained unreconciled to the idea of rapid urban growth, and tended to see the cities as an unfortunate by-product of colonial activities which had to be firmly contained in order to avoid political subversion and social disorganization. The towns were not conceived or promoted as centres for industrial production for job creation and self-sustaining growth, but rather as small enclaves for administration, colonial trade and transportation. The policies and institutions for urban development, where they existed, were very restrictive and myopic, especially in the critical areas of land use control, planning and the provision of infrastructure and services. Planning and housing were used as an instrument of segregation and social policy - to ensure that the small community of Europeans was protected in segregated high quality residential reservations. Zoning and sanitation became an obsession (Stock, 1988; Omuta, 1986). Sadly, the laws, codes, regulations and institutions designed for the small populations envisaged in colonial cities, and for "sanitary segregation" have been inherited with little rethinking by post-colonial administrations, and have naturally been quickly overtaken and overwhelmed by the process of rapid urban growth and post-colonial transformation. The expansion of the private sector and the pursuit of import-substitution industrialization in the years after independence gave a boost to urban employment and urban growth in the formal and informal sectors. In post-colonial Nigeria and other African countries many analysts have observed a

> new process of urbanization unleashed by the masses of relatively
> low income migrants, who have flocked into the cities since
> independence, and are seeking to solve their problems of
> accommodation and employment informally, and on their own terms...
> the urban poor are now dominant, and in most cases are transforming
> the city to meet their needs, often in conflict with official laws and
> plans (Mabogunje, 1992, 1995; Stren 1989).

Prior to the 1970s, the informal sector was not considered as a separate sector as such. Their activities were classified variously as traditional crafts and petty trade in the subsistence sector, or as small scale industries within the formal sector, and treated as such. Some effort was made to upgrade what was considered their low level of productivity and low standard of workmanship through the establishment of small Industrial Development Centres, IDC, and later the Small-Scale Industry Credit Scheme, SSICS, to provide technical advice and training, and

to offer small loans. No effort was however made to protect informal sector products from competition with imported mass produced goods, hence many informal sector operators tended to gravitate towards trading, services, transportation, etc. (Meagher, 1999; Dike, 1997).

With the expansion of the oil industry in the 1970s, after the disruptions of the civil war, the urban population expanded rapidly because of the increase in urban based opportunities in administration, construction, commerce and services, and the gradual relegation of rural agriculture. The optimism of the oil boom and the prevailing international policy posture as reflected in the 1976 Habitat I, encouraged government to undertake extensive programmes of planning and public service delivery, including ambitious programmes of public housing and the centralization of land control under the Military. The administrative decentralization brought about by the creation of new states (twelve in 1967, and now 36) from the four former regions, and the creation of several local governments (now 779) fostered the growth of many large and secondary towns that served as state capitals and local government headquarters. The urban informal sector expanded correspondingly to meet the increased demand of low income wage earners for moderately priced consumer goods and services. But the formal sector still monopolized much of the support that government provided, and little effort was made to foster formal-informal sector linkages.

Contrary to what the advocates of deregulation had presumed, the economic recession of the 1980s and the austerity measures that accompanied structural adjustment affected the informal sector adversely on both the demand and supply sides, as markets contracted and input costs rose. Cut-backs in public spending, drop in real wages, and public sector retrenchments swelled the ranks of the informal sector beyond its absorptive capacity. Many formal sector enterprises forged new links, sometimes exploitative links, with the informal sector to cope with the difficulties of the economic crisis (Meagher and Yunusa, 1996). The borders between the 'formal' and the 'informal' sectors became blurred. Government response to this situation was contradictory in some respects, including both incentives to the sector by the establishment of training and credit facilities, and repression by the overzealous prosecution of the so called War Against Environmental Indiscipline and forced evictions on a large scale.

PATTERNS OF OFFICIAL RESPONSE

The informal sector encompasses a wide range of areas of informality --
environmental, spatial, economic and social, covering business activities,
employment, markets, settlements and neighbourhoods. Each of these areas has
implications for public policy. The informal sector has since the early days of
national independence been the major provider of land and housing in the cities, as
only about 20 to 40 percent of the physical developments in the cities is carried out
with formal government approval, and therefore provided with urban infrastructure
and services. (Abumere 1982; Population Report, 2002). Government officials often
argue that the practical difficulties of upgrading irregular settlements and connecting
them to urban infrastructure and services tend to reinforce their social and physical
exclusion; while others argue that official restrictions on the availability of land, and
the bureaucratic procedures of government departments encourage the growth of
more and more irregular settlements on the fringes of the cities and on empty public
land.

In respect of *housing* and *planning*, only about 25 to 30 percent of Nigerians,
mainly top government functionaries, professionals and other rich and privileged
people enjoy a decent quality of urban life. The vast majority of the houses,
especially those in informal settlements are crowded, structurally defective, and
sometimes located in areas that do not provide adequate defenses against disease
vectors and other health hazards. The legacies of colonial planning and housing
have tended to reinforce physical and social segregation in the cities. The Nigerian
Town and Country Planning Ordinance introduced by the colonial regime in 1946
remained virtually unchanged until 1992, not because it was working satisfactorily
but because it was largely ignored and by-passed by rapid growth and spontaneous
development. Most of the legislation and by-laws for environmental health and
sanitation appear to be reminders of colonial segregation and oppression, and have
very little current relevance or legitimacy. For instance, residential areas are now
widely used for small businesses in complete disregard of the official zoning
arrangements to separate areas of presumed incompatible activities. Although a
revised Nigerian Urban and Regional Planning Law was introduced in 1992 to
address some of the anormalies of the 1946 law, the administrative and technical
institutions needed to implement the provisions of the new legislation are yet to be
put in place (Egunjobi, 2002) Also, the Nigerian Land Use Decree or Act, introduced
in 1978 to streamline the wide variety of pre-existing land practices, to curb land

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speculation, and facilitate equitable access to land for bona fide public and private uses has been marred by official arbitrariness and bureaucratic delays, and now constitutes a major blockage on land supply except for the rich and well connected individuals (Nwaka 1992; Amis and Lloyd 1990).

In respect of housing, Nigerian has experimented with virtually all the approaches that were fashionable in the 1960s, 1970s and '80s - viz, slum clearance which caused much distress and social dislocation; sites and services schemes which tried to open up new land, and have it sub-divided into residential plots for distribution; slum or squatter upgrading which tried to fit new infrastructure and services into already disorderly and crowded settlements, etc. Also following Habitat I in 1976, and the oil boom of the 1970s and early 80s, Nigeria embarked on elaborate programme of public housing, but, typically, only about twelve percent of the projected additional

300,000 housing units for 1970-74, and twenty five per cent for 1975-80 was actually achieved. The enormous resources earmarked for the purpose were misappropriated or otherwise diverted to the construction of military barracks and other projects of doubtful priority. None of the housing programmes advanced the housing conditions of the poor in irregular settlements but instead tended to provide subsidized housing for high and middle income groups and other well connected persons (Nwaka, 1992).

The environmental conditions in most towns and informal settlements remain appalling and life-threatening. Water supply and sanitation are grossly inadequate for domestic and personal hygiene, leading to a high incidence of diarrhea, cholera and other disease. Commercial and domestic wastes are not properly disposed of, with the result that large volumes of rubbish are left to litter the streets and to accumulate in open dumps where flies and other disease carrying insects and rodents proliferate. The open drains are often clogged and exude unpleasant odor. Pot-holes in the streets, pools of stagnant water, and waste water gushing from bathrooms and kitchens provide breeding sites for malarial mosquitoes, and other disease vectors. Food contamination and poisoning, especially in the rapidly growing street foods and catering industry, pose a serious threat to public health; and air pollution, especially from exposure to toxic fumes from open cooking fires and stoves in poorly ventilated homes, is responsible for a wide variety of respiratory infections among women and children (IIED/DANIDA 2001; Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989; McGranahan et al, 1999).

Government authorities and planners have tended to blame these problems on the informal sector, and have sought to deal with the challenge of informality through increased powers of control and regulation, by insisting on legal titles to land, public housing, mortgage finance, etc.; but these conventional approaches have usually by-passed the poor, still leaving the informal sector as the dominant provider of land and housing in large parts of the urban and peri-urban areas.

Informal sector policies in the 1980s were very repressive, while the response to the sector in the 1990s was much more pragmatic and promotional. The military administration of General Buhari which overthrew the Second Republic was so dissatisfied with the state of the environment that it discontinued with the idea of central planning altogether. Instead it initiated an aggressive campaign for environmental awareness and sanitation as the focus of the fifth phase of the so-called 'War Against Environmental Indiscipline' WAI. A large number of environmental task forces were set up by State Edicts to organize public enlightenment campaigns, and to enforce environmental discipline through mobile sanitation courts. Special days of the month were set aside for general clean up by everybody -- to unblock drains, clean residential and work places, and remove heap of rubbish. The cleanest cities were promised one million naira prize, and a definite improvement in the environment appeared to have been achieved, at least temporarily. Unfortunately, the potential merit of the programme was marred by overzealous officials and the military drive for quick results. The campaign soon became associated with the misguided drive to contain urban growth, and to restrain the informal sector, as the sector was blamed fro all sorts of evil social influence -- littering the streets, obstructing traffic, creating various forms of pollution and nuisance, crime, piracy, prostitution, foreign exchange malpractices, etc. Informal sector enterprises such as hawking and other forms of street business were incessantly harassed and compelled to relocate in remote and inaccessible outskirts of the towns. Kiosks, illegal structures and shanty towns in Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt and other state capitals were raided and ruthlessly demolished (Braimah, 1989; Nwaka, 1996).

The military approach was certainly not a permanent solution to the problem, as it caused so much discontent and distress, and provoked many human rights activists. The government of General Babangida which overthrew Buhari showed little enthusiasm for environmental sanitation, and has credit for initiating a number of rural and urban social programmes to address the poverty and austerity that came in

the wake of Structural Adjustment, notably the well funded Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure, DFFRI, and the Directorates for Employment, NDE, for Mass Mobilization, MAMSER, and so on. For the urban informal sector the most relevant initiatives were the establishment of the People's Bank, the Community Banks and the National Directorate for Employment. Access to credit is important to small business aspiring to grow and become more profitable. Between 1990 and 1992 the government established as many as 401 Community and Peoples Banks, modelled on the Asian experience, and on the principles of traditional rotational credit system. These banks were to provide small loans and other forms of financial and business services for the poor and informal sector enterprises, with the whole community acting as guarantor for loan repayment. Within two years these banks together had built up assets of over 981 million naira, mobilized over 640 million in savings and deposits, and disbursed 150 million naira as loans and advances (Mabogunje, 1995). Unfortunately, recent studies suggest that only about 10 per cent of informal sector workers interviewed were aware of how to take advantage of the facilities offered by the Banks, and the Employment Directorate. Civil servants, military officers' wives, and other well connected persons appear to have hijacked the scheme, often getting loans far in excess of the approved official maximum (Dike, 1997; Halfani, 1996).

The National Directorate for Employment, established earlier in 1987/88, was meant to promote self-employment through training and credit for unemployed youths, but the main orientation of the programme was to reverse rural-urban migration by encouraging investment in rural agriculture. The informal sector was thought to be already saturated, although the government also launched the National Open Apprenticeship Scheme, as part of the NDE, to support the placement of apprentices in informal sector workshops, and supplement their practical training with other forms of formal training for skills they would need in future for their enterprises. Again, only a small percentage of unemployed youths and apprentices benefited from the scheme, which was undermined by underfunding and other forms of malpractice (Dike, 1997).

EMERGING NEW TRENDS AND POLICY DIRECTIONS

Since the World Bank and the United Nations system of organizations are the largest and most influential agencies for development assistance, the policies and development agendas they advocate tend to provide the international policy context for national and even local policies and programmes for developing countries. The

main elements of good governance which these agencies prescribe as essential for sustainable urbanization and the improvement of human settlements include the principles of **enablement**, **decentralization** and **partnership**. The enabling strategy implies that the traditional welfare state approach, in which government sought to be the primary provider, should give way to a new role for government as enabler and facilitator that creates the right environment and incentives for the formal and informal private sector and civil society organizations to contribute to the development process. But government is also to intervene where necessary to enable markets to operate effectively, to ensure social equity, and to protect the poor and disadvantaged groups. There is also a new emphasis on a more collaborative approach to development that would integrate and mutually support the development objectives of the various stakeholders. For instance, the Habitat Agenda urges that

> Partnerships among countries and among all actors within countries
> from public, private, voluntary and community-based organizations,
> the cooperative sector, non-governmental organizations and
> individuals are essential to the achievement of sustainable human
> settlements development and the provision of adequate shelter for all
> and basic services (UN-Habitat, 1998).

There is also growing international consensus that the crisis of governance in developing countries is at the heart of the worsening urban environmental health conditions. Decentralization is considered essential because government is more effective when power is shared, and when the level of government nearest to the people is given sufficient authority and resources to respond effectively to local needs. Nigeria has since the 1980s tried to restructure the country's political system, and to decentralize the structure of administration by creating 36 states from the four former regions, and as many as 774 new local governments. But decision making and resources allocation have remained highly centralized. Local government and municipalities still remain under the legal and political influence of the higher levels of government whose leaders appear to have different political interests and priorities. There remains an urgent need for genuine decentralization to open up more political space at the local level and encourage more broad-based participation, accountability, inclusiveness and social sustainability.

These cardinal principles of good governance, as well as the general concern for poverty reduction are reflected in the different global initiatives of the last decade which seek to implement the programmes of action of the major UN Conferences

and development goals. In addition to the Sustainable Cities Programme, the UN-Habitat and its partner organizations have launched the Global Campaigns for Urban Governance, and for Secure Tenure that seek to promote more inclusive cities, and to guide national governments and local authorities on the need for improved governance practices, for secure land and housing tenure and how to combat the incidence of forced evictions. The Cities Alliance for Cities Without Slums, sponsored by the World Bank, seeks, like the Millennium Development Goals, to achieve a significant improvement in the lives of millions of slum dwellers within the next decade. As well, the WHO's Healthy Cities Programme seeks to highlight the health and environmental dimensions of urban development, and to promote a more integrated approach to urban management and human settlement development.

THE WAY FORWARD

The way forward lies in adapting the lessons of international research and experience to local conditions, and in the collaborative efforts of state and local authorities, the international development community and the informal sector workers themselves. The overall goal should be to build a better functioning, more inclusive, healthier and socially sustainable city.

In the new urban partnership proposed above, *local governments* are on the front line, and should be given greater authority, discretion and enhanced capacity to mobilize local support and resources, and take everybody's needs and views into account in formulating and implementing development policies and programmes. The concept of Local Agenda 21, promoted by the Earth Summit in Rio and the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, ICLEI, is based on the premise that local governments are better placed than distant central or regional authorities to broker and harmonize the new partnerships among various stakeholders.

To play their role effectively local governments need improved technical, administrative and financial capacity through genuine decentralization and increased support from national and international development agencies, including non-governmental organizations. As well, it is essential to increase the level of local participation by allowing the poor more scope for their own initiatives, and greater influence on public policies and service provision. The various associations and organizations of local governments and local government employees in Nigeria such as ALGON and NULGA should act more forcefully as intermediaries in policy

dialogue, and through networking promote the exchange of ideas, experiences and resources. Above all, the ongoing consultations in the country to review the 1976 Local Government Guidelines, in order to strengthen the position of local governments should be sustained, and hopefully guided by the recommendations of the Political Bureau of 1987 on the matter.

At the *national level,* government must address squarely the unresolved constitutional question of intergovernmental relations in the Nigerian federal system, to ensure greater decentralization of roles, and a more equitable allocation of resources among the three tiers of government - federal, state and local. As part of creating the supportive and enabling environment referred to above, government at the federal and state levels should continuously review and update existing legislation in respect of urban planning, building standards, infrastructure and environmental regulations etc. in order to make them more realistic, attainable and compatible with local conditions. While government and planners should retain long term control to guarantee public safety and environmental health, local conditions dictate that planning should become more flexible, more advisory and promotional, and seek to mediate conflicting interests and values, rather than adhere to the traditional preoccupation with zoning, regulation and control to preverse the sanctity of public and private property, and to stop slums from forming. Some adjustments and compromises have to be made to ensure enhanced security of land and housing tenure for the poor in order to give them a sufficient stake in and incentive to improve the quality of where they live and work. Informal sector settlements and activities must be decriminalized to ensure social harmony and sustainability (ILO, 1991; Tripp, 2003).

Indeed, current research suggests that slums and irregular settlements grow not only because the people who live in them are poor, but because of overregulation, the sluggishness of government to provide adequate and affordable land, and failure to harness the energies and resources of the poor in the right direction.   The creation of a dual and parallel urban systems - the 'formal' and 'informal', the 'legal' and 'illegal' should give way an appropriate mix and range of tenure systems and standards within the same city, providing scope for incremental improvement over time as resources improve. "What is required is not scaling down building standards that everyone should build up to, but minimum standards that everyone could start with" (McAuslan in N-AERUS, 3002; Fernands et al, 1998). While the discredited colonial Town and Country Planning Act of 1946 has been

replaced by the 1992 Urban and Regional Planning Law, none the National Planning Commission, State Planning Boards, and Local Government Planning Authorities envisaged in the implementation of the provisions of the new law have yet become operational (Egunjabi, 2002). There is also a long standing need to review the centralized approach to land use control introduced by the 1978 Land Use Decree, and to move towards a more decentralized land delivery system, that would be more flexible, and would also incorporate traditional concepts and practices that are still widely adopted in most urban and peri-urban areas. This is in line with the current advocacy for endogenizing formal institutions to reconcile them to local conditions, and give them greater social legitimacy. Recent research by a World Bank team has stressed the need to restore "the structural and functional disconnect between informal indigenous institutions rooted in the regions history and culture, and formal institutions mostly transplanted from outside" (Dia, 1996). Indeed many Nigerian and African cities still look like houses built from the roof down:

> all the institutions of modern urbanization are in place - the banks, the factories, the legal system, the unions, etc.; but all these appear to be suspended over societies that have no firm connections to them, and whose indigenous institutions, even when oriented in the right direction, lack the necessary scaffolding to connect to their modern surrogates (Mabogunje, 1995).

Furthermore, while some of the anti-urban, back-to-land policies to contain and reverse rapid urbanisation now appear to be unhelpful, it may be necessary to explore more actively national policies to slow down the rate of population growth in the cities and elsewhere through programmes for reproductive health and family planning, which, together with purposeful urbanisation policies, could help to lower fertility, and overburdened thus ease pressure on the cities and urban services (Population Reports, 2002).

International development assistance also needs to be reviewed and better co-ordinated to give greater priority to poverty reduction and improved social services. New safety nets need to be evolved because of the dramatic increase in urban poverty following the economic crisis and structural adjustments of the 1980s and '90s. The Habitat Agenda urges multi-lateral and bilateral development agencies, the UN agencies, regional development organizations and NGOs to provide new and additional financial assistance and technical support for capacity and institution building in order to achieve the goal of 'Adequate Shelter for All'.

There is an even greater urgency to address the structural causes and roots of poverty in the developing world through "positive action on the issues of finance, external debt, international trade and transfer of technology" (UN-Habitat 1998; Satterthwaite, 2000). The major development agencies should be given more support to disseminate information on best practices that could guide governance and human development policies in the developing world.

The different global development initiatives sponsored by the World Bank, the UNDP, UN-Habitat, WHO, ICLEI, as well as the NGOs need to be better co-ordinated to complement each other, and to be able to identify gaps in the international development effort. Also, the new advocacy for decentralized co-operation among donors has the potential to promote North-South city-to-city relations for mutual benefit, and to channel resources and expertise directly to local governments and municipalities, and to other deserving local partners.

Finally, the *informal sector* operators should not be content merely with self-help and being left alone to fend for themselves. With their diverse and widely dispersed enterprises and settlements, and their general orientation towards their rural hometowns, they are usually more difficult to organize and to develop much needed civic engagement. But they need better organization and self-regulation to be able to engage more constructively with government and other development partners, and to increase their power to lobby, negotiate and influence public policy in favour of their sector (World Bank, 2004). They could pool resources through 'clustering' and other ways of cooperation that foster mutual support to help their businesses to grow and mature (Rogerson, 1997). Collectively they must curb some of the socially unacceptable 'coping strategies' that tend to discredit them, such as adulteration, crime, and other sharp practices, and confine themselves to genuine activities for livelihood which are only technically 'illegal' in the sense of not conforming with official regulations and bureaucratic norms that are often arbitrary and inequitable. After all

> a modern economy can be made up of sectors and activities with very
> different sizes, types of technology, styles of organization and
> degrees of integration into local, national, regional and international
> markets... The fundamental raison d'etre of any economic system is
> the wellbeing of the individuals, their families and communities.
> Economic power, the growth of national income, the increase of profit,
> the enlargement of a firm are only instruments. Deified, they become

obstacles to the welfare of the population. To modernize the

economy is to use the best techniques available to allow the individual

to work, to create, to earn an income, and to enforce the rights of

employees and workers (Danida, 1997, p. 18).

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Inhabiting the streets:

Self-portraits of Chilean homeless people

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Abstract

This paper is based on a small-scale qualitative study that explores the way in which homeless people understand their current circumstances, how they incorporate them into their life history and how they cope with these situations by temporarily inhabiting public spaces that do not belong to them. For this purpose, we conducted in-depth interviews with seven homeless people in the city of Santiago, Chile. In the first interview we reconstructed each person's life story. A second interview was structured around the photographs each interviewee took of daily life on the streets. Therefore, the data employed in this study is composed of narratives and images. The paper focuses on the analysis of the relationship between homelessness and personal identity and the different ways homeless people organize themselves, not only to make a living but foremost to 'inhabit the streets'.

The study reflects the complexity behind the category of 'being homeless'. Diverse conceptualizations such as to "*live on the streets*", to "*be from the streets*", to "*participate in the culture of the street*", to be a "*volao*" or an "*alcoholic*", reflect the degree of identification with the street, and the differences that emerge when the street is understood as a *"transitory situation*", as a *"condition", a "circumstance*", a *"sign of autonomy*", or a *"desperate act of reparation" to* escape from abuse and

pain. When contextualizing the street experience with personal life histories, both the causes that produce homelessness and the way in which it is overcome are explained not only within the margins of the circumstances and culture of the streets but in relation to the individual's past and future.

To be able to cope with life on the streets, individuals have to employ a series of strategies in a context of social and personal restrictions; of uncertainty, insecurity and social stigma, and in a space that is permanently disputed and that is hard to make one's own. This reveals that homeless people, far from being passive and vulnerable, are able to actively negotiate their life conditions, to adapt and react to the everyday obstacles confronted by them in the universally human attempt to 'make a home' even if it is on the streets.

Contents

Glossary

Some central concepts of Chilean's homeless terminology are explained here to facilitate the reading of the report:

Caleta:	A group of homeless people, mainly youngsters, living in a public space or a slum
Cañeros solitarios:	Solitary drinkers, those who drink without socializing
Cachurear	To collect materials from the waste
Carretonear:	Street job. To walk the streets with a small cart to collect discarded materials
Chicha:	Social drinkers, those who drink and socialize
Machetear:	To beg
Neopren:	Glue used in construction that has a hallucinating effect when inhaled
Plumillero:	Street workers, generally youngsters, who clean car windscreens in the streets
Ruco:	Basic construction made of discarded materials that homeless people build to sleep in and which protect them from the elements
Se chanta:	A person stops consuming drugs
Tíos, Tías:	Literally "uncles or aunts". Respectful way in which Chilean homeless people name the volunteers who help them

Valer callampa:	Literally to have the value of a mushroom. To have no value or worth
Vega:	Fruit and vegetable market located in central Santiago
Volao:	Someone who regularly consume drugs or who is under the influence of drugs

"Voices of the poor send powerful messages that point the way towards policy change"

Narayan and others (2000:3)

"*It was fun having the camera, taking part in the task of taking photographs for you, because sometimes people pass by and you are taking a photo and they stare at us, thinking 'this crazy woman is taking photographs, it is fine for a tourist to take photos, but not for a tramp'… I think I am going to buy a camera to start a career as a photographer*"

(Isa, interviewed)

"I took these photos to let people know the reality of our life, because they pass by… thinking 'look at that slum… it must be full of delinquents' and things like that… that we have no norms, that there are no laws to obey, that there is no form of control, so I took photos like this, to let them all see the way in which we live…"

(Juano, interviewed)

Introduction

Recent research has highlighted how complex it is to define homelessness, given the variety of characteristics that describe it, as well as the evolution in the way social policies have given meaning to and acted upon this reality (Hodgetts et al, 2005). These approaches have evolved from viewpoints that limit homelessness as merely a housing problem for excluded individuals who require "re-insertion", to an approach that understands homelessness as a process into which individuals may enter or exit numerous times throughout their lives. This process is related to the increasing vulnerability of the bonds and practices that make individuals part of their society. Homelessness may be precipitated by a housing problem, but there are other factors that define it and perpetuate it, such as the lack of income, insecurity, stigmatization,

vulnerability, lack of choices and the inability to plan ahead. In this sense, and as confirmed by the individuals interviewed in this study, the way homelessness is understood is not only the responsibility of those affected by it, but also of 'housed' citizens. They actively contribute to shaping its meaning, by distancing themselves from the homeless to downplay feelings of resentment, fear, guilt, shame or conflict, perpetuating with this behaviour a circle of disengagement and disaffection and forging barriers between 'us' and 'them' (Daly, 1996).

Chile has recently designed and applied, for the first time, a national survey of the homeless, to count, locate and categorize this group of our population. This survey constitutes a fundamental step taken by the Chilean government towards the design of social policies oriented to people living in this situation. However, there are several additional elements that are fundamental to the shaping of social policies, such as the understanding of structural and biographical factors that lead a person into homelessness, of the rules, practices and knowledge they use to make a living and inhabit the streets, and of the way in which they signify this reality and place themselves within society. These elements make it necessary to conduct qualitative studies that contribute to the understanding and the analysis of this complex reality. Our small-scale qualitative study strives to be a contribution in this direction.

In particular, our study is aimed at exploring first, the ways in which a group of people with different experiences of living on the streets in Santiago, Chile give meaning to and explain the paths which have lead to life on the streets; secondly, we examine the methods and strategies used by them to make a living on the streets with especial attention placed on the distribution of these strategies in spatial terms within the city, and thirdly, we analyze the way in which the experience of homelessness has moulded their personal identities, as well as their expectations in terms of their future lives. Following the study line implemented by Hodgetts et al (2005) for the city of London, we invited a group of homeless people to participate in this investigation as narrators and photographers. On the one hand, we asked them to tell their life story; on the other, we asked them to take pictures of their daily life with a disposable camera, in order to get to know their biographies and life situations from a different angle. In this sense, even though the responsibility of what is presented here lies with the researchers, the seven people interviewed became central co-authors of this study.

1. METHODOLOGY

To accomplish our goals, we employed a qualitative methodology based on case studies. Data was gathered through in-depth interviews and photographs taken by the same interviewees, with the aim of understanding and contextualizing what it means to live as a homeless person from the perspective of the protagonists. As a result, far from trying to represent the entire group of homeless people in Santiago, the goal of this study is to illustrate this experience through the personal stories, descriptions, recollections, images and reflections of a group of people in this situation, and therefore to contribute, from this perspective, to its understanding. In addition, given the methodological requirements of the study, within the homeless population, we opted to work only with individuals with no psychological disorders, who were able to remember and make sense of their life stories, manipulate a photographic camera and who were living in Santiago.

During the first interview, the participants were asked to narrate the story of their life. At the end of the session each person received a disposable camera to portray his or her daily life. During the second session, the interviewees described, contextualized and explained the photographs taken.

As a technique, the life story allowed us to contextualize a particular biographical situation, such as being homeless, within the life trajectory of the individual. At the same time, in telling his or her life story, a person not only describes his or her biography, but also evaluates it, makes claims about it and, above all, justifies his or her existence through it. Photographs work in a similar way. They allow the interviewees to portray and interpret their world. A photograph is not understood as an external object, different from its photographer, but as an instrument through which the photographer speaks and takes responsibility for his or herself and his or her life. "*To talk about the photographs one has taken is to make claims for them – to explain, interpret and ultimately take responsibility for them*" (Hodgetts et al, 2005:12). In analytic terms, this notion of the role and meaning of the use of photographs as a research technique implies that we don't just understand *the* photography but we also understand the lives of people *within* the photography (Hodgetts et al, 2005:13). As a result, narration and images complement each other in an attempt to comprehend the lives of the protagonists, from their own point of view. In addition, working with photographs allows us to structure an interview based on the topics the interviewees themselves suggest, and, as a result, it is especially

adequate for obtaining a closer look at social situations where stereotypes and prejudices are present, such as the case of homelessness.

By conducting fieldwork in conjunction with volunteers who visit homeless people in Santiago, and the collaboration of professionals from the "Hogar de Cristo" organization, and from the "Hospedería Francisca Romana", we contacted and invited seven homeless people to participate in the investigation. Two of them were interviewed as a couple, hence representing a single case. Using the conceptual format of the homeless people census implemented in Chile during 2005, we considered as homeless those individuals living on the streets as well as those living in homeless shelters.

1.1. Case characterization

The six cases highlighted in this investigation reflect different life stories and experiences of homelessness for the following reasons: First, we interviewed people in different housing conditions: those living in shelters, both commercial and linked to NGOs, in 'Caletas', and those sleeping rough. Second, we interviewed both men and women. Third, the cases include individuals who have experienced homelessness alone and others who have been living on the streets with friends and family members. Fourth, interviewees were differentiated according to the reasons leading to homelessness, including situations such as family conflict and violence, alcohol and drug dependency, jail and chronic unemployment. Fifth, we interviewed people with long, medium and short term experience of homelessness. Finally, we worked with people with different expectations regarding their future. Some of them had a clear chance of leaving the streets, while others had little or no opportunity of achieving this. These criteria allowed us to select the six cases that made up our study, whose main features are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Main features of cases

	Juano	Paola and	Nino	Sandra	Isa	Oscar

		Gonzalo				
Age	45	Gonzalo 21, Paola 24	57	34	39	25
Marital status	Married, but currently separated	Single, they are a couple about to get married	Single, lived with a partner for 27 years	Single	Single	Single but has had a partner for the last 6 years
Place where they sleep	Ruco in a caleta	A hole below a flight of stairs in the Costanera Norte motorway	On the pavement, Under a wooden plank	Francisca Romana women's shelter	Francisca Romana women's shelter	Transits between a caleta and his mother's in laws house
Other places where they have slept in the past	Car	Abandoned house, park, car dealership, outside a shop	Car, truck, Hogar de Cristo shelter, commercial shelters	Hospital waiting room, Hogar de Cristo shelter, park bench	Under a handicrafts stand, Ruco in a park, Ruco beside the Mapocho river	---
Others with whom they live in the street/shelter	Son	Partner	Alone	Alone	Her Children	Friends from the caleta
Duration living as a homeless person	10 years	Paola 5 months, Gonzalo 5 years	17 years	7 months	2 years, four months	8 years

1.2. Subjects covered by the photos

As already mentioned, the interviewees were asked to photograph their daily life in order to get to know and better understand their experiences of homelessness. Table 2 classifies all the photos taken by each participant according to the main subject of each photo. It is possible to see the different emphasis that each participant placed on the diverse aspects of his or her life, reflecting the various meanings each subject assigns to the street situation.

Table 2

Photos taken by respondents according to theme

(Number of photos (*))

	Juano	Paola y Gonzalo	Nino	Sandra	Isa	Oscar
Themselves		14	3		1	1
Family members, partner, sons, daughters, etc.	1				14	15
Friends and known homeless people	6	4	6	10	2	7
Friends and known non homeless people	3		1	3	1	
Other non homeless people	1					

Streets, places of use, work	9	9	4	3	6	
Shelters				7		
Place where they sleep			1	1	1	
Buildings, spaces used by others	3					
Other	1		2	3		
TOTAL	24	27	17	27	25	23

(*) Each interviewee employed the same model of disposable camera with 27 photographs. The number of lost photos explains the differences in the total number of photos taken by each person.

In summary, in this research we explored the biography and daily life of a group of homeless people from the city of Santiago, Chile. The visual/qualitative methodology employed allowed us to contextualize homelessness within the life trajectory of each interviewee, to study the relationship between homelessness and personal identity and the different ways in which people 'make their home' on the streets.

2. STREET SITUATION AND PERSONAL IDENTITY

In this section we analyzed the interviewee's narratives from the perspective of their personal identity. Some questions guided the analysis: how does homelessness fit in their lives? From which perspective do interviewees tell their story? What is their vision of other homeless people and how do they distinguish themselves from them? What kind of relationship do they establish with predominant discourses about homelessness in Chilean society? And finally, what is their self-opinion as homeless people?

Identity is not a symbolic issue. The way in which each interviewee defines him or herself and understands his or her life and circumstances reflects in his or her intentions, decisions and behaviours on the streets. In this section we describe the different ways in which the street shapes the identity of individuals in this situation,

from their way of recounting their story, their personal opinions and feelings. At the same time, we observe how the life trajectory of the interviewees moulds the way in which they live and make

2.1. Street and life trajectory: interpretations

By observing how the interviewees insert homelessness into their *life trajectories*, as well as the *motivation* they have to narrate their story, it is possible to distinguish different ways of understanding, experiencing and justifying homelessness. From this point of view, the 'causes' of homelessness, the strategies developed to overcome and change this situation and the way in which this situation is experienced on a daily basis are not seen as circumscribed phenomena but as experiences profoundly related to a life and an identity that evolve before and after homelessness.

The attempt in what follows is then to historicize homelessness through personal biographies because it is from this broader perspective that homelessness is given particular meanings.

2.1.1 "I don't think that I've lost anything, on the contrary, I've gained"

After her father's attempts to sexually abuse her, Isa understands her entrance into the world of homelessness as a self-protective step, a way of confronting danger and repairing her sense of worth and integrity as human being. It is likely that, because she does not feel responsible for the circumstances that drove her to the streets of Santiago, she was particularly outspoken with regard to disclosing her dramatic street life.

 In the context of the increased security and certainty provided by the solidarity shelter where she has lived during the last months, she delivered a biographical story where homelessness is told from the past. While Isa feels that she and the other women who live in the shelter "*belong to the streets*" because they "*spend all day on the streets*", this homelessness situation is sharply different from the 'normal' case. In fact, Isa works as travelling seller in two different markets. She eats in a solidarity dining room, and sleeps in the women's shelter. However, she considers herself no longer "*living on the streets*". Her children are studying at school and she is saving money to buy her own house, hoping to be allowed to sleep in the shelter until her housing situation is solved.

When explaining the photos that she took, she comments that "*she has been progressing*" in life. Therefore, there is neither shame nor humiliation in her narration. In all the years living as a homeless person or sharing a house, she never compromised her dignity or that of her children. Hence, she has nothing to be remorseful about or ashamed of. In this context, Isa understands her homelessness experience as a learning process.

> "*I don't think that I've lost anything, on the contrary, I've gained, I am calmer… I put my feet on the ground, I landed… I am more conscious… that I have to think about my children's future*"

The comments that she accidentally makes about her ex partners suggest that she didn't lose anything by leaving them, and that the path that she began, difficult as it was, was the right one. Today, Isa has a clear understanding of her future projects. As a result, and in contrast to the case of Nino, her narration of homelessness is mixed with hope. Isa feels that she no longer lives on the streets and she has no intention of returning there. Danger is already in the past. What she must do is to find a secure job and consolidate her home to reunite her family again, which is what constitutes her main pride.

2.1.2 "January 19, 2005"

Like Isa or Sandra, for Gonzalo and Paola the street was a choice that they made to protect themselves from their families. In this context and for Paola in particular, homelessness represents a proof of autonomy and an exercise of personal reaffirmation. Despite not being the best option, moving into homelessness was her first autonomous decision:

> "*My mother told me that I would never be capable of leaving the house and now I see that I can*"

> Q: *Why did you decide to stay on the streets?*

> A: "*Because for the first time in my life I made a decision about something that I wanted to do, for the first time I made a decision… in*

*my house my mother was in charge, even of buying my clothes… and
now everybody says 'for the first time you did something for yourself'"*

In fact, after analyzing all her photographs she reflects:

*"We have progressed… nowadays Gonzalo has a job. Before, I was
ashamed of looking after cars… I have been able to work and with what
we make we have survived, looking after cars, I even did a car wash the
other day, despite having nothing to wash the car with, I took off my t-
shirt and I washed with it… I earned two 'lucas'* [37] *for this"*

Within the lives of Gonzalo and Paola, homelessness is understood as a transitory
situation, in which they define themselves not as "*persons from the streets*" but as
"*persons on the streets*". They moved to the streets as the only way of abandoning
their troubled families and they plan to leave the streets to rebuild their lives as a
married couple. In the meantime, they survive on the streets by partially adapting to
it. It's a place that doesn't belong to them and which they don't feel part of.

At the time of the interviews, Paola had spent five months as a homeless person and
Gonzalo, five years. Gonzalo's chances of leaving the streets undoubtedly improved
after starting a relationship with Paola. Thanks to her influence, Gonzalo stopped
taking drugs and expanded his range of expectations: before knowing her he only
lived in the present. Now, he comments that "*it is necessary to be centred, to think
more about the future*".

Unlike other interviewees, Gonzalo and Paola's narration includes a "*house*" and a
"*family*" where both may return. In fact, Gonzalo visits his mother every Sunday and,
whenever necessary, he provides his grandmother's address as his own. At the
same time, they are trying to persuade Gonzalo's grandmother to allow them to use
a room in her house, which at present is in the possession of one of Gonzalo's
uncles. In other words, both in the past and future of this couple's story a possible
address exists, which works as a memory source related to the experience of living
in a home.

Paola has spent only a short time on the streets. Thus, she comments that in her
"*other house*" she has feminine clothes, commodities, books, a TV and a Hi-fi system
and good food. Her previous address and home become reference points to tell her

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[37] Slang for a thousand Chilean pesos.

story and to explain her way of living in the street. In fact, Paola's narration refers again and again to the exact date when she moved to the streets: "*the 19th of January, 2005*".

Additionally, they view homelessness as a transitory situation because they have not adapted to the streets. According to Paola, if she does that "*I will end up settling down on the streets and I don't want that*". The sense of strangeness that Paola often feels when she realizes the way in which the street life works, allows her to live on the streets from its borders. She remains ready to leave the streets as soon as the right conditions appear, making sure she does not enter it completely to avoid becoming used to it.

Paola's narration of her first days as a homeless person still has the perspective of an observer who doesn't belong to the world that she is describing:

> "*We arrived at the abandoned house, everyone was staring at me, I found it all so strange, there were only alcoholic guys… I was feeling like a small chicken in a foreign cage… I only spoke to Gonzalo… I didn't want to remain there, 'take me out of this pigsty with all these disgusting people', I told him… and it is not that I felt like an upper class person who lives in 'Providencia' or 'Las Condes', but… their only concern was to drink, so they represented no contribution to me… they had nothing to offer me, neither culturally nor as persons… to listen to them saying that they had been in jail for so many years, that they jumped onto buses to deceive [the driver] in this way or that, no, no*"

Also, Gonzalo's and Paola's insertion of homelessness into their life trajectories is enmeshed with their love history. They met on the streets; they have fought together, accompanied and looked out for each other. They have created strategies for overcoming this situation and they have built a "*house*" in the street. But most importantly, they have decided to get married and become a family with Paola's daughter, whom Gonzalo legally recognized as his own during the days we interviewed them, and with their future children.

In this sense, homelessness is transitory for this couple because their life projects as well as their actions are not only focused on securing their daily survival, but mainly in developing long term plans such as forming a family.

At the time of the second interview, Gonzalo was working for a fixed salary and the daily life of the couple was structured around his job timetable. Also, they secured a date to move into Gonzalo's grandmother's house as well as a monetary contribution from the 'Hogar de Cristo' NGO to repair the room and move in there.

At that time, it appeared that they were under no risk, and even the narrative centrality of a beating that they received days before in the street was overshadowed by the plans of the newly born family. Hence, due to all these factors, Gonzalo and Paola's homelessness experience was narrated with a romantic and adventurous tone. In fact, among the photos that they took, Gonzalo's favourite one was one where he appears in the San Cristobal hill, in the afternoon, making a fire for cooking. He likes it because it was hard to start that fire, and because it gives the impression that he is camping, on holiday in a different place, relaxed and without any worries (Photo 1).

Photo 1

Gonzalo's favourite photo in the San Cristobal hill

2.1.3 "The spokesperson: my life is composed of getting to know people's backgrounds and what they are like"

Juano's path to the streets has been gradual, involving all his life in such a way that today the street is central to his biography. In his life, homelessness doesn't interrupt his life trajectory. His family members are those belonging to his family of origin as well as people whom he knows since childhood and who have helped him on the streets.

The fact that all his life has occurred in the same neighbourhood has given a chronological coherence to the way in which he understands himself. Within this historic neighbourhood, his life as a child and youngster with a home is linked to his life as a homeless adult. His "*mistakes*" and his search for opportunities act as a hinge between both experiences.

Juano learned the street's culture during childhood, before becoming homeless. He met his wife while living in a slum, and it was there where Felipe, their only son, was born and where they decided to separate. Furthermore, Juano explains that while living in the slum there were times when he had enough money to have a cleaning lady in his house, money that he usually stole. He narrates these episodes understanding this stage of his life as part of his life on the 'streets'.

During the ten years in which he has been separated from his wife, Juano has tried to keep up links with his procreation family. He encourages his son to visit his mother regularly. At the same time, when she comes to the "*caleta*" to visit him, Juano talks with her and moreover, he "*makes her space in my bed and she stays here*".

While on the streets Juano tries to survive daily life, but also has some time to participate in recreational activities. In fact, he has played in a local football league for many years, "*in first division, and in the old stars team*", and Felipe accompanies him to every match.

Unlike other interviewees, Juano's life on the streets is not a temporary or exceptional situation, but his way of life. Due to his long-term relationship with the streets and thanks to his consciousness and personal abilities, more than someone who survives and tries to leave the streets, Juano identifies himself as an actor who leads his neighbourhood and defends and protects it from aggressions. Thus, it is not surprising that Juano's biographical narration highlights his role as mediator and spokesperson for the "*humiliated of the streets*", which is a role that has allowed him to get to know many life stories.

It seems to be a rule on the streets to keep personal stories as well as the causes that lead to homelessness hidden and not to ask others about them. In fact, most interviewees did not know biographical details of other homeless people or only had a very partial knowledge of their stories. On the contrary, Juano has employed his habit of observing others, chatting and asking about other people's stories as a strategy to sustain his role as a community leader:

> *"I enjoy looking, getting to know people… little by little, to understand their way of thinking and why they ended up here"*

Juano used his narration and his photographic camera to "*show people what poverty is really like*", as well as those who live on the streets, "*in the lowest place there is*". He only appeared in a couple of photos, because he did not want to monopolize what he sees as a collective history.

Since he was 14 years old his identity has been related to the role of "community leader" of the "*caleta*" where he lives, which is located in the neighbourhood where he has lived all his life (photo 2).

Photo 2

Juano's 'Caleta'

From this position Juano decided to narrate and portray his life and the life of his homeless neighbours by establishing a dialogue with a clear interlocutor: Chilean society. The message that Juano wants to send out is that homelessness is not good or bad in itself; it is hard and "*long suffering*" but this doesn't mean that it is unworthy. With care and happiness it can be endured. Those that label it as bad, "*unworthy*" or "*humiliating*" are "*the others*", people who mostly judge it without knowing it. In the meantime, the homeless have to survive with the stigma, mistreatment and scorn that society imposes on them.

In this invisible dialogue, Juano tries to recover his identity as a homeless person by clarifying that they are not in this condition because they are "*criminals*", because they "*valen callampa*" or due to some addiction. Particularly, he is not one of those who "*drink all day and use all they earn to feed their habit*".

During the interviews, Juano demonstrates again and again the principles guiding his life, the values and behaviour that, at the same time, he would like our society to have. He provides opportunities for other homeless people, welcomes the excluded with compassion and defends the weak and those who have made mistakes:

> "*Here… there were… two people whose bail I paid. I did this to avoid one of them being killed… because people recognized him as the one who took them to jail and tortured them during the coup d'etat … that other guy… was in jail for raping an underage girl and I know all that, here most of the people know that, and I paid his bail, why? Because I think that I don't have the right to judge another person… I say that everyone deserves another opportunity*"

Most of all, Juano tries to get to know the human being that exists behind a dirty body or tattered clothes, without prejudices, looking to "*what the person has, mentally… what the person thinks, feels or does*". At the same time, he teaches his son to "*always try to help the weakest*".

Juano talks on a daily basis to other Chilean people living in different conditions to him in order for them to get to know each other better, always with respect and without hierarchies or prejudices. This attitude was also highlighted by Joselo, a homeless man who has lived for many years in a 'ruco' in the 'San Borja' neighbourhood. According to him, Chilean society will only be more inclusive and

diverse through a process of understanding and learning between different people, more than through welfare programmes or compassion.

2.1.4 "To transit" - Passing through

The way in which Oscar incorporates homelessness into his biographical narration reflects a third way in which the streets may be understood. Like Juano, Oscar's links to the streets began very early, when the adults in his family sent him to "*machetear*" as a child, or when at the age of seven he "*got separated from his mother*" and "*wandered the streets*". Due to his home life falling apart, Oscar returned to the streets when he was a teenager. There he began taking drugs, became addicted and has remained in this condition since then.

Unlike Juano, most of the time that Oscar has lived on the streets he has had an 'address' and a 'family' available to return to. And this is what he does as he transits between a "*house*" and the "*streets*". In fact, when he takes drugs he stays for days in a park and its surroundings. Then, when he stops, "*se chanta*", he returns to his mother in law's house where his partner and son live.

To him, street and house are not the same and between both he has established a clear frontier. He would never work as "*plumillero*" in his neighbourhood because "*there I would feel ashamed to face my neighbours*". The street way of life and work are located many blocks away, in a different space occupied by different people.

In the same way as for Nino the street is linked to alcoholism, Oscar's homelessness experience is strongly related to his addiction to 'neopren'. Therefore, more than someone who lives on the streets or who belongs to the streets, Oscar visualizes himself as a drug addict, a "*volao*": "*I like the neo… my only occupation is to get volao*". The street has been his life circumstance while his option for drugs has prevented him from leaving this space.

In this context, Oscar's identity is tensioned between two roles: to be the provider of his family or to experience the freedom of the "*volao*". Unlike other interviewees, Oscar lives with his procreation family, and through it he maintains links with his extended family, including his cousins, aunts, uncles, nieces and nephews who visit him occasionally. As the family 'provider', maintaining these links represents a high cost for a homeless person like Oscar. "*One is in a bad economic condition, and you have to take care of them anyway, they stay for dinner, and they arrive with empty hands*".

Oscar mentions that his addiction to drugs is not a mechanism for evading reality but a personal option; he takes drugs because he enjoys them:

> *"… They just enjoy the 'vola', because nobody can say 'today I will do drugs because I have problems'. Perhaps some people do this but only a few, to escape from problems… I think that you get into drugs because you like them… there aren't any other motives, drugs are not necessary to escape from the problems that one may have…"*

2.2. Myself and other homeless

When analyzing the narrations provided by interviewees we were interested in studying their self-perception and how the streets have moulded their identities. One way of doing this is by observing how they describe *other homeless* people and how they differentiate themselves from them. Another way is by analyzing how they think that their situation is viewed by *Chilean society*, and the response that they generate to these views. In this way, by speaking about others, they justify their own lives.

According to them, the simplistic and stigmatized character of social representations about homelessness prevents people from recognizing all the circumstances that may lead to homelessness, as well as the diverse ways in which homelessness is borne. As a result, most of the homeless' identities are related to measures taken to maintain their dignity.

To live on the streets implies being permanently exposed to the glare of others. The homeless' bodies and the few possessions that may denote status become the central vehicle for identity. Thus, most of their measures for maintaining their dignity or for disguising homelessness are related to their outward appearance.

2.2.1 "The children from the river"

Isa presents her street experience, which occurred before arriving at the women's shelter, differentiating herself constantly from the priorities, attitudes and way of life of other homeless people whom she has met on the streets.

She distinguishes between those homeless who, like her, want to overcome their situation, "*who want to work, to make an effort to do something, whatever it may be*" and those who "*are indifferent with regard to progress*". These people are consumed by addictions, they lie, begging for money to buy bread when it is really for drugs,

they don't feel responsible for themselves, they are dirty and they don't love their children. Commonly, these people are those who cheat the welfare system by selling the clothes or other goods that they receive to pay for their vices, or those who are lazy and throw away their clothes when dirty instead of washing them and keeping their children clean.

To Isa, those who do not want to improve their situation are homeless because they dislike taking responsibilities: for a woman, these are related to the home, such as taking care of the house, keeping it clean and in order; for a man, they relate to their role as main family providers. She states that, these people "*enjoy*" the streets.

Isa thinks that homeless men are 'lazier' than women:

> *"They have lunch at 1:15 pm in the church… from there they move to the stairs, at 2, 2:30, when the "tíos" arrive… in the 'Vega', in Salas street, they arrive again. From there they go to 'Condell', another place where there is a dining room, so men just walk the streets, they don't work, why? Because they have food and everything for free…*
>
> *Q: Would you say that women are different?*
>
> *A: Yes, they also look for food but at the same time they are interested in finding things to bring to their homes, unlike men, who are indifferent"*

While on the streets, Isa knew women who used their children for their own benefit, forcing them to work or to 'machetear' to finance their vices, and also who used to 'borrow' other people's children to produce compassion in the passer-by. Isa could have reproduced this behaviour as her mother also exploited her when she was a child. However, she has had the integrity and maturity to break with this conditioning. Isa highlights that when she has had no nappies or milk for her baby and she has needed to beg, she has done this herself:

> *"I am not going to say to Diego [her son] 'hey go to ask for some coins to buy nappies for Blanca [her daughter], and go with your sister… because I am the one who had the children, they didn't ask to come into this world"*

While living in a '*ruco*' in the Mapocho river shore, Isa was the only women who sent her children to school. She comments that other parents considered it a waste of money, because they thought that their children would end up being delinquents anyway. Dismayed, Isa tells us that other parents had their children in a state boarding school, because "*the government is responsible for taking care of them. Anyway, the government has money*".

Throughout her narration, Isa defines herself as proactive, dynamic, creative, responsible and worthy, always looking for new strategies to obtain resources for her family and never taking advantage of the welfare system or being passive waiting for others to rescue her. She speaks looking straight into your eyes, with her forehead held high.

While she was on the streets, Isa always distinguished between poverty and dirtiness. "*People mix both, they make one thing of both, but… to be homeless is one thing and to be clean [or dirty] is another*". In fact, Isa repeats time and time again how, despite being cold and having no sanitary services, she always kept their children clean and well dressed. She comments that she would wash her children's clothes by hand and that she even sent them with white t-shirts to the 'Vega' to eat fruit. She never compromised her dignity despite homelessness and daily uncertainty. Besides, Isa was never involved in any trouble; she had a good relationship with the police and her papers were always clean.

She recognizes that homelessness changed her. The streets made her more distrustful and "*harder*". A "*soft heart*" is part of the past and we could perceive that. She is not a woman with an easy hug, her street experience as well as her previous family history has probably prevented her from getting too close to people. Her eloquence and happiness are mixed with raw words and sharp looks.

2.2.2 "A life without a trace"

The title that Nino gave to his history synthesizes what 18 years on the streets means to a man: not having been able to transform anything. Alcohol progressively began severing his ties with his work, his family and his house; that is, with everything that human beings use to shape their lives. "*El rumbo*" (the course), as he calls his history of alcoholism, leaves no trace.

Before he entered the streets, Nino's identity was linked to alcoholism and to his participation in a group of frequent, low key drinkers who socialize and chat while

drinking: the "*chicha*". Nino clearly distinguishes his group from the "*cañeros solitarios*", who "*drink alone, without sharing with anyone*". Instead, among the "*chicha*" there is support and solidarity. For instance, they share the cost of the wine that they consume (photo 3).

> *"…When we start there are five hundred [pesos], I have three hundred, so we continue… when you see that there isn't anything left [to drink], that the bottle is empty, we chat and suddenly someone jumps up, [saying] here, I have five hundred, another one says OK I have another five hundred, but let's collect more [to buy a better wine] and so on…"*

Photo 3

Nino and the "*chicha*"

Nowadays, Nino "*belongs*" to the streets, where he is part of *"a big family".* He doesn't try to leave the streets. Instead, he attempts to improve his life conditions in them, especially during winter. Nino defines himself as a "*human being who only wants to survive*". On the streets he cannot aim for more because "*you don't eat well, you don't sleep well, you drink alcohol and there is no stable job available*".

Like everyone on the streets, Nino has been forced to compromise his dignity: "*At the beginning I felt ashamed when gathering rubbish, but in the end the need is more important, you have no option but to do it*". However, compromising doesn't equal yielding: he has some limits. He has never robbed: "*I prefer to put my hands into rubbish than into someone else's pocket*". He needs to feel dignified and he fights for this in an environment where humiliation and shame thrive:

> "*It is humiliating… some people see you and say 'on the streets you don't have to pay rent', but I pay taxes for what I consume -I respond- and why don't you try to do what I do? Lie down in the street and see if it is hard or soft, try…*"

Despite humiliations, Nino clarifies that there are many people who approach him in a respectful manner: "*people worry about me and try to help: 'dear old man, how are*

you? I'm fine and warm, I am not feeling cold, -I answer- and I take all these conversations as flattery, like people are trying to say 'we care about you', they don't want me to be here". To Nino, the company of others is very important. As someone who "*belongs to the streets*" he has few chances of chatting with others. People are untruthful, and he feels alone. In his neighbourhood, "*he is well known*", so he has no need "*to explain*" that he is a good person and that there is no danger in approaching him.

Nino is tall, slim, with grey hair and a pleasant smile. He always tries to be well combed and shaved. In fact, his comb is one of the three objects he possesses that he considers most valuable to him. As he cannot pay for laundry, he has decided to use the clothes that others provide him until they are dirty. Then, he throws them away and uses other clothes, when he has some available. When this is not the case, he has no option but to use dirty clothes, a situation that he dislikes.

Every time Nino looks at himself in a mirror he doesn't recognize his face. The image that appears makes him "*angry and ashamed*", and leaves him feeling that it is not his own image. His nose is red and inflated due to alcohol, he lacks some teeth and he has scars on his face from drinking accidents. Alcohol has also affected his body. His legs are not responding well, and he lacks his previous energy, flexibility and spirit. Dirty clothes, bad smell, lack of cleanliness, are all wounds that the streets have inflicted on his body, on his appearance and on his self-image. And Nino still rejects these wounds. In his body, his 57 years of age look as if they were many more.

 Without a doubt, the resilience that Nino has developed while living on the streets has allowed him to stay active and in control of his situation. It is striking that when he comments that some car drivers stop near his '*ruco*' at night to use this space as a bathroom, or that the water trickles through his '*ruco'* when it pours down with rain, he just laughs.

2.2.3 "Between sadness and happiness"

Sandra carries with her a history of abandonment that began when her mother abandoned her when newborn. Hence, what has guided her in life is her need to feel good with others, without "*disturbing*" them. Again and again along her trajectory, Sandra has escaped from relationships in which others have made her feel that, once again, she is "*redundant*". Eventually, she ended up living alone on the streets.

Her street experience represents a transition phase in her life, when she became independent from her adoptive family, choosing to live according to her own principles. To her, the street represents an act of autonomy, the possibility of leaving behind the bad decisions that other people took for her.

In this context, Sandra clearly differentiates the time when she slept on the streets and in a solidarity shelter, from the phase in which she is now, living in the 'Francisca Romana' women's solidarity shelter. The days when she slept on the streets were hard and wrought with humiliation, disenchantment and loneliness. But then, her arrival at the women's shelter allowed her to begin to visualize herself not as a lonely homeless woman, but as a working woman who lives with a family, who is committed to herself and to her ability to leave her street condition. In this shelter her collaboration and work are valued, and she is surrounded by people who accept and respect her.

The affective links that Sandra has created with the "*tías*" and volunteers of the shelter have provided her with the protection and containment that she has missed throughout her life, and which today is contributing to generate a sense of biographical continuity in her life. Sandra named her photographic series "*between friendship and family*", to highlight the importance of the relationships that she has created in the shelter (photo 4).

Due to her history, Sandra has learned to cut herself off from all that may damage her. Once she makes a decision she doesn't look back. However, to leave the women's shelter will not represent a new escape from pain but a sign of self-improvement. Sandra is already capable of moving into her own house, but she is postponing this decision. In fact, one of the possibilities that she is considering is to rent her house to pay for a room near the shelter and her present job, to continue with the routine that she has organized near the people of the shelter. In the shelter, for the first time Sandra has been able to locate herself in a position that satisfies her. For instance, in the dining room of the shelter, she sits at the head of the table and it is not going to be easy for her to leave this seat vacant.

Photo 4

Dinner at the women's shelter

In synthesis, analyzing homelessness in the context of the life trajectory that sustains it, provides clues to understanding the way in which the street situation is experienced and signified. With just the small illustrations that we provide here, an enormous complexity emerges. The concept of homelessness or street situation includes a variety of experiences. According to the interviewees, it is different to "*live on the streets*" than to "*be from the streets*", to "*participate in the culture of the street*", to be a "*volao*" or an "*alcoholic*".

These different nomenclatures reflect the degree of identification with the street, and the differences that emerge when the street is understood as a *"transitory situation"*, or as a *"condition",* a *"circumstance"*, a *"sign of autonomy"*, or a *"desperate act of reparation" to* escape from abuse and pain.

Moreover, we conclude that both the causes that produce homelessness and the way in which it is overcome are explained not only within the margins of the circumstances and culture of the streets. When contextualizing the street experience with the life histories of each interviewee we observe that behind this phenomenon there are much deeper factors than just a list of causes and much more deep-set survival mechanisms than just a series of tactics. These factors and mechanisms are what ultimately define what it means to be in a street situation.

3. INHABITING THE STREETS

Through the process of living together we have defined, as a society, the roles and meanings of the different spaces we inhabit; what is appropriate for each place, certain behaviours, uses, dispositions as well as all that we consider 'out of place' (Creswell, 1997).

When inhabiting the streets, homeless people transgress those conventions. Therefore, in setting up strategies for making their living on the streets, the homeless are not only defining ways to satisfy basic needs but are also tackling the conflicts that their presence might produce in the social spaces they inhabit.

Tactics of anonymity and invisibility, strategies for adaptation and measures of reaction are employed in order to *'inhabit the city on the streets'* both in the search for privacy, tranquillity and security, and in the attempt not to transgress the urban geography. In doing this, however, the situation of exclusion of homeless people perpetuates itself.

In this section, we analyze the ways in which the street is inhabited by homeless people. By this we refer to a set of behaviours, habits, forms of knowledge, relationships and strategies with which a place, which is not one's own, is appropriated, disputing and transgressing functions and values. To understand how the street situation is experienced in practical terms, we propose conceiving it as an ongoing negotiation between options, resources and individual and social constraints that come to mould an always shifting repertoire for coping with life on the streets.

To observe homelessness from this perspective implies understanding that people in this situation are not passive agents, going adrift, without plans or priorities but, rather, are subjects able to actively negotiate their living conditions, to adapt and react to the everyday constraints they face in the universally human attempt to 'make their home' even if it is on the streets (Hodgetts et.al., 2005). This perspective also promotes a view of the homeless culture as a way of living that acquires meaning not only in itself, but in relation to the society to which it belongs, both in ideological terms, due to the constant dispute and questioning of the limits drawn up by the established order, and in practical and everyday terms.

The cases under study, as well as the illustrations presented here, show only some of the topics that help to describe how the streets are inhabited by homeless people.

Certainly there are many more. Our intention is to obtain a closer view of that complexity and to point out some paths through which it can be comprehended.

This section is divided into three parts. In the first part, we illustrate that homeless people resolve their different needs by creating an urban circuit that also contributes to the reduction of uncertainty and to the routinization of their daily life. We further sustain through some examples, that the way in which homelessness is understood within a life trajectory as well as the degree of identification with the street culture, defines different forms of inhabiting the streets. Finally, we focus on the analysis of security and how it is threatened (and protected) symbolically and in practical terms throughout the course of living on the streets and we reflect on how difficult it is for homeless people to defend what is 'their own' when it does not 'legally belong' to them.

The second section is devoted to the study of the different strategies of income generation that homeless people use and, in particular, it focuses on the characteristics of 'street jobs' as well as on complementary sources of material resources. The third and last section describes the social networks that are established on the streets and characterises their importance, in material and emotional terms, as another type of resource that helps people to sustain a homeless life.

3.1. The 'route': defining a spatial circuit

Homelessness is movement. On the streets, incomes, a roof, food, and personal security are uncertain issues. As Nino reflects, *'the street is like this, sometimes it catches up with you, sometimes it doesn't, sometimes you do well, sometimes badly... there is nothing certain'*. On the streets there is neither planning nor foreseeing. People solve problems as they go, on a daily basis, calculating budgets, applying certain tactics, or waiting for something to come up, that is, for some neighbour to share a meal with you or give you a coin, for volunteers to come to visit and bring food, for somebody to offer you an odd job, or for some money to be gathered among acquaintances in order for them to cook together.

To build up a routine around a spatial circuit gives some degree of certainty to lives which find themselves in a permanent struggle between improvisation and chance.

Moving around a defined neighbourhood also provides a sense of protection and belonging: "*even if I do not have an address they know where to find me*".

In order to live on the streets, all the interviewees have chosen to inhabit central parts of the city. Ideologically homelessness could be placed in the margins of society. Spatially, there are many homeless living in the capital's centre. They live in mixed areas, where there is a combination of residential sectors and services, trade, industries and workshops. These are areas equipped with public places to make one's own, close to markets where the informality of the exchange system allow homeless people to trade the products they recycle from housed people's litter; where they can find a hot and cheap meal 24 hours a day, and access to information and tips. These are also areas that allow homeless people to solve all their basic needs within walking distance so as not to spend money on transport. These are areas in proximity to places that volunteers visit to help the homeless: hospitals, cemeteries, the Main Market, Churches and charity eateries ('comedores solidarios').

While living on the streets in the places they chose, each interviewee set up a spatial circuit through which he or she reduced uncertainty and satisfied basic needs such as obtaining money, food and shelter according to his or her own priorities. In Nino's case, the corner in which he sleeps in a street in the Santiago district is the centre of his spatial perimeter. Nino sleeps half a block from the liquor shop, which is where he finds wine at a good price, where he regularly meets other '*chicha'* members from the neighbourhood, where he keeps his "*wardrobe"* with his most precious belongings, and where messages are left in case any neighbour requires him to do an odd job. The newspaper shopkeeper in the other corner allows Nino to read the newspaper every day to keep himself informed. Half a block from his "*home"* there is a factory where he obtains the cables that he peels on the pavement, sitting in a white plastic chair in the open air in what he calls "*my office"*. There he meets his friends and acquaintances who come to keep him company and share a drink with him during working hours. Behind his "*office"* there is a friend's workshop where he has access to the bathroom and where he hides his bottle of alcohol when the Police patrol the area. Sitting there he sometimes waits for a neighbour to come and share the lunch she has cooked that day with him. Some blocks away there is the market where Nino sells the copper cable he has peeled by the kilo. Close by there is a petrol station where he has daily access to clean water. He finds a hot shower and shaving facilities in the bathroom of a council gym he visits three times a week.

Three or four blocks away there are the two churches he frequents every morning after getting up. When Nino makes enough money, he walks to the 'Franklin Abattoir' "*to have a meat soup*". From his neighbourhood he also walks to the 'Hogar de Cristo' charity organization that supports him with clothing, health care and shelter.

Gonzalo and Paola work together parking cars outside a restaurant at night. Due to this working schedule, during the day they carry out the cleaning, tidying, bathing and cooking routines. In the San Cristobal Hill, they have access to a bathroom and find clean water to wash themselves, drink and cook (Photo 5). To eat they often attend a charity eatery which is located in the same district in which they live and work, sometimes they go hungry, and on a few occasions they pay for a meal in a cheap restaurant. While walking between these places, they collect tins, wire and second hand items; they examine the litter and select objects that can be sold or kept for themselves. This routine is only disrupted on Sundays when the restaurant closes and the couple visit Gonzalo's mother.

Photo 5

Paola drying clothes in a park close to their home made inside a hole under the Costanera motorway

3.2. Identification with the Street and ways of inhabiting it

The cases under study show that the way in which the street situation is understood within the life trajectory of a person, as well as the distance or proximity with which he or she identifies him or herself as a 'person of the streets', are factors that help to explain the insertion of homeless people within their neighbourhoods and the way they inhabit the city.

Those interviewees who identify themselves as 'people from the streets' have a greater social insertion in their neighbourhoods, they defend their places, adopt measures of adaptation to the requirements of their milieu, and find mechanisms through which to be functional to them. On the other hand, those who do not identify themselves with the streets, inhabit them from their borders, and instead of adapting to the circumstances and people surrounding homelessness, they develop a more distant relationship with this culture, changing living places more frequently and giving themselves temporary and more precarious shelter solutions. Finally, there are others who inhabit the streets to 'use them', to obtain drugs, to hide themselves, to consume them and to be free for a while.

3.2.1. The neighbourhood

Nino has spent his last 18 years on the streets. Since he was left homeless, he has stayed in the same neighbourhood in which he was born and grew up. In order to achieve this, his strategy consists of going around unnoticed and preventing any conflicts with other residents and customers of the neighbourhood. Nino wakes up at 7 am every morning, tidies up and cleans his 'ruco' and then the area that surrounds it. He does all of this before the blue collars workers arrive at their offices and the neighbours' begin to pass by, so as to cause the least amount of trouble possible in terms of the neighbourhood aesthetics. During the day, his 'ruco' remains strategically protected behind the parked cars and the lorries that go to the nearby industries. The material remains of his homelessness have to be as invisible as he can make them and, even if Nino is not the person responsible for the litter in his street he has to compromise and clean it up. In return, Nino and the other "Chicha" obtain food, clothes and second hand items from their neighbours, and Nino does odd jobs for housed people, establishing, in this way, ties of mutual cooperation with

the domiciled and affective relationships with his peers, the other "chicha" of the area.

3.2.2. The 'Caleta'

Juano's situation is similar to Nino's. Yet, while Nino's way of inhabiting the streets is fundamentally played out in the field of networks and reciprocities, Juano's case shows that the less transitory the street situation and the shelter solution is, the more specialized the place that is inhabited becomes. Within the 'caleta', the 'ruco' represents a basic space for privacy for Juano and his son (Photo 6). In the 'ruco' "*we lay down and eat, watching telly*". Because the interior of the 'ruco' only has space for a bed, Juano obtained a television powered by batteries to give Felipe some 'under roof' entertainment, especially during winter time. In this way he protects Felipe, keeping him out of the streets. Besides, when Juano needs to go out to go about his daily business, he leaves his son busy inside their home:

> *"More for the happiness of my son, to try to do the best for him... here, where is he supposed to play when it's raining? He has to stay shut indoors watching telly, in bed. So, it hurts me, I have even cried because of this"*

Photo 6

Juano's   home (a ruco)

Outside the 'ruco', Juano has arranged an area where he organises and classifies second hand items that he finds in the rubbish during the week and sells in a Sunday Market. Also in this space, he keeps his cooking utensils, sets up tables and makes

chairs out of pieces of wood and plastic containers according to the requirements of each situation. A metre from the 'ruco', Juano has arranged his dog's house. Around the fire that is lit up in the 'caleta' each winter evening Juano "*erases the cold*", has some fun with his friends, and "*dries his clothes*".

The space that Juano inhabits is delimited by a zone in the 'caleta' which is occupied by 'other homeless' who do not share the same principles and values as Juano and the people from his Caleta:

> "*On the other side of the street over there, in Sierra Bella street, is another world... in the sense that they have their own way of living, of being, of talking, of acting that does not adapt to ours... what's the difference? That we, for example, do something and they don't like it... so they do their thing and we do ours around here, they continue their lives separately*"

3.2.3. The roofs

Gonzalo and Paola have lived on the streets for a far shorter period than Juano or Nino (five years and five months, respectively). Since he met her and the two formed a couple and constructed a future, the street has become a transitory situation. She does not want to get used to the streets because if she did, she "*would never be able to get out*". Consequently, she inhabits the streets from their borders, without establishing too much contact with other homeless people, permanently distinguishing herself from others through the way she speaks and dresses, through her personal appearance, her behaviour and the way she makes her home on the streets.

In the last five months, the couple has lived in five different places within a different district from the one they come from, staying in each place between three days and a month and a half. Gonzalo and Paola do not adapt to their environment, rather, they change places every time they are asked to leave them or somebody closes down the place they have chosen to live in. In fact, and unlike Nino or Juano, they have not built a 'ruco' and therefore they are dependant on 'roofs' to sleep under. The places are as temporal as their permanence on the street.

Gonzalo and Paola sleep in precarious places that are only adequate for spending the night and not for living in during the day (Photo 7). Therefore, they only incorporate into their 'house' basic elements that they have usually found on the streets or have received as presents. To organize the place to make it more liveable

does not make any sense for them. Neither is it plausible to accumulate possessions because they become a source of risk inasmuch as they increase the possibility of being robbed and become a burden when they have to move to the next place, which usually happens without prior warning. In these circumstances, and during this time, they have kept their dearest belongings in Gonzalo's mother house.

Photo 7
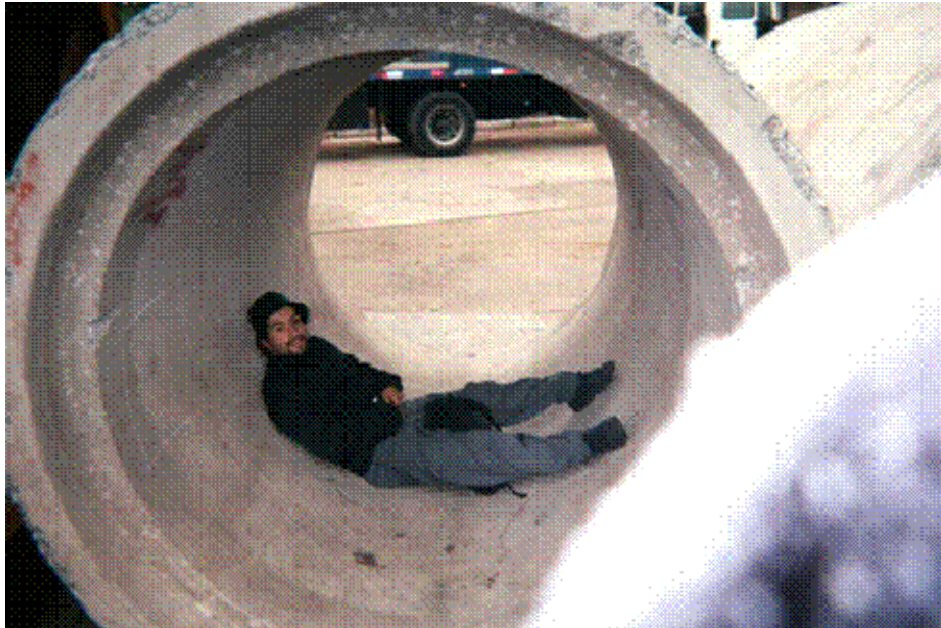
Gonzalo in the cement cylinder they slept in some time ago

By the time of the interviews, the couple had completed a month and a half sleeping in the same place: a hole in a recently built Motorway. In spite of planning their way out of the streets, and knowing that the place would be closed down in the near future, they have had enough time to make some kind of 'home' in this place, which has finally given them yearned security and privacy. They liked this place, and as photo 8 shows, they organized it by designating different roles to different areas within it, decorating it and giving it a warmer touch and some identity, and first and foremost, calling it 'our house' :

[Explaining the objects of the house in the photographs] for example, those bottles of water come from the Santa Maria Building, and we have a broom, this is the rubbish that we later drop into the bins, the box with dirty clothes, the shampoo... this area here is like the bathroom, that is, we wash ourselves there, it's for personal cleaning, and that division over there is our bedroom... We keep it clean, tidy, the beds with sheets, we have sheets, cushions, we try to make it look like a house, something here that resembles a night table, at the back we have the hangers for the clothes.. a picture we found of a baby, I had my Holy Bible, my pictures of God, Saint Teresa, and all my things"

Photo 8

Paola and Gonzalo's House

However, the cleanliness, the tidiness, the decoration and organization of the places are not to be understood as a symbol of settlement and as a strategy for keeping a good relationship with the neighbours, but as a way of evoking the lost home and also as a way of dreaming of the future house. That is, as a practice that helps them to remember that the street 'is not for them'.

H. 3.2.4. The park

Another form of inhabiting the streets is represented by the 'caleta' of young drug addicts of which Oscar is a regular. Not so much a consolidated home –as Juano's 'caleta' is- the park represents a spatial perimeter within which an always variable network of youngsters sharing similar life stories circulate according to the rhythm imposed on their lives by the police's vigilance, residents' control and their own drug habit. In this way, if they *"get evicted"* they *"just move to another place"* . They build

up 'rucos' and easily dismantle them. They move far away, to the motorway or to an abandoned house where they sleep on mattresses on the floor, only to later return to the park.

Some of them have a fixed address and stable relationships to which they go back at the end of the day; others are on their own. Outside the park they 'ask for money', work as 'car windscreen' cleaning boys' or 'steal necklaces'. They buy drugs and consume them. In the park, they sleep off their hangovers and hallucinate for hours. In the nearby restaurants they have access to the bathrooms while some blocks away there is the council gym where they can shower and be "*clean of the body*".

The park or the nearby corners where they work cleaning car windscreens, also serves as a meeting point for those who work in "*street jobs*": street sellers, bus entertainers and "*sapos*"[38]. In those places these people engage in conversations, exchange tips, news and jokes, adding some sweetness to their daily routine. When there is drug or alcohol consumption, or when a resident complains about the noise, and the police intervene, the 'caleta' becomes a space of social friction. Nevertheless, Oscar and his friends, try hard to avoid problems with the law and order authorities by maintaining a good relationship with the domiciled. Oscar frequently greets the salesman of the tapestry shop, the shoemaker next door, or the man in charge of the nearby liquor shop. As in the case of Nino and his neighbourhood's liquor shop, in the shops where Oscar is a regular, the line between customer and friend is blurred. For example, Don Carlitos, at the grocery shop, includes the 'car windscreen cleaning boys' when he organizes gatherings to watch the national football team play.

3.3. Street insecurity: the victim and the criminal

In the social imaginary homeless people are frequently associated with delinquency: 'they must be hiding something if nobody cares about them'. The interviewees' tendency to differentiate themselves from *"the bad guys"* reflects the weight this social label has on their self-perception, but in homelessness there are both criminals and victims. Moreover, while some of the interviewees have committed crimes, all of them have been robbed, and the women have had to deal with sexual harassment. Therefore, overall, throughout the process of living on the streets there are more chances of being the victim of crime than of being its perpetrator.

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[38] Those who control the synchronicity of the buses on each route by measuring the time that it takes for a bus and the one that follows it to get to the same bus stop.

On the one hand, the balance between protection and control is a very delicate issue to handle for the authorities. For homeless people, on the other hand, there is an acute consciousness that their lives are at stake within this dichotomy. They feel that in whatever dispute or suspicious circumstance they will be the first to be blamed, while at the same time, their daily life involves protecting themselves from becoming a victim.

The homeless people we interviewed are constantly safeguarding their integrity as human beings, because integrity is not guaranteed by those factors that provide respectability in modern Chilean society: they do not have a "*proper*" job, they do not posses properties nor are they able to rent a place, they allegedly "*do not have rules to control and orient themselves*", they occupy public spaces to make a home, and even if they make the effort to keep themselves as "*clean*" and "*decent*" as they can, they are not wearing the "*suit*" with which everybody "*respects you*". Moreover, they present themselves to others in their precariousness and that, more than a strength, is a sign of failure and therefore, must not be exhibited.

In this context, as Juano puts it, the inhabitants of his 'caleta' are, by definition, the suspects of the disorders that alter the neighbourhood's life: "*you are all thieves, a group of delinquents, dirty people... blokes that aren't worth a penny*". However, as Juano explains, the situation is far more complex. As a measure of pressure to eradicate his 'caleta', some neighbours "*tempt*" the caleta's inhabitants leaving items of value in full view or throwing their litter into this space. Nevertheless, by now police officers have learnt this game:

> "*Police officers have fined some domiciled people .... they have gone undercover and have seen people throwing things here... at night. And they realise that it is not our fault*"

Juano has to deal with the relationship that society has established between poverty and crime. He does not deny that many homeless people have criminal records, but he asks time and time again: "*why don't we look at our own lives first and then look at other peoples lives? That's what I say, because they take people to be this and that and sometimes they are bigger thieves than others*"

Isa also replies to the people who associate "the *street*" with "*dirt and crime*", putting issues in perspective. Robbery, viciousness and apathy do not depend on social position:

> *"Sometimes the scoundrels, drug addicts or drunkards are those at the
> top, they are covered up by their money, money covers them up, it's not
> the case here, people do not have any way to hide it"*

As well as confronting this generalised stigma, people in this situation have to look after themselves so as not to become a victim of crime. Because they work and live in the open air they are constantly at risk:

> *"Each time I go to work, I've got my working tools [a knife and a stick]
> by the side of the trolley, between the bars, just in case... Because if
> they are going to hit me, I've got to know how to fight them back, I've
> got to defend... what does not belong to me, because they lent me the
> trolley with trust"*

Meanwhile, in the 'caleta', Juano and the other inhabitants, have to protect their security from the visits of "*ratones*" and "*domésticos*" [39]. In order to protect themselves, the inhabitants of the 'caleta' set up shifts to organize the care and vigilance of their belongings.

Paradoxically, in the process of looking out for their own safety, the inhabitants of the 'caleta' have become the guardians of the neighbourhood, giving a sense of security to the domiciled and watching over the shops around them. Their presence, in the middle of the street, in minimal 'rucos' that force them to spend the whole day in the open air, coupled with their alleged expertise in treating with thieves and bandits are valuable resources for obtaining a positive role within the community. Photo 9 shows a deserted part of the land where the caleta is located:

> *"I say, really, ... if this place [caleta] were like this, a complete waste land, if
> there weren't any 'rucos' I think that in here there would be deaths, robberies,
> rapes, just like they occurred before people arrived here, and thanks to the
> people here, and thanks to oneself because one has stopped the bad guys
> here"*

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[39] Opportunistic individuals who govern their behaviour according to the demands of their vices and who do not have any morals because they "*steal from the poorest*".

Photo 9

A deserted part of Juano's 'caleta'

Nino, in contrast, lives alone and cannot organise the care and vigilance of his place with others. Tired of being robbed and beaten by drugged 'domésticos', some time ago, Nino decided to leave his few belongings in a corner of a neighbourhood shop and to sleep only with his identity card in his trouser pocket. Nevertheless, Nino remains defenceless against the drug addicts' nocturnal "*raids*" and "*shootings*" which interrupt his sleep. In spite of everything, as a consequence of having being in the same neighbourhood for so long, his presence has been accepted by the police officers who patrol the area: *"they already know everybody from the streets"*.

On the other hand, according to the interviewees, in crowded shelters like the ones belonging to the Hogar de Cristo charity, the possibilities of being robbed are also high. Conversely, the small scale shelter in which Isa and Sandra were living at the moment of the interviews, provided them with the warmth and tranquillity of a 'home'. Here they finally felt safe.

3.3.1. The women

Unlike Juano, during the time Sandra slept rough, she could not count on a habitual place where she could sleep and as a result, she "*drifted around*" on the streets

"*alone*". As a woman in these circumstances, Sandra had to be especially careful. This implied both *"being more patient with people"* and knowing where to establish limits: *"I stopped the drunkards immediately: 'no, with me no, over there is a group that likes to fool about with you, but I don't want'"*.

Despite these cautious measures, nobody is completely safe when it comes to living on the streets. Sandra could barely sleep while she slept rough on a park bench; "*on the streets you get worried, [starts thinking] 'this could happen to me, I could be raped'", "then somebody could come and steal what I'm wearing, take it and sell it".* In fact, when Sandra arrived at the shelter in which we interviewed her, she walked in "*only with what I was wearing*", everything else had been robbed.

Paola would probably not have arrived on the streets if she couldn't have counted on Gonzalo's protection and support. She mentions once and again her need of feeling safe. In order to achieve that, she has set up different tactics. Firstly, just as in Isa's case, Gonzalo "*has to introduce me as his wife*". The *"married"* title signals that there is a man to defend the woman, and therefore, she has felt safer. Nevertheless, neither the title nor her new pregnancy prevented a man's attempt to abuse her in the abandoned house they were living in. Secondly, Paola has always walked accompanied by Gonzalo. Even now that he has a fixed time job, she waits for him so that they can walk together to the place were they sleep. But she is never totally safe: "*the other day a completely drunk and doped bloke approached me... he started to unzip his trousers and to show me his thing.. I don't know what a person in that condition would do*". Thirdly, Paola tries to find places where to sleep "*where nobody could do anything to me*". But this has not proved an easy task. In the park in which they spent some nights as well as on the doorstep of a shop where they spent others, Paola could not get any sleep *"I was expecting somebody to rob me, or do something to me"*. Finally, Gonzalo never loses sight of Paola, is always ready to defend her, and when they perceive any danger, he takes her hand tightly.

Isa, for her part, learnt to defend herself by being *"sharp"* with those men who saw her alone and wanted to take advantage of it. On the streets personal image has to be restored time and time again, for example, by correcting those who perceive Isa as an "*easy woman*":

> *"You've got to be strong because they see you alone, and start to make conversation right away... they see a woman alone and they think she is*

easy... in the Vega Market there are those kinds of people, that's why

they think we are all the same"

The way in which, according to Oscar, men treat and visualise homeless women, supports the stories of the women interviewed. Moreover, his words suggest that on the streets traditional gender relationships are reproduced. There, the man "*is in charge*", which means, he is responsible for the woman:

"Each man treats the girl he is in charge of as he pleases... women [on

the streets] have a bad reputation... that they are easy women, that they

like to be with different men all the time"

3.3.2. The kids

In addition to the insecurity Isa felt being a woman sleeping rough, there was the fear of living on the streets with her children. Isa "*was afraid that somebody could come to take the kids away from me, that I would never see them again*". Also, when she slept with the kids underneath a handicrafts stand she felt particularly vulnerable as it was a busy area. There, she used to sleep with a friend and her baby, and between the two of them they took care of each other's family:

"We looked after one another a lot, she would go to sleep and... I was in

charge of the vigilance, I would watch over my kids sleeping.... they

would sleep and I would not get any sleep at all, I used to sleep during

the day in the park we used to go to, to do the washing, there I used to

sleep for a couple of hours. Yes, during those two weeks that we spent

there I barely slept"

The safety of her older daughter was a main concern as Rosa became "*a young lady*". In fact, Isa felt it was necessary to abandon the 'ruco' in which they were living without knowing where else to move in, because "*many youngsters started to come to that place to take drugs... and they were looking at my girl with other intentions*". However, sometimes the 'others' from the streets can turn out to be a source of protection. Therefore, knowing how to distinguish who's who and establish links with others is an issue of central importance. In this respect Isa comments that the "*older drug addicts*" of the Park used to protect her daughter from the wrong intentions that the newcomers had:

> *"Sometimes a newcomer arrived and if they looked at Rosa, the old ones would say 'hey, what's up? -the boys would ask - 'who is she?' 'that's none of your business, keep yourself away from her'"*

In addition the street can become a "*bad school*". In Isa's view, street kids are, in general, mistreated kids, who, just like her long ago, end up on the streets to escape from domestic violence, dragging along with them a huge affective need. Despite their short age, many of these kids have *"already tried everything, drugs, everything"* and therefore, Isa has had to double her efforts, her watchfulness and her conversations with her kids to avoid any 'diversion' in their behaviour:

> *"If they offer the kid a coin for drugs, he will probably want the money to help the mother, but they only hurt themselves, so because of that I keep telling them: 'if somebody offers you this, no'"*

I. 3.3.3. The others from the streets

Because Sandra was aware of the prevailing association between homelessness and delinquency, the nights she spent sleeping rough in the park, she was with other homeless people without getting too involved with them. In this way, she avoided risks such as being arrested and having a police record:

> *"They were very good at drinking, they were on drugs, and all the rest, and police officers came over, and there were fights, so the risk of being taken to the police station, and getting a police record…. no, I said, no"*

For her, not having problems with the police and the law is an invaluable resource for being able to 'formalise' life in the future through a stable and legal job and a life as a domiciled person.

Following Sandra's logic of action, Gonzalo and Paola try to avoid problems by interacting as little as possible with other homeless people. Despite having a network of acquaintances and having shared jobs and sleeping places with them, they have learnt to "*separate*" themselves from those who get "*silly"* because they are on drugs or alcohol. As this couple explains, being *"totally distrustful because one never knows who one is going to meet"* becomes a requirement for street survival. You always have to be watchful of the movements of others –even old people or police officers-, as well as being attentive to the possible danger of any situation. It was also a risk for them to circulate on the streets carrying money, therefore, Gonzalo

used to change the coins he earned working for notes, to avoid calling a thief's attention through the sound the coins make in his pocket while walking.

J. 3.3.4. The insecurity of one's body and of the departure of the soul

Living on the streets, especially for drug addicts like Oscar or alcoholics like Nino, also implies being exposed to frequent accidents. Without health insurance, a sprain, a bruise or any injury becomes part of the 'footprints' the streets leave on their bodies. *"I've won all these medals in life"* Nino comments pointing out the scars on his face.

Living on the streets also implies learning to cohabit with death. Oscar, Nino or Juano's life stories on the streets include the deaths of acquaintances and friends due to addictions, violence, accidents or due to the toll the street life takes on people, hitting, on its path, life and consciousness; "*one falls to pieces*".

3.4. Containment and Displacement: defending what is mine when it does not legally belong to me

As a consequence of the 'irregularity' of the street situation and the pressure exerted by political authorities and housed people, the homeless have to confront 'measures of containment and displacement' (Anderson and Snow, 2001). The containment measures include the patrolling of areas inhabited by homeless people and the act of checking their identity cards. Among the displacement measures there is the destruction of the 'rucos' and the requisition of their belongings, arrests under the charge of disturbing public order or having sold products in the streets without authorization, with the concomitant confiscation of those items. Measures of displacement do not always lead to the eradication of homeless people from the places they have chosen to inhabit. After having witnessed the demolition of their 'rucos' , being arrested or being fined, the interviewees have gone back to the same places due to the guarantees that a familiar area will overall provide people, a place where they have networks and an organised routine. Sometimes the inhabitants of the 'caleta' will demolish their 'rucos' with their own hands before the authority does it. This gesture allows them to regain control over the situation even if it is through the painful destruction of their homes.

K. 3.4.1 "Stubborn dolls"

Despite his good behaviour in the neighbourhood, Nino lives with the constant fear that "*some day a council lorry will come and take away all my stuff*" leaving Nino without a home, belongings, or a place in the city and deprived of any means of defending himself from the plundering. To illustrate the defensiveness against external menaces which threaten "*our own things*", Felipe, Juano's 12 year-old son, comments: "*sometimes they come with those huge bulldozers, and they take our little ruco, demolish it, and we have to build it up again*". In other conversations with homeless people, this resilient attitude was again pointed out. The strategy, as Felipe reflects, is to be like "*stubborn dolls: they throw us down and we stand up again*".

Indeed, the 'caleta' where Juano and Felipe live has survived twelve years. During that time, its inhabitants have faced measures of containment such as the demolition of their 'rucos' but also 'warnings' of eradication and promises of re-location that have not yet been met. Some weeks after we finished the interviews with Juano, we began interviewing Oscar. He commented to us that only days before, he witnessed the eradication of Juano's caleta by council and police officers:

> "*Did you see that there were some 'rucos' there? They took them all away... on Sunday... during the morning... police officers arrived in a bus, those that throw water... and they took them away, the council lorries arrived, and they took everything, the 'rucos', everything, with mattresses and blankets... they sent the people off... I felt so sad, it hurt my soul... they were rainy days, on top of that they took a woman with her baby away*"

L. 3.4.2. "As clean as possible"

Juano is a community leader. He responds to the containment measures by trying to turn the 'caleta' into a place where order and respect rule, not only among the inhabitants but also in relation to the passers by, visitors and the domiciled. While inhabiting the streets the frontiers between the public and private spheres become misty. For Juano it is important for the inhabitants of the caleta not to behave "*disrespectfully towards the passers by*", "*for them to respect the silence during the night so that the neighbours can get their sleep*", and also to keep the place "*as tidy and clean as we possible can despite our living conditions*". In this way he expects to

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raise awareness that "*not because one is poor he is going to piss on the floor or in any place, if you pardon the expression*".

Nevertheless, when a public place is temporarily inhabited, there are no rules or laws which help the homeless defend their homes from being used inappropriately by passers by or from the coercion exerted by the police, the council or domiciled neighbours.

For Juano, for example, it is very difficult to defend "*my own stuff*": "*I cannot say to you for instance, 'that you are this and that' if all this does not really belong to me*". In addition, there is the awareness that in the domiciled neighbours' view, by living on the streets Juano and his friends are 'spoiling' the aesthetics and damaging the market price of the area. Within this context of implicit judgements, people in street situation have to live in constant negotiations with the obstacles that others with more power set up. Here, sometimes dialogue is central as well as the ability to persuade others through quiet conversation, although this implies keeping to yourself the discomfort and anger that finding your place dirty or being asked to leave it provokes. For example, when housed neighbours throw their litter in Juano's 'caleta' he approaches them and says "*excuse me… this land where you are throwing your rubbish is where I live... may I ask you a favour? Could you please throw it over there, right beside the bin so that when the lorry comes it will take it away, because if you throw it here, then I'm going to be evicted*" .

However, relationships with housed neighbours are as Juano points out, "*like a double edged knife*". On the one hand, the neighbours greet Juano "*Juanito, my son, how are you doing?, have some bread*" while "*behind your back they say 'look, these bastards are lighting wood' or they pay the old man to come and throw rubbish here*" and then they call the council and say "*look how dirty they have made the place.... maybe they are thieves.*"

Nino, for his part, gave up and cleans what others spoil just so that he doesn't have problems with his neighbours. Every morning, he wakes up, tidies up his house, and cleans the area that surrounds it, picking up the leftovers that passers-by and drivers left the night before. As Nino explains, due to the lack of visibility of his 'ruco', these people use the place as a bathroom:

"I rather prefer to clean it, take away all the toilet paper, I wear plastic bags on my hands, and there are many who use it to do their stuff here, behind the big tree...

Q: And don't you get upset about it? after all, this is your house here…

Yes I do, but it will only fuel arguments, I tolerate it...

Q: So you are saying that people regularly use your corner as a bathroom?

Yes, for the same reason I built up the ruco there, due to the lack of visibility the area has"

To sum up, the street is inhabited in different ways. Uncertainty, priorities, resources and the restrictions that the milieu poses, as well as the way in which the person understands his or her situation are all factors that contribute to mould personal repertoires with regard to inhabiting the streets. In general, the precarious and temporary character of the spaces used to sleep limits the possibility of making a home in a public place. Those interviewees whose identities and life stories are more entwined with the streets, have chosen to settle in more stable places, organise them, and have established a routine through which to resolve their needs. They have adapted to the demands of the neighbourhood, and they have found roles to perform within the community. Those that conceive their street situation as a transitory event, try not to get accustomed to it, experience it from its borders, without getting too close to other people in the same circumstances.

Overall, to inhabit the streets implies, in emotional, cognitive and behavioural terms, always being attentive to any resource available. And, at the same time, it implies always being watchful of any source of danger. According to the interviewees, these demands have made them more irritated, tense, and nervous people than they used to be before entering homelessness.

3.5. Employment and other income sources

In this section we focus on the analysis of the income sources of our interviewees, and particularly, on characterizing their employments and other strategies used by them to generate economic resources.

3.5.1. Employment

Once on the streets, the interviewees could not regain access to a formal and stable job, like those that they had in the past, such as working as a security officer in a store (Paola) or doing the cleaning in a supermarket (Sandra). In this sense, entering the streets marks a rupture in their employment trajectories. Oscar is the only interviewee who has combined 'street' jobs such as being a travelling sweets seller on buses, with jobs in which he worked for someone (apatronado), as a bakery assistant and as a carpenter's assistant in the construction trade.

Sandra explains that when she was accommodated in the Hogar de Cristo's shelter she tried to obtain a job but she was prevented from even applying to it because she lived in a shelter:

> "Just because you are in the Hogar de Cristo they don't give you work…
> we have a bad name… that we are delinquents, scoundrels and all that"

Other interviewees specify that the lack of a fixed address has worked against them. In any case, as Paola explains, neither her previous employment experience nor her formal studies are useful to her now. On the one hand, "*street jobs are very different from the jobs you do in a store*", and on the other hand,

> "Education hasn't helped me to live on the streets because living on the
> streets is like living in a jungle … the lion is the king because he is the
> most ferocious…
>
> Q: And what animal would you be?
>
> A: I think that in this sense I'm still like a kitten, ja ja, I'm so naïve…
> because I've never lived on the streets before…"

When Paola was living in her home she had formal jobs that she would leave whenever a better job appeared. While on the streets, she has carried out informal jobs that require conditions such as the ability to observe others, the capacity to learn and a lot of courage. At the beginning, selling sweets made her feel "*ashamed*" and she didn't know how to promote her products: "*I didn't shout [to promote her sweets]… because I wasn't used to selling things on the streets, I felt reluctant to do it*".

For his part, Juano is 'forced' to work "*independently*" because his "*police record*" prevents him from being employed in the formal workforce. In this context, "*to move to the streets*" implies resorting to "*street jobs*" to generate income. These are jobs

which may be carried out independently, such as travelling sales, collecting cardboard ("*cartoneo*"), collecting materials from the waste ("*cachurear*"), selling products in fairs and street markets and parking cars or cleaning car windscreens (photo 10).

In all the study cases, street jobs were carried out inside a perimeter which surrounded the place where they slept, in order for the interviewees to circulate on foot from one place to another.

Some interviewees learned "*street jobs*" by "*observing*" how they were carried out by others or by receiving their advice. For instance, when Sandra was on the streets she couldn't find a job so she went to the "Vega", a place which, for many homeless people, is full of opportunities. Sandra first watched the movement and the needs of those buying at the "Vega" and with the support of a group of taxi drivers who worked in this place, she began offering help to buyers:

"The first days when I arrived there… I stopped outside a railing at the entrance to the "Vega", 'May I help you? –I asked passers by- Ok, but how much do you charge? just the amount that you are willing to give me'… and later the taxi drivers told me 'stay here and we will ask people to hire you'"

Photo 10

Nino with acquaintances who "*cartonean*"

Juano works "*cachureando*" with a cart, "*collecting cardboard, paper and small things*" that he later sells at the "*Bio-Bio*" market. He also works with the cart clearing rubbish from the streets. To develop this job he observed his neighbourhood, learning the routes and timetables of the lorries that collected waste

in order to arrive before them at the places that interested him. He also had to figure out where to sell each item he collected:

> "One day I started walking the streets without knowing if the waste disposal truck would pass to take away the rubbish… if I would find cardboard or not… I already know the days when they take the waste away, I know the times when the truck arrives"

Other interviewees like Nino, discovered a source of income by chance while "*cachureando*" (photo 11):

> "Q: How did you end up working in what you are doing now, peeling electricity cables?

> A: One day I passed by near there, because there is a business there and they discard plastic, cardboard boxes and other stuff, and as near here there is a store that buys cardboard I moved everything near there. Then I started separating the cardboard from the other materials. Out of all these material some electricity cables appeared which I kept. Later I found out how much people pay for these cables, and they told me that if they are burned [to burn the plastic and leave only the metal inside] they pay $600, and I asked 'and how much if the plastic is peeled off? $1.600 they told me' so it was clear to me that peeling cables was convenient…"

Photo 11

Nino pealing electricity cables

In order to "*throw oneself into a street job*", a group of attitudes and personal abilities are required, in addition to devoting time to observing and carrying the job out. First, the person must be capable of overcoming the "*shame*" that arises when "*others see me working in this*". In other words, it is necessary to cross the threshold of shame to perform a street job, despite the fact that it may "*not be a nice job*" for other people, especially for one's own family. To overcome this shame, "*willpower*" is necessary.

Being in contact with other people is intrinsic to some street jobs, such as cleaning, helping to park cars, or selling on the streets. In these cases some personal abilities are also an important resource for homeless people. Paola and

Gonzalo share the job of helping to park cars, making the most of Paola's friendly personality and capacity to relate to different types of persons, "*Everyone considers me to be a nice person*".

To be a street seller, Isa and Sandra require "*patience… because sometimes we don't sell anything in an entire morning*". They also cannot become frustrated, because "*if you show a sour face to the public they will not buy you anything*". Given that interacting with "*all kind of characters*" is part of the job, another key requirement is "*to have the character to deal with all kinds of clients, someone may challenge you –why are you asking for such a high price? While others don't argue*".

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Finally, their job requires "*a sense of responsibility… in order to carry out the job… to fulfil your work schedule*" (photo 12).

Photo 12

Sandra and Isa selling clothes in the street

The "plumillero" requires "*personality*", both to regain a street corner when it has been taken by another "plumilleros" to clean car windscreens, and to deal with car drivers, who need to be treated kindly: "*boss, you can give me as much as you like, if you have nothing today you can pay me another day*" (photo 13). Like Sandra and Isa, for Oscar and his colleagues it is essential to be thick skinned and composed when car drivers refuse a windscreen clean or do not pay for a job already done. If a dispute arises the "plumilleros" have everything to lose: "*if we react differently a car driver can call the police, and we go to jail… we have no way of winning*". Even though the police apply a stronger control over street sellers than over plumilleros, Oscar mentions that sometimes he has had to pay fines of up to CH$100.000 and has spent days at the police station for "*disorderly conduct in a public place*".

Photo 13
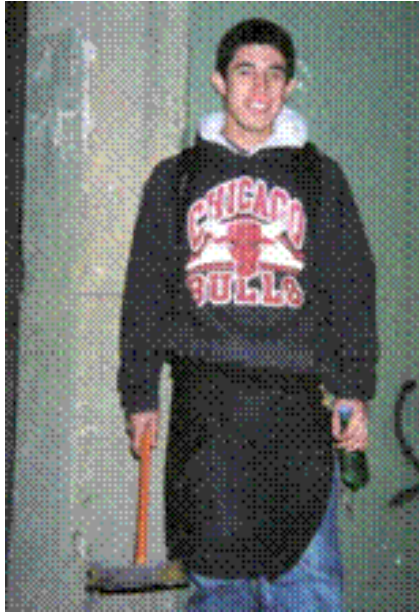
A "plumillero"

When doing the street job of "carretoneo", Juano is also aware of the importance of establishing good relationships with potential donors:

> *"I always work like a gentleman because it's no use treating people like 'hey, do you have a piece of metal for me? –no, at the moment I don't have any, and replying: you are just a stingy old man' [using offensive Chilean language]. There are some people working on the streets who really treat people this way, answering this way, and I say that there is no sense in acting like this because you will obtain nothing in return"*

After all the months spent together on the streets, Paola and Gonzalo consider themselves to be more "*corridos*" [40]. When helping to park cars they have learned how to negotiate their pay, because at the beginning they received less than what they deserved for this kind of job. They have developed a system: they charge half the fee when a driver parks his or her car and the other half when he or she leaves.

Although elements such as formal work experience or education are of no help when working on the streets, there are other resources that may be employed and developed in order to do these kinds of jobs. "*I am more intelligent than the others*" explains Paola, and, consequently, she is always attentive to new strategies for obtaining resources, new information and contacts that may help her. For instance, in the case of Gonzalo, a friend would lend him money and goods when the police

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[40] Slang for having gained experience.

confiscated the products he was selling in the streets. "*I would go to see a 'tio', who always provided me with goods to sell, and I would say to him 'hey 'tio', they took me to jail, and I would show him the police report, OK –he would answer, no problem… and he would give me more goods*". Another of Gonzalo's friend helped him to find the formal job that he was carrying out when we interviewed him.

The interviewees have a clear understanding of the disadvantages of their jobs. Working on the streets means working in the open air, which implies being at the mercy of the weather. Rainy days "*are wasted days*"; "*if it rains you cannot work on the streets*". Besides, *"[during wintertime] it is freezing*". In these kinds of jobs, income is unstable, which frequently leads to discouragement. It also makes it difficult to plan the future.

Also, the informality of their work implies having to be permanently aware of the incursions of the police and council officers who "*are always forcing us to move to other places*". All the interviewees had spent time at the police station. To some, the police' control mainly implies an economic loss due to the confiscation of their products; to others, like Sandra, a detention in a police station produces mainly humiliation: "*I had never entered [a station] before… I'd never been inside one, let alone spend a whole day there*". Street jobs are under the regulation and control of security and vigilance institutions, like any other work. However, as Isa points out, given the 'illegality' of street jobs there is no possible defence other than the hope for the good will and adequate treatment that these institutions may provide:

> "*… In one market you can work more at ease… because in the Vega [another market] the famous Council Inspectors… send trucks and they catch you by surprise. If they can confiscate a baby pram they will*"

Despite these disadvantages, the interviewees also recognize certain advantages to their respective jobs. Isa enjoys "*being in the open air*" like when she was a girl living in the countryside. She and Sandra also value the possibility of socializing while working: "*I chat, I laugh, I pull other people's legs*". Above all, Isa values the fact that her job is worthy and that she doesn't feel ashamed of doing it:

> "*… It is a job, humble as it is; it is a job… because I work. Sometimes I've been told: 'don't you feel ashamed of sitting here all morning in the market? Why should I feel ashamed? –I answer; I'm not doing anything bad, I'm earning to feed my children…*"

Generally, homeless people have a limited capacity to control or to anticipate the events affecting their lives. Chance plays a substantial role. In their daily lives, while they walk the streets going about their business, the interviewees are always looking for possible economic opportunities, such as finding a piece of cardboard or metal, or an electronic item that may have been discarded in the streets and that they can sell or keep for their personal use. For instance, once in a while Nino is asked to look for some specific machine parts that someone may have discarded in the rubbish. In this sense, homeless people's jobs have no work schedule, as there is no clear frontier between free time and working time.

Most of the interviewees simultaneously performed different types of jobs and had various sources of income. For instance, Nino combines his job collecting, peeling and selling electricity cables, with some odd jobs that some neighbour will offer him from time to time. These jobs include cleaning, moving furniture, gardening, sending messages, or going to buy goods at the corner store. This illustrates how he is able to serve his neighbourhood and the trust he has gained among his neighbours:

> *"… When I'm not peeling cables, people ask me to go to a bank to make a deposit, or to pay a bill…*
>
> *Q: Who asks you? People from the stores?*
>
> *A: Yes, from the stores, to make a deposit, to pay an electricity or water bill, to paint a room… you figure out how to make money… because they know that we are from the streets, 'chichas' from the streets, that we are not troublemakers, that we are not delinquents, so they call us to clean, to move furniture, or to buy fuel for their houses"*

On the other hand, Isa and Sandra have only one activity: selling used clothes in a market and at the 'Vega Central'. For them, living in a shelter implies fulfilling a time schedule that allows them to organize their day and time on the streets. Besides, the shelter provides them the clothes that they sell free of charge, which constitutes a small capital that other interviewees didn't have. In fact, the interviewees highlight that one of the advantages of jobs such as being a "plumillero", or helping to park cars, or peeling and selling cables, is that there is no "*investment*" required and that they start "*earning coins*" immediately. They also emphasize that they are independent workers, so they have no boss to "*give us orders*". As a result, their

work schedules are flexible and can be organized around other responsibilities and priorities. Sandra and Isa are the only interviewees who have a work schedule organized from Tuesday to Sunday which includes two selling points, and which they complete regardless of how much money they earn. Undoubtedly, for Isa, being able to leave her daughter in a day care centre helps her to better schedule her work.

Sandra and Isa lower the prices on the clothes when they need money, particularly when Isa needs to buy nappies, "*I lower prices as much as necessary, because I have to buy nappies any way I can*". The fact that the women's shelter gives them the clothes that they sell free of charge is an advantage that they make the most of in order to compete with bigger stores, because these stores can hardly lower their prices in the same way.

In this sense, those living on the streets with children, like Isa or Juano, have less flexibility in the use of their budget when compared to adults who live alone. For instance, for Nino it is "*normal"* to eat only "*relleno*" for many days, that is, a sandwich or other types of cold food. Instead, Isa and Juano need to guarantee ways of fulfilling the needs of their children even though this means having to use up a large part of the earnings from their sales.

All the interviewees collect "*coins*" "*daily*" and lack the capacity to save money, which results in a feeling of anxiety and insecurity. As Oscar comments: "*sometimes I feel depressed because of always being here, I had the possibility of being in a better situation, because I aspire to have more things… for the sake of my family*". When bills, such as the electricity bill, arrive at his home, Oscar goes to work with the sole intention of collecting "*the coins necessary to pay the electricity bill*".

The month and a half that Nino has been peeling cables, compared to the 18 years in which he has being homeless, reflects the short duration that street jobs have. In fact, Nino comments that other people have discovered his "*trick*" and that some competition has started to appear. Before peeling cables, Nino worked with a friend "*cachureando*" in the neighbourhood where the people who gave him odd jobs live. The trust and knowledge developed previously allowed them to collect different goods, such as electronic goods in good conditions while obtaining food at the same time. However, Nino decided to end this partnership when he realized that he was working to finance his partner's drug addiction. On the contrary, Isa and Sandra have been selling clothes for months and they plan to formalize their activity by

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paying for a council permit. Undoubtedly, their experience as street workers has been a key factor for them being able to develop their business. By observing their peers they have also learned how to sell their products in a better way:

> *"At the beginning I would just throw the plastic sheet on the street and throw the products on top of the plastic [without organizing them], offering everything for the same price, but later we changed, we observed the other sellers and I started organizing the jumpers, the blouses, the skirts, separating them all"*

To live on the streets is synonymous to being in constant movement, which calls for carrying light luggage when working and inhabiting. The intrinsic mobility of street jobs that are assembled in the morning and disappear in the evening, without leaving a trace, requires the jobs to use as few materials as possible. Isa and Sandra move their goods to the market using a small trolley. They put all their products on a nylon sheet and at the end of the working day they collect up all their goods and return on foot to the shelter. Nino carries all the elements he needs to live on the streets in his bag, including cutlery for when food becomes available, the seasonings to make it tastier, and his tools for peeling cables. Oscar, the "plumillero", always carries a bag. In it he takes his *"things, my 'plumilla'*[41]*, and my clothes, a piece of cloth to wear [around his waist] to protect my trousers from the dirt… and detergent in a bottle, nothing else*". In the same way as for Nino his most significant objects reveal his survival strategy on the streets (a spoon, a knife and a comb), for Oscar his most precious object is his "plumilla": "*I always have my eye on my plumilla, it goes around with me all the time, because it is what feeds me…".*

When circulating in the city, the interviewees are also alert to the possibility of satisfying other needs. Photo 14 shows Paola gathering half smoked cigarettes, which allow her to smoke without spending money.

Given the uncertainty about fulfilling their basic needs as well as their low budget, it is reasonable to assume that homeless people are not interested in helping others. However, this is not the case for Nino, who spends some time collecting cardboard and donating it to a neighbour who takes it to a shelter for the elderly.

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[41] Instrument used by the plumilleros to clean windscreens.

Photo 14

Paola gathering half smoked cigarettes

3.5.2. Other sources of income

When their jobs don't allow them to obtain enough money to satisfy their needs, or when they have been prevented from working because their products or their tools have been confiscated or robbed, interviewees have "macheteado" to survive, that is, they have begged for money to passers-by[42].

"Machetear" is the survival strategy that has most harmed the interviewees' dignity. To "machetear" means recognizing to others that one is unable to survive alone. For instance, Sandra had never begged in her life, "*it is difficult to do, it is hard*" and by doing it she became, in the eyes of passers by, just like "*the others… those who machetean just to drink*". In order to protect her dignity, Sandra decided to explain to people the reason she was asking for money: "*I need the coins to have lunch*", she

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[42] It is interesting to note that no interviewee referred to this activity as 'begging' and they all used the word "machetear" instead. This probably reinforces their identity as homeless people who are in charge of their situation, as opposed to a beggar who is not.

explained, "*and they would always give me some*". While living on the streets, Sandra did have to "machetear" when she needed to, but always "*telling the truth*", and in the process of explaining herself to others she felt that she was respecting herself. Sandra prefers working to "machetear". The precarious and uncertain jobs that she has done offer her a worthy form of insertion into society, from where she can connect with people. Instead, the "macheteo" degrades her and is a lonely activity.

Due to the years he has been living on the streets and in the same neighbourhood, Nino has an additional strategy for obtaining income. It is what he calls "*la vuelta del perro*"[43]. It consists of visiting the places where acquaintances work or live, people who "*are willing to donate money, who are friends, who have known you for years, and who also know what time I will most likely drop by*".

Another strategy for generating income, when a job's income is not enough is to sell personal objects.

Ultimately, as Sandra, Isa and Paola explain, while on the streets, how and where you obtain money depends on the limits that a person has. Despite the despair of sleeping on a park bench, Sandra has never crossed her own limits. She has been able to "*selling everything… apart from drugs and alcohol*". Isa highlights her capacity and willingness to do any kind of job, "*no job is too hard for me… I can do whatever is needed… as long as it is an honest job…*". The 'Vega' where she works, seems to be a place where these values are permanently tested:

> "*… Even here at the Vega and in El Salto I have been offered… but I rejected it, I mean I can accept any kind of business except drugs, and they were even offering it to me for free, to help me support myself, they give you the first bag for free and then they provide you with more as you sell. I think that if I was really in need I would prefer to beg…*"

During the periods in which Oscar was "*volao*" and lacked money to buy "neopren", he robbed sporadically, specifically "*robbing chains and watches from old drunks*". Oscar points out that he was never completely conscious of his actions when he robbed people: "*I only did that while 'volao', I would never harm another person when I'm lucid*".

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[43] Literally, the dog's route.

In synthesis, once on the streets the interviewees had to resort to "street jobs", which mostly involved generating incomes by recycling the remainders of urban domiciled life and included "*cartonear*", "*cachurear*", parking cars, cleaning car windscreens, and selling goods on the streets. These are jobs that are characterized as being informal, independent and requiring specific abilities and knowledge. They are jobs that generate money quickly and that don't require investment, infrastructure and can be done with a few tools. They include mobile jobs where goods may be mounted and dismounted in a day, or when the police control arrives.

These jobs provide an unstable income, which prevents the possibility of saving and planning for the future. The unit of time of street jobs is a 'day' and the monetary unit is a 'coin'. These are jobs without a fixed schedule that are combined with other sources of income when money is scarce, such as "*macheteo*", odd jobs or stealing. These jobs are learned by observing others and through them personal contacts and social networks become the key to discovering new opportunities.

3.6. Support networks

In this third section we analyse the support networks that people in street situation have, which constitute further resources for surviving and inhabiting the streets. According to the testimonies gathered, homeless networks include other homeless people, domiciled people who live in the area where the homeless sleep or work, and the "*tios*" or volunteers who visit them regularly. Finally, all the interviewees find a central source of support in their faith.

3.6.1. Peer networks

Other homeless people have had a vital role in the daily lives of our interviewees. They are a source of conversation and company, and of information in terms of implementing new strategies for obtaining money finding a new place to sleep or even a better job. These are also the people with which they organise the protection of their places. However, these peers are basically acquaintances. According to the interviewees, real friendship is hard to find on the streets.

Firstly, peer networks are a source of sociability for the interviewees. Among other homeless people they find companionship, conversation and affection. Juano, for example, shares the evening fire lit up during winter time with other inhabitants of the

"caleta" to protect themselves from the cold "*and everything it produces: such as humidity*" and to "*dry his clothes*" (Photo 15).

Photo 15

A fire lit up at Juano's "caleta"

A substantial part of the story and pictures that Nino took, is linked to his drinking habit and the friends with whom he talks and shares alcohol or with whom he goes out to collect objects among the rubbish when he is not peeling cables. For Oscar, the friends and acquaintances he has made on the streets help him to bear the working hours in the street with good humour. With them he "*spends most of the day, hanging around, having a drink, laughing, cheering each other up while working*" and in this way "*we do not even realise when the day is over*"

Secondly, peer networks are important in terms of security. Other homeless people can help to look after belongings and 'rucos' and personal integrity. For example, in the 'caleta', Juano and the other inhabitants have set up shifts to organise the control and vigilance of the place. During the day Juano also coordinates with the family next door:

> "*I spend the most part of my time with this family here, in what way? For instance, if I need to go out they take care of my belongings; if they go out I*

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stay here and watch over theirs. Do you understand? That's the way of
sharing things with them"

Thirdly, peer networks are also a source of support for work, finding jobs or for obtaining useful information. For example, Juano depends on the collaboration of his peers in his work looking for second hand items in the rubbish using a 'carreton' (trolley):

"Q: Where did you get the carreton?

… It was lent to me... people from here, when they do not want to work
or when they are busy... I stop by shops and say 'listen boss, is there
any spare paper or cardboard that you can give me?' 'of course, here,
take some'. This way I collect little by little and in the end I get my coins
to have something to eat"

Through friends and acquaintances from the streets, Paola and Gonzalo have obtained help to work and to find places to sleep. For example, Gonzalo got his job parking cars outside a restaurant thanks to an acquaintance, the same person who, during the days of our second interview, had made arrangements for Gonzalo to work in that restaurant cleaning glasses. On the other hand, a friend of Gonzalo lent them a room to sleep in, in an abandoned house he had found during the same time the couple's home was closed down by the company in charge of the motorway.

All the interviewees concur in commenting that on the streets it is difficult to find and maintain real friends. Due to the precarious living conditions, "*distrust*" is inherent to the street, and it is frequently present in the narratives. Often friendship is incapable of surviving a "*stab in the back*". Usually, what can be found on the streets is a constantly fluctuating group of acquaintances. Oscar distinguishes between the friends he has through spending a lot of time together, and the few he has where respect and trust are pivotal. Oscar explains that his friend 'Guaton' *"is a friend because he has never taken anything that belongs to me, if he wants something he asks for it, and he is very respectful in my home"*

3.6.2. Networks with domiciled people

Domiciled neighbours can also turn out to be a source of support for homeless people through helping them with food, clothes, offering odd jobs, and giving them second hand items or industrial waste which can be of value to the interviewees.

Half a block from where Nino lives and works, is a liquor shop. Nino has made friends with its owner, Sergio, who allows him to keep his belongings in a "*wardrobe*" inside his shop and to drink wine with Nino's friends inside the shop even though it is illegal. Nino combines his job peeling and selling copper cables, with some odd jobs that every so often some neighbour offers him. In this sense, the liquor shop works as an "*employment agency*" and Sergio as its 'spokesman'. It is in this shop where messages for Nino and his friends are left, and where the neighbours know they can find Nino whenever they need him (Photo 16).

Photo 16

Sergio, sharing a cup of tea with Nino in his shop

When Sandra slept in the waiting room of Felix Bulnes Hospital, she was forced to spend the day on the streets "*wandering around*". She began *"to help a gentleman to sell 'sopaipillas' (fried pastry) because I explained to him 'you know I'm sleeping on the streets, I don't have a job, nor food'. 'Ok, help me to sell sopaipillas, and we will help you in return, so you can eat during the day, and we can wash your clothes as well'. I would go to his house, take a shower and then go to work"*. Sandra used to

spend the day in this activity until '*eight, nine in the evening, by that time I headed to the Hospital because you start to feel the cold at that hour*".

During the months that Sandra and Isa have been working selling clothes in the streets that surround a main market, they have established networks with the owners of nearby shops and offices. These networks provide them with support in their work and also some friendship. In the market "*everybody already knows us*" and they maintain a "*good relationship with them, at least with all the people we know, we get along very well*". These people help them to find another place when their part of the street is busy. The woman at the nearby liquor shop "*warms up our food on Saturdays*" and the one at the shop opposite lends them the bathroom for 100 pesos.

3.6.3. The 'uncles and aunts' (the volunteers)

The "*uncles and aunts*" or the volunteers of the charity organisations who pay regular visits to our interviewees, are very much appreciated due to the company and emotional support they provide, more than the food they bring along.

Paola and Gonzalo have met volunteers from different organisations that help the homeless. And, as with all the interviewees, what they value most in this exchange are the conversations established with uncles and aunts during every visit, in which they feel they are talking with a friend or a peer:

> "*Despite the fact that they have a lot of money, they sort of put themselves in our place... beautiful... we share ideas, opinions*"

Nino is also grateful for the support and company given to him by the volunteers who visit him every week. He confirms that what is important in these visits is the friendship, the "*nice*" conversation and the affection given, more than the meal. Nino comments in an interview given to the Hogar de Cristo's magazine 'Mensaje' that the volunteers:

> "*Treat me with a lot of affection; they have helped me a lot. They are like a family for me... being on the streets is difficult, one feels hunger, cold and loneliness, but there is a sense of relief when these friends arrive*"

 In these conversations, his humanity is restored through physical affection, respect and an egalitarian relationship between two people.

Oscar's life story depicts precarious primary relationships, full of uncertainty, disappointments and neglect in a context of constant material poverty. In order to cope with street life, that is, not only to 'survive' but also to try to overcome it, it is important to recover autonomy and to learn to relate to oneself, to one's history, and relationships in a healthier manner, especially when one carries painful personal and family backgrounds. The psychological and therapeutic support that Oscar has received gives testimony of the importance of this factor. *"I let out many things that I had pent up inside me, I shared a lot of things"* , *"I cried so much that I wasn't able to stop", "and it helps me to respect my wife more, to give her her own space"*. During his treatment for his drug dependency at a Therapeutic Community, Oscar reflected upon his life, learnt to recognise his fears and to confront frustrations and overall, learnt to connect with himself and others in a different way, through dialogue and pacific negotiation.

3.6.4. Finding strength through faith

According to all the interviewees, God and their faith constitute an invaluable emotional support. Although Nino takes all the responsibility for his situation, he looks for strength to move on in life through his daily prayers. In these, he entrusts himself to God, he asks for good health, a job and food provision, and for the well being of his family and the entire society (Photo 17).

Photo 17

Nino prays to the Virgin Mary every morning

When we asked Isa where she finds the strength she has shown throughout her life, first to overcome the abuse committed by her family of origin, and thereafter to cope with the hardship and risks of the street while bringing up her four children, she replied:

> *"From the man up there, up there... the man up there knows, he has never let me down, never, never. The man up there knows that I call him 'the one up there'"*

In summary, the interviewees' narratives point out that the establishment of a support network with people from their neighbourhoods and working places have become crucial to coping with life on the streets. On the one hand, these networks provide emotional support which is important due to the fact that the emotional dimension is most likely one of the most damaged areas of a homeless person's life. On the other hand, some interviewees establish networks of vigilance and protection with other homeless people or with domiciled neighbours. Housed people also help by providing access to services such as bathrooms or showers, sharing food and offering odd jobs. The uncertainty inherent to the street situation and the desperation that sometimes spreads, make it difficult for people to maintain true friendships on the streets. Distrust reigns and, in general, instead of friends, there is a network of

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acquaintances. Finally, in the opinion of all the interviewees, their faith in God has been a central source of support for coping with the adversity of life on the streets.

Conclusions

In this investigation we approached the life of seven homeless people. During several hours we listened to their stories, dreams, sorrows and joys. Inside their 'rucos', in the rain, we talked about the photographs they took. With immense generosity and affection they opened up their lives without asking for anything in exchange, except for being heard and comprehended. With this study we hope to have been able to communicate a part of their lives and stories, and to pass on their testimonies so that others, that is, those who are lucky enough to have a roof upon their heads "*realize what one's way of living is like".*

The 'street situation' is a social reality with different meanings; from the position of the government and its social policies, of the non profit organizations and their daily work with this population, of the mass media that every now and then portrays them but most of the time ignores them, of the domiciled citizens who look at them from a distance or cohabit with them on a daily basis in their neighbourhoods, of their protagonists who cope with it day in and day out. In this study, the emphasis is placed on the perspective of the latter, even though all the other actors are part of the script that assembles these stories and portraits of homelessness.

This report invites us to understand homelessness not solely as a problem of 'those on the streets' but first and foremost as a social problem, that is, a problem belonging to all Chileans. The conformation and perpetuation of homelessness is as much related to factors such as lack of choice and the incapability of planning, as it is to the insecurity that one experiences at the hands of others with more power such as the 'domiciled', the council authorities or the police officers. But not only people with direct interaction with homelessness shape its meaning. Domiciled people actively contribute to mould its meaning by distancing themselves from those who live 'on the streets' in order to minimize feelings of resentment, fear, guilt, shame or conflict, perpetuating in this way a circle of apathy and disaffection and setting up barriers between 'them' and 'us'.

The analysis of homelessness within the life trajectory that sustains it, and the process of observing how the interviewees interpret and explain their lives, gives clues to understanding the way in which homelessness is experienced and signified.

The study reflects the complexity behind the category of "homelessness". Just the few illustrations we present here indicate a series of diverse experiences hidden under the umbrella of homelessness. According to the interviewees, 'to live on the streets', 'to be from the streets', to be part of the 'street culture', being a 'drug addict' or an 'alcoholic' are different and sometimes contradictory experiences. These names speak of the degree of identification with the street situation, and of the differences that arise when homelessness is understood as a 'transitory situation', a 'condition', a 'circumstance', a 'sign of autonomy', or a 'desperate measure of restoration of personal integrity' after having been the victim of harm and abuse.

On another level, complementing biographical narratives and photographs, allows the practical culture of living on the streets, the use of places and the daily routines to appear very clearly, and therefore, permit us to depict a dynamic account of life on the streets. For that reason, we put together information about the strategies and tactics for coping with life on the streets, under the title 'inhabiting', presenting the routes and urban circuits of homeless people. We also refer to 'inhabiting' because in order to cope with life on the streets there is the need to resort to a set of strategies for combining priorities and resources in a context of personal and social constraints and of uncertainty, insecurity, and stigma, in a space in constant dispute and which is hard to make one's own. This shows that homeless people, far from being passive and vulnerable agents who merely survive, are able to actively negotiate their living conditions, to adapt and react to the obstacles that they face on a daily basis in the universal attempt to 'make a home', even if it is on the streets.

In particular, methods of negotiation and adaptation, and ways of inhabiting are related to the degree of insertion in the street situation and culture. Those who 'are' from the streets, generally belonged to them before the moment they became homeless. In these cases, the codes, strategies and languages of the streets have been a familiar territory since early age. On the streets, the interviewees frequently found peers through the consumption of drugs or alcohol, or in the act of committing a crime. Once in the street situation, they learnt to adapt to the requirements of the milieu, to negotiate their position –physically and socially- and to keep their places safe, creating, along the way, a network of contacts and an urban circuit around which to resolve their needs, 'routinize' their daily lives, reduce the uncertainty inherent to homelessness, and contribute to the neighbourhood by carrying out certain roles in it. Some homeless people are tolerated; even warmly welcomed, others are rejected and have to face measures of displacement and containment

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while trying to defend what is theirs but legally does not belong to them. Living on the streets implies developing the resilience of the "*stubborn dolls*": "*when they throw us down, we stand up again*".

For others, homelessness is a transitory situation to which they arrived with little warning, due to long lasting family problems that at a point had become critical. Situations such as having being abandoned after birth, the absence of a father, physical and psychological domestic violence, attempted rape by the father, among others, had marked the lives of some of our interviewees and had inexorably driven them to homelessness. In the majority of these cases, the entrance to homelessness is an act of personal reaffirmation, autonomy, and of taking care of their own personal integrity. In these cases there is no previous experience of the street culture. Perhaps due to all these factors, the street is not seen as an end but as an intermediate stage. Therefore, they don't so much inhabit the street as circulate around it, experience it from its borders, without getting too involved in it so as not to get used to it, refraining from settling in permanent places, until they are able to arrive at a secure port and finally overcome homelessness. In these cases, the hardship of the street is understood as an opportunity to learn, to develop skills and personal strengths.

Homelessness involves cohabiting with uncertainty and being in constant movement, it requires the ability to improvise and to give chance more importance than one would normally like. Living on the streets implies facing symbolic and practical threats to personal safety, cohabiting at the same time with the roles of the victim and criminal. It requires permanent attentiveness in order to escape from those who see in homeless people an easy prey for abuse or exploitation, even if along the way, it transforms them into more tense, irritated and nervous people than they used to be when they had a permanent address. It also implies not to take life so seriously, allowing oneself to have a bit of humour, to laugh when the rain is leaking from one's roof.

Coping with homelessness also involves restoring one's identity on a daily basis, through speech, behaviour and physical indicators such as the cleanliness and tidiness of their personal appearance and of the places they sleep in even if they don't have many belongings or adequate infrastructure. It also means meeting other people, learning to imitate some people, and to distance themselves from others. It involves making friends, or at least having a group of acquaintances with whom to

alleviate the weight of the day, share a place to sleep, tips, and income or working opportunities.

The homelessness culture is an oral culture; information, tips, knowledge are transmitted by word of mouth. Homelessness is also a practical culture, on the streets one learns by "doing". Every interviewee became used to doing 'street jobs' through observing others with more experience or through simply "doing them". Living on the streets implies materially surviving by recycling the left-overs of the domiciled urban life. It also implies dedicating oneself to streets jobs such as collecting pieces of cardboard or selecting second hand items from the waste, parking cars or selling products in the open air. These are informal jobs, where neither previous experience nor education credentials are useful because other skills and knowledge are demanded. They are short term jobs, the temporal unit is the day, the economic unit is the coin, the initial capital must be reduced to a minimum, and liquidity has to be generated rapidly. These have to be jobs that do not depend on a particular environmental condition or infrastructure, so that they can be carried out in different places if there is the need for seeking new clients or providers or for dodging police control.

To live on the streets requires carrying light luggage, both for sleeping and working. To live like this is to live alone, and to depend on oneself, to walk along with one's own body with the traces of the street upon it.

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Situating Practice within Diversity:

Homelessness and Human Development in Bangladesh

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Abstract

This paper argues that 'homogenous representation' of homeless people in the public discourse, by negating their 'diversity', is a major constraint in addressing homelessness in cities in developing countries. This homogenous representation restricts interventions' affective contribution to possible all types of homeless people's capacity to earn, learn, and live a long life. This argument impinges on a view that access of the poor to home—as a socio-spatial realm—is a pre-condition for benefiting from human development practice. A review of earlier studies and published documents puts homogenous representation of homeless people in cities in Bangladesh under critical scrutiny to suggest situating practice within diversity of homeless people. As people become homeless, due to poverty, patriarchy or natural and man-made disasters, the representation of homelessness in society becomes homogenous without any tangible reference to their age, sex, and types. This representation misconstrues reality for possible interventions in homelessness.

Perceived homogeneity, and thereby negation of differentiation, has been taken place due to absence of a statutory definition of homelessness, an absence of social distinction, and a given intervention's gaining operational conveniences. This critical scrutiny led to the formulation of a framework in the conclusion, for use in future practice. It posits that etiology i.e. origin of homelessness ought not to be separated from the consequent pathology i.e. different problems encountered by homeless people. Practice based only on manifested pathology would likely to perpetuate the exclusions of homeless people.

1.   Introduction

To combat homelessness, turning potential theoretical and empirical understanding into tangible actions often faces constraints. One particular constraint develops from the negative perception, language, and imagery about homeless people in the public and popular discourse that affect their inclusion in and benefiting from interventions (Daly, 1996; Tipple and Speak, 2004). This paper argues that 'homogenous representation' of homeless people in the public discourse by negating their 'diversity' is another constraint. This homogenous representation restricts

interventions' affective contribution to possible all types of homeless people's capacity to live a decent life. A review of earlier studies and published documents puts homogenous representation of homeless people in cities in Bangladesh under critical scrutiny to suggest situating practice within diversity of homeless people.

The phenomenon of homelessness is not monolithic. The manifestations of homelessness vary not only globally but also nationally due to inherent diversity of its causes and consequences (UNCHS, 2000; Tipple and Speak, 2003). Homeless people, on the other hand, share similarity more often than not on issues of social exclusion, life-experience, and felt needs despite their differentiation in terms of age, sex, and social unit. Indian census, for example, represents homeless people homogenously as *not living in their home* (GoI, 1991 cited in Bannerjee, 2002). This representation without differentiating homelessness, among others, does little to relate respective causes embedded within 'etiology' with manifest consequences covered within 'pathology'. Homogenous representation, through a reductive and minimalist view of the reality, makes interventions less effective in developing countries where the extent of homelessness is great and varied but resources are scarce. Here two issues seem crucial for understanding of and actions for homelessness in a specific urban context: first, that a discussion of the concept of homelessness accommodates diversity and similarity of the day-to-day living experience of homeless people. Second, that policies and practices respond to homelessness taking into account homeless people's life experiences and needs.

Prior understanding of homelessness in its diversity-similarity—the first issue—helps observe and explain homogenous representation of homelessness in cities in Bangladesh (Ghafur, 2004, 2002a). Another related understanding (to the first issue) of the role of home for human development provides a basis for future practice for homeless people. Access of the poor to home—a socio-spatial realm—is a pre-condition for benefiting from human development practice that aims to improve upon people's ability to earn, learn, and live healthy. In an attempt to situate practice with human development as its goal, outside homogenous representation of homelessness, this paper, first, observes the forms and reasons of homogenous representation; second, reviews practice to show what implication does this representation has for interventions. This paper concludes by suggesting an alternative framework for intervention.

1.1. Methodological Framework

People and institutions use language to represent a given subject; their power, values, and biases influence this representation through texts and speeches. Neither representation of homelessness—the topic of this paper—by individuals or institutions has been a neutral act nor can it portrays truth. The reason for the ways in which language is written and spoken can be located at the greater social, political, and economic arenas. Critical reading and interpreting published texts is the way adopted in this paper to make a preliminary examination of the homogenous representation of homelessness in cities in Bangladesh. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides the methodological framework for this task (McGregor, 2005; Fairclough, 2002). The objectives of CDA

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2. Homelessness in Cities in Bangladesh.

This section reports diversity and similarity among different types of homeless people in cities in Bangladesh and the role of home for human development as a background to later examine homogenous representation of homelessness.

2.1 Diversity and Similarity of Homelessness

The concept 'home' in Bengali society has been an ideological construct besides being a concrete setting or daily household production and reproduction. A given home, in a rural traditional setting, is imbued with social and cultural values, operates under specific gender relations, and guides familial and kinship patterns among its dwellers.

It is difficult to set a single criterion to define, categorize, and quantify homelessness. In Bangladesh, people living in public outdoor/indoor spaces without a roof over their heads—the physical perspective—should not be the only way of defining homelessness in its broader sense. From a social perspective, people can be homeless even when living in a legitimate shelter for reasons beyond their control. Loss of (social) identity instead of, or in addition to, loss of shelter contributes to a given individual's or group's perception of homelessness. These opposing situations are not in contradiction but depict two facets of a common reality. Loss of social identity instead of or in addition to loss of shelter contributes to a given individual's or group's perception of homelessness, e.g. abandoned children and orphans, brothel-

based sex workers, trafficked women and children. Home is also imbued with economic implications—besides its commodity potential to own, sell or rent, a given home provides a setting for income generation and various subsistence activities, essential for the day-to-day survival of its dwellers (Ghafur, 2001, 2002b). Thus, one's existence without a home has serious physical, social, and economic consequences that we can summarise as below:

- **Rooflessness:** loss of shelter against the elements of nature;

- **Rootlessness:** loss of identity, privacy, comfort, and protection enjoyed at home by default;

- **Resourcelessness:** loss of resources affecting capabilities to earn, learn, and live long.

Relative extent and consequence of their severity vary from person to person. The major causes that led to these consequences are mainly poverty, patriarchy, natural disasters, and forced evictions (see Ghafur, 2002a for detail). Homeless population is not homogenous in terms of physical, social, and economic consequences. The nature of residential circumstances differentiates homeless people; the consequences of sleeping situations at night (and livelihoods) of homeless people will differ further in terms of age (i.e. adults and children), gender, and social unit (i.e. individual and household). Residential circumstances, and the consequences that follow, identify three types of homelessness in cities in Bangladesh.

'Floating homelessness', the most visible type, is based on the physical criterion of rooflessness: it refers to the situation where people live in streets or other public spaces without a permanent shelter of their own. Floating homeless people are often called 'pavement dwellers' or 'street dwellers' or 'destitute'; common in all these terms is their floating status for day-to-day survival. *The Slum Areas and Floating Population Census 1997* (BBS, 1999) estimated floating homelessness in 118 cities and towns and Dhaka as 32,078 and 14,999 respectively. These figures are conservative as a recent study found 445,226 street children in the six largest cities in Bangladesh; Dhaka contributes to 75% of this figure (DSS, 2001).

A holistic view of the loss of identity, privacy, comfort, and shelter provides the basis for identifying 'situated homelessness' as a type. From a physical perspective, unlike floating homeless, residential circumstances of this type are situated at a particular

space, and under a given shelter. Squatters living illegally on public land have been the major contributors to this type of homelessness. Squatters are situated homeless also because the shelter they live in does not conform to the notion of an 'adequate shelter' despite their owning or renting a shelter in illegal land. From a social perspective, absence of an identity as a participating member in all spheres of society constitute the basis of homelessness for groups like abandoned children and orphans, housemaids and child servants, brothel-based sex workers and trafficked children (Shamim, 2001; READ, 2000).

The possibility of becoming floating or situated homeless among a given group because of social, economic, natural and political factors constitutes potential homelessness. Individuals or households at risk of becoming homeless include people living in slums, especially those who are in shared accommodation (i.e. sub-tenants); stranded refugees living in camps; nearly one million single female garment workers; poor rural widows; and marginal rural farmers who are functionally landless. People who are below or just above the poverty line are potential homeless due to their vulnerability to eviction, loss of job without notice, conspiracy by people from within and outside family, and a range of natural causes.

2.2   Home for Human Development

For poverty alleviation, 'human development' has been the dominant development paradigm in Bangladesh like many other developing countries since the 1990s. Human development, in short, aims to improve upon people's ability to earn, learn, and live in good health. A low Human Development Index (HDI)[44] of 0.520 partly reflects the existing human misery in Bangladesh: she was ranked 139th among 177 countries based on this value for the year 2003 (UNDP, 2005). The fact that the HDI value was 0.478 in 2000, ranking 145th among 175 countries, suggests the steady gain Bangladesh has been making in human development. One proposition suggests that human development is difficult, if not impossible, without people's access to home (Ghafur, 2004); homelessness closely relates to HDI, and hence to human development, as access to home interfere poor's ability to earn, learn, and live a longer life. Given the pivotal role home has on poor people's social, economic, and physical wellbeing, human development initiatives should not exclude homeless people.

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[44] The HDI is measured by United Nations Development Programme based on per capita income, literacy rate and educational enrolment, and longevity of life in a given country (UNDP, 2005).

Government and non-government organizations pursue human development either through macro level health, education, and credit initiatives or by micro level target group specific projects. Despite gain in HDI, 'duel exclusion' is the phenomenon that exclude the extreme poor and tomorrow's poor from benefiting development practices (Sen, 1998, 176; Rahman and Razzaque, 2000). To avoid this kind of exclusion, diversity-similarity approach to homeless people can identify them for possible human development intervention. These homeless individuals or groups, living in a roofless-rootless-resourceless state, may or may not be living in a given slum or squatter settlements. Homelessness, in the diversity-similarity nexus, does not view the necessity of home for human development in a monolithic way. While human development focuses on homeless people's capacity and constraints to earn, learn, and live healthy, provision of or the role of home in this case is not the end in itself. Access to home is a means to enable people achieving their ability to earn, learn, and live with good health. A case of home for human development requires putting homeless people in different types, knowing their points of diversity as well as similarity. It hopes to direct intervention in relation to homeless people's possible graduation or demotion from one type of homelessness to another.

Although public discourse can identify homeless people within diversity, its homogenous representation of homelessness restricts intervention in reality. The next section explains how public discourse represents homelessness in cities in Bangladesh.

3.   Homogenous Representation of Homelessness

Representation of any social category or phenomenon takes place through written or spoken words. Different Bengali words denote homelessness as a specific form of destitution; a chart lists below some of them based on which representation takes place in the public discourse.

	Words	Scale of application
State of landlessness	*Bhumihin* (*Bhumi*=land+*hin*=state of not having)	In narrow physical sense

Or Landless individual/household		
State of homelessness Or Homeless individual/household	*Grihohin* (*Grihoi*=home+*hin*=state of not having) *Bastuhara* (*Bastu*=homestead +*hara*=state of not having)	In narrow physical sense
	Sarbohara (*Sarbo*=all+*hin*=state of not having) *Ashrayhin* (*Ashray*=protection+*hin*=state of not having)	In wider holistic sense
Homeless population	*Vashoman jonogoshthi* (*Vashoman*=floating+*jonogoshthi=population*) *Chinnomul jonogoshthi* (*Chinnomul*=rootless+*jonogoshthi*=population)	In wider coverage

As people become homeless, due to poverty, patriarchy, natural disasters or evictions (see Ghafur, 2002a for details), public representation of homelessness in society becomes homogenous without any reference to age (children/adult), sex (male/female), and social unit (individual/household) of homeless people. Homogenous representation of homeless people, in addition, also takes place without any reference to the relative extent of roofless, rootless, and resourceless dimensions of homelessness. Following sub-sections observe the forms and reasons for homogenous representation.

3.1   Forms of Homogenous Representation

 "Government is planning to provide home for all homeless".

The Prime Minister, Government of Bangladesh, (The Daily Star, 13.1.99).

The above sentence is, above all, a regulation political commitment uttered for public consumption during opening a programme for homeless people. Our concern in this paper, however, is to know whom did the Prime Minister referred to as homeless in the cities of Bangladesh in her speech, and how does the government discourse represents them in published documents?

The government of Bangladesh has frequently used the term 'homeless' in different policies and documents but it never defines and counts people within a category of 'homeless': homelessness remained unexplained and unexamined theoretically and empirically. The concept homelessness and homeless people's remaining unanalyzed abstraction, however, does not stop their representation in society. Dominant in the *de facto* homeless discourse is government documents' homogenous representation of homeless people as slum dwellers (*bastee-bashi*), and subsequent labeling them as rootless and protection less population (*chinnomul* and *ashrayhin jonogoshthi*). However, one may not note this specific form of representation—slum dwellers—as straightforward as has been stated. One gets sense of this representation, embedded explicitly or implicitly, in different documents in different ways.

To trace how different public documents represent slum dwellers, let us first look at a few cases

how government documents deal homelessness. For census, slum areas denote settlements with both legal and illegal tenure, i.e. slums and squatter settlements; while profiles of slums were developed, as areas of physical squalor and service deficiency, enumeration of 'floating population' was carried out as a separate category (BBS, 1999). A Ministry of Land (MoL) initiated rehabilitation project, a public-private partnership, identifies *bastee-bashi* (slum dwellers) as target group but refers them as households of low-income professionals like female garment workers, drivers of non-motorized (rickshaw, van and push-cart) and motorized (three-wheeler taxi, taxi, track and bus) vehicles (Daily *Prothhom Alo*, 5.8.2004). In another rehabilitation project, Bangladesh *Krishi* Bank (BKB) identified *bastee-bashi* (squatter dwellers) as its target group (BKB, 1999). The BKB represents people living in slums in Dhaka as rootless population wishing to return to their village homes. The MoL project is ongoing but the BKB project—*Ghore Phera* (Return Home)—is old enough

to comment on the implications of its homogenous representation of homeless people later in this paper.

It is worth mentioning here that the World Bank in Bangladesh, a non-government institution, views squatting as a form of homelessness in its discussion of housing arrangements in urban areas in 1995; it differentiates squatter settlements from slums (World Bank, 1998, 47-48). The World Bank approach to homelessness, although limited by its exclusion of floating homeless people, has been taken as a reference for non-governmental organization's projection of homelessness. Citing the World Bank data, a report prepared for Concern-Bangladesh links spread of slums to the rise in homelessness; it notes – "Growth of slums and the spurt of the homeless population are some of the gravest challenges that the country is now encountering. It is estimated that there are now approximately 1.2 million households (24 percent of total urban) living in urban slums and some 0.6 million more households (12 percent) either squatting or homeless resulting to *a total estimated homeless population* of (0.6 million X 4.36 per household) of 2.62 million, of which at least one fifth could be floating women (.52 million) and one tenth could be street children (.26 million)" (READ, 2000). (emphasis added)

Two observations are apparent in the above cases. Representation of *bastee-bashi* as (situated) homeless people, first, overlaps with non-homeless people living in slums with legal tenure; second, excludes homeless people in extreme (floating) form of homelessness. Following them, two opposing policy consequences of representation have also been observed: one wishes slum dwellers—situated homeless—to go back to villages; the other wishes to resolve this housing problem (i.e. shortage of affordable housing units) through housing markets by intervening in the land market, housing finance etc. This is how the notion of *bastee-bashi*, in both narrow 'squatter' or broader 'slums and squatter' sense, influences representing homelessness. This tendency, although discrete, is consistent with the way in which UN-Habitat (2003) definition of slums for its Millennium Development Goals (MDG)[45] has been adopted in Bangladesh for its MDG 7/Target 11: Improve the lives of slum dwellers (GoB and UN, 2005, 50).

Slums in Bangladesh, in spite this prevailing homogenous representation, are differentiated into service deficient communities of temporary shelters with legal and

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[45] "A slum is a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city". (UN-Habitat, 2003 cited in GoB and UN, 2005, 51)

illegal tenure. Moreover, the people who live in slums are not necessarily poor; even if significant segments of the slum-dwellers are poor, studies have found them differentiated into poor, moderate poor, and hardcore poor categories (Islam et al, 1997). Missing all together are those destitute who are termed differently, as pavement dwellers, street dwellers or floating population. Squatters and floating population are differentiated on the following accounts (Ghafur, 2002a):

- **Overhead roof:** However rudimentary, squatters have a roof over their head despite built on an illegal land; street homeless are floating people and not rooted anywhere.

- **De facto address:** An overhead roof gives them a de facto address that helps them developing a social network with people living in similar situation. A de facto address and traceable social network gives them their social collateral that enables them receiving different NGO assistance e.g. credit, education, water and sanitation, and social belonging to a group. Street homeless individuals or families in comparison are insecure in streets than squatters living en-group in a piece of land. Insecurity and uncertainty of street homeless people limit their access to NGO assistance.

- **Employment:** Although both are working predominantly in the informal sector, the opportunities of work and extent of income are more limited to homeless people than the squatters are. Begging as a means of livelihood, for example, is more prevalent among homeless people than squatter population.

- **Demographic:** Homeless population is predominantly male. As a result, average household size is smaller and sex ratio is higher among homeless people that squatters.

Now we should note that the term under focus—*bastee*—is not included in Table 1 for not denoting the notion of home; *bastee* in Bengali dialect has been a derogatory representation of sub-standard and service-deficient settlements inhabited by poor people. As against political rhetoric in support of *basee-bashies*, negative representation of the slum dwellers also prevails. For example, The Home Minister once said – "Strict measures would be taken for removing the slums which have become criminals' dens" (The Daily Star, 8.5.99).

The notable aspect of this form of homogenous representation is the ways in which public discourse, by different government institutions, separates different types of homelessness from each other. In this separate view, public discourse de-links the plight of and projects for the floating homeless people from the situated homeless people as if they do not belong to a same phenomenon. It is even evident that a specific sub-type, i.e. street children, has been identified and separated from the type of floating homelessness to which it belong. In addition, concerned wisdom assumes as if children of the street living with their families have separate existence outside the concerned household. It is possible at this stage of the paper to raise a question whether a negation of diversity within homelessness is beneficial for the government.

3.2   Reasons behind Homogenous Representation

A nationalist emphasis on the homogeneity of Bangladesh society prevails strongly due to common language, culture, and religion[46]. Amidst this homogeneity, there has also been a consensus that public discourse seldom projects perceptions, priorities, and aspirations of the urban poor in the ways and extent they should. Homogenous representation of homelessness, therefore, has been a social construct – produced, received, and analyzed by the government institutions and their decision/policy makers. In addition, there are views that decisions and policies taken by the government have often been influenced by different development, donor, and funding agencies. In this background, this sub-section put forward three specific reasons contributing to public discourses' homogenous representation of homelessness.

3.2.1   Absence of the Concept of Homelessness

Review of literature reveals the conspicuous absence of a statutory definition of homelessness when the constitution of Bangladesh guarantees all its citizens' access to shelter.

The categories that represent many of the notions of homelessness, as defined by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), are 'floating population' and 'rootless people'. According to the Population Census 1991 (BBS, 1999, 3), "the homeless and transient population found on the census night 00:00-5:00 am of 12th March 1991 at the bus stands, railway stations, launch *ghats* (terminals), boats, *majars*

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[46] *Bangla* is the language spoken by all except few indigenous (*adivashi*) groups; 88.3 percent (1991 census) of the national population is Muslim; religion- or caste-based social classes are non-existent.

(shrines), staircases, verandas, parks, road sides, hotels, transport etc. were defined as the floating population. This general definition poses a problem for the census of slums and enumeration of floating population in 1997 as transient population may not be homeless at all. Consequently, BBS (1999) rectified the definition for identifying the floating population: "Floating population are the mobile and vagrant category of rootless people who have no permanent dwelling units whatever worse these are and they are found on the census night … "(BBS, 1999, 3) in different public spaces. Central to the census definition of floating population is their state of 'rootlessness', i.e. *chinnomul*. BBS considers vagrant, displaced, landless or people exposed to the risk of total economic deprivation as rootless people. BBS defines rootless people as satisfying any of the following scenarios (BBS, 1999, 4): first, landless people who have lost their own or their parent's homestead areas; second, landless people who have lost their land and homestead areas because of political, economic or social reasons; third, abandoned women, people affected by flooding and people driven out of their own homestead areas.

The draft National Housing Policy, 1993 (MoW, 1993, 16) observes that "The housing problem is a serious one because of the large number of *homeless households*, …", and set objectives that "Special housing schemes will be prepared both in the public and private sector for the low income groups, the disadvantaged, the destitute and *the shelterless poor*" (emphasis added). However, it drops homeless people from its list of disadvantaged groups (Section 5.8). The list includes: a) households below the poverty line in all settlements; b) rural landless labourer including artisans; c) the households displaced by development projects and the victims of natural calamities; d) widows, single women and women-headed households including construction workers below the poverty line; e) the physically handicapped. While this list is preoccupied with households and individuals living below poverty line, it, however, does not suggest that all these groups fall within an explicit homeless category. Rural landless labourers may have home as 'functional landless' is one who owns less than 0.5 acre of land; households covered within type c may also have land elsewhere where they can rebuild their homes.

3.2.2   Absence of Social Distinction

Elite perception of poverty in Bangladesh is homogenous without any 'social distinction'. A recent study notes that elite tend to identify shades of difference in terms of regional or district stereotypes than more meaningful social distinctions

(Hossain, 2005, 43). Elite perceive the poor as non-threatening to their interests and well-being, considers above reproach for their poverty, and believes that they deserve help and assistance. In development practice and governance, these passive and benign views of the poor guide texts in public documents in one way or the other. While the gap between the rich and poor is widening in Bangladesh, absence of social distinction contributes to make ground for 'social cohesion' between the rich and poor. Different studies have suggested that denial of social distinction and call for 'social harmony' or 'cultural solidarity' is an ideological ploy by the ruling elite to maintain their control over resources (Wood, 1994; Arens and van Beurden, 1980). The participatory research has shown that social distinction of the poor in general, and their classification into types in particular, is more beneficial to the poor that to the rich (Nabi et al, 1999).

3.2.3 Operational Conveniences

Disbursement of funds of local, especially of foreign origin, and project implementation are important issues in the urban shelter sector, if not in the whole development sector. For operational conveniences, for meeting the 'target' in time, project implementation setup often made compromises regarding whom to include and where to work.

4. Review of Practice

This section briefly reviews a project—*Ghore Phera* (Return Home)—to provide support to earlier discussions that a consideration of the concept of homelessness is absent in the public discourse while representing slum dwellers homogenously as rootless (*chinnomul*) people.

The urban poor living in slums and squats are the distress migrants who have been pushed to the city due to poverty, natural disasters, and river-erosion. *Ghare Phera* is a credit programme conceived in this context for these ill-fated urban poor. Its objectives is to give loans to rootless people, living in inhuman conditions in slums in Dhaka, for income generation to facilitate return to their own homes for living in decent environment (BKB, 1999). The BKB launched *Ghore Phera* in May 20, 1999 - a period also marked by the state initiated slum and squats eviction drive. Two assumptions underpins the conception of this programme: First, most of the slum (and squat) dwelling urban poor despite owning homestead land and other assets, however small, have chosen to live a miserable life in the major cities in Bangladesh.

Second, many different problems of the Dhaka City, in particular, could be resolved if these people are helped to go back to their owned home in respective villages. These assumptions manifest through BKB's representation of the slum dwellers in the following ways:

- Slum dwellers live in degraded living environment and return to their village home will improve the living situation;

- Rikshaw, van, and push-cart drivers' return to their village home will improve the city's traffic congestion;

- Slum-dwellers' return home will reduce labour shortage in the village that will contribute to enhance productivity in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors;

- Slum-dwellers' return will abolish slums to stop criminals taking shelter.

BKB conducted a survey among one million slum dwellers in Dhaka (BKB, 1999). The survey reported that 95% of the respondents wish to return to their villages. This finding contradicts most migration studies that opined that the destitute migrants—the urban poor—were benefited by their move to the city (Afsar, 2000; Begum, 1999; Hossain et al, 1999). Slum dwellers gave earlier dwelling status, prior to their slum dwelling, based on which BKB classified them into four groups listed below. BKB had verified their earlier dwelling status on the spot, and found 95-98 % reports to be correct. The four classes are:

Class 1:   has ancestral homestead land (*bashat vita*), house (*bashat ghar*), and small land;

Class 2:   has homestead land and house only but no lands;

Class 3:   has only homestead land but no house and land;

Class 4:   has nothing.

In ten phases of *Ghare Phera* project so far, from 20.05.99 to 15.03.01, a total of 2,372 slum dwellers (or 14,220 people) were sanctioned Tk. 42.227 million as loans by the BKB. The beneficiaries allegedly went back to 145 *Upazilas* (sub-districts) in 31 districts in Bangladesh. Class 1-3 were covered by BKB loan, and Class 4 was financed by *Ashrayan* Project – a project for the rural landless people.

Ghore Phera reveals that its homogenous representation of homeless people and the subsequent intervention for them are discrete phenomena: identifying slum dwellers as rootless population is a way to represent homeless people homogenously. There is no consideration of the link between the causes and their consequence, in particular, of people's living in slums. *Ghore Phera* has taken their living in slums as a spatial criterion, and used to identify rootless people. A critical observation of the *Ghore Phera* project's classification of slum-dwelling rootless people's into four classes reveals that the first three classes are not genuinely rootless, or so to say homeless. Its assumption that a state of rootlessness requires only credit to put people back to their feet later proved to be wrong from media's reporting of their returning to city.

5.   Implications of Homogenous Representation

Existing housing perspective to the issue of spread of slums and squatter settlements emphasizes the physical nature of the problem in the spatially identifiable areas. This has now attained the state of 'regime of truth' through MDG 7: Target 11. One key disadvantage of this physical approach is that it fails to respond to any of its subject's possible demotion to lower socio-economic profile or exclusion from its spatial arena of coverage due to unforeseen reason. For example, a conventional settlement improvement programme is unlikely to respond to a tenant single female garments worker's loss of job that later make her homeless. The situation would be more severe if she has children. Situating practice within diversity requires relating different types of homelessness through theorization of homelessness. Different types of homelessness—floating, situated, and potential—at present remain segmented and discrete. In absence of theorization, interventions in these segmented groups follow discrete sectoral goals. However, lives of homeless people do not improve much with inputs in one sector and no inputs for the remaining sectors.

When shelter sector views homelessness in cities in Bangladesh, i.e. spread and persistence of slums and squatter settlements or situated homelessness, as a housing problem, housing policies suggest settlement improvement and squatter rehabilitation as required interventions. Tied up with this physical component are social and economic components aiming to enable poor to earn, learn, and live with good health. Although these integrated interventions serve situated homeless people, they exclude floating homeless people. But their misery does not go unaddressed; the Ministry of Social Welfare initiated interventions serve different groups of floating homeless people, e.g. street children, beggars, and sex-workers.

Policy regime in Bangladesh has not dealt urban homelessness—a specific form of destitution—from a social policy perspective (MoP, 1995); from physical perspective, it deals with a segment of the phenomenon and minimally confined within slum dwellers. Leaving the category of 'homelessness' and opting 'rootlessness' with its associated floating population is not merely an issue of semantics although it may seem at first glance. I would argue that beneath this choice of word(s) have policy implications. Identifying an individual or a group of households as homeless (*grihohin*) implies an initial policy initiative to provide for or enable a home, followed by actions on their social and economic aspects. On the other hand, people's 'rootless' or 'floating' status does leave the policy options wide open: public development discourse calls pursuing the social and economic objectives under human development paradigm. Different government and non-government initiatives implement these objectives—credit, health and education—autonomously on their own merit, without any apparent link whether one has home or not.

Homogenous representation creates grounds for a 'top-down' intervention, designed and implemented by the concerned public authority. Negative perceptions expressed through and embedded within homogenous representation also affect poor's own self-assessment of their situation. Homogenous perceptions of slum dwelling target group and its identification creates scopes for serving undeserving, relatively well-off people living in those areas (Ghafur, 2000). Homogenous representation allows living of homeless people under the influence of non-homeless people in a given slum. One implicit objective in this homogenous representation is not to allow homeless people to mobilize and rightfully claim their share either at the national or local level. Beneath this tacit disempowerment of homeless people is an interest of controlling resources, allocated for the welfare of homeless people or exploit them politically. Through segmental and selective view of homelessness, public discourse

has in fact depoliticizing homelessness. The outcome is that the public discourse has effectively removed the homeless issue from mainstream political debate. Missing in this discourse is also not its giving reference to the creation of a 'counter-space' to resist their marginalization.

6.   Conclusion

Observing and explaining homogenous representation of homelessness in cities in Bangladesh is a complex project; discussions in the preceding sections are outcome of an initial attempt. Homogenous representation of homelessness in public discourse takes place in the absence of its statutory definition and subsequent theorization. As a result, public discourse could not differentiate homeless people, and the causes of floating and situated forms of homelessness remain unrelated with their respective consequences to guide interventions. What is required instead is acknowledging diversity and similarity of homelessness by putting all its possible types under a continuum, and not dropping any one of the three types. The key implication for policies and practices of this full picture of homelessness is that they take into account a given type's demotion or graduation from lower to higher level of homelessness. Consequently, human development of homeless people could not be possible by their access to home.

Issues for Future Practice

Given the diversity observed in the causes and consequences of homelessness, it is impossible to cover their plights through one project. A diversity perspective to homelessness would make one project ineffective to address the consequences of homelessness. On the other hand, homeless people's common consequence of eroding their earning, learning, and living healthy capabilities, at differing extents, makes persuasion of human development a common goal.

Structure

Homelessness

Age

```
┌─────────────┐        ┌─────────────┐
│             │ ◄────► │             │
│  Etiology   │        │  Pathology  │
└─────────────┘        └─────────────┘
   (Causes)            (Manifest Consequences)


              ▲              ▲                    Sex
              │              │
              ▼              ▼
                  Human

               Development


              ┌─────────────┐
              │             │
              └─────────────┘
                 Practice


   Agency                              Social
          Group
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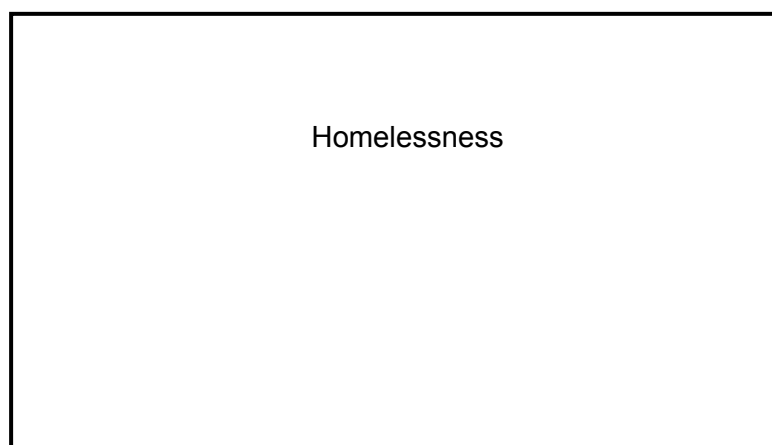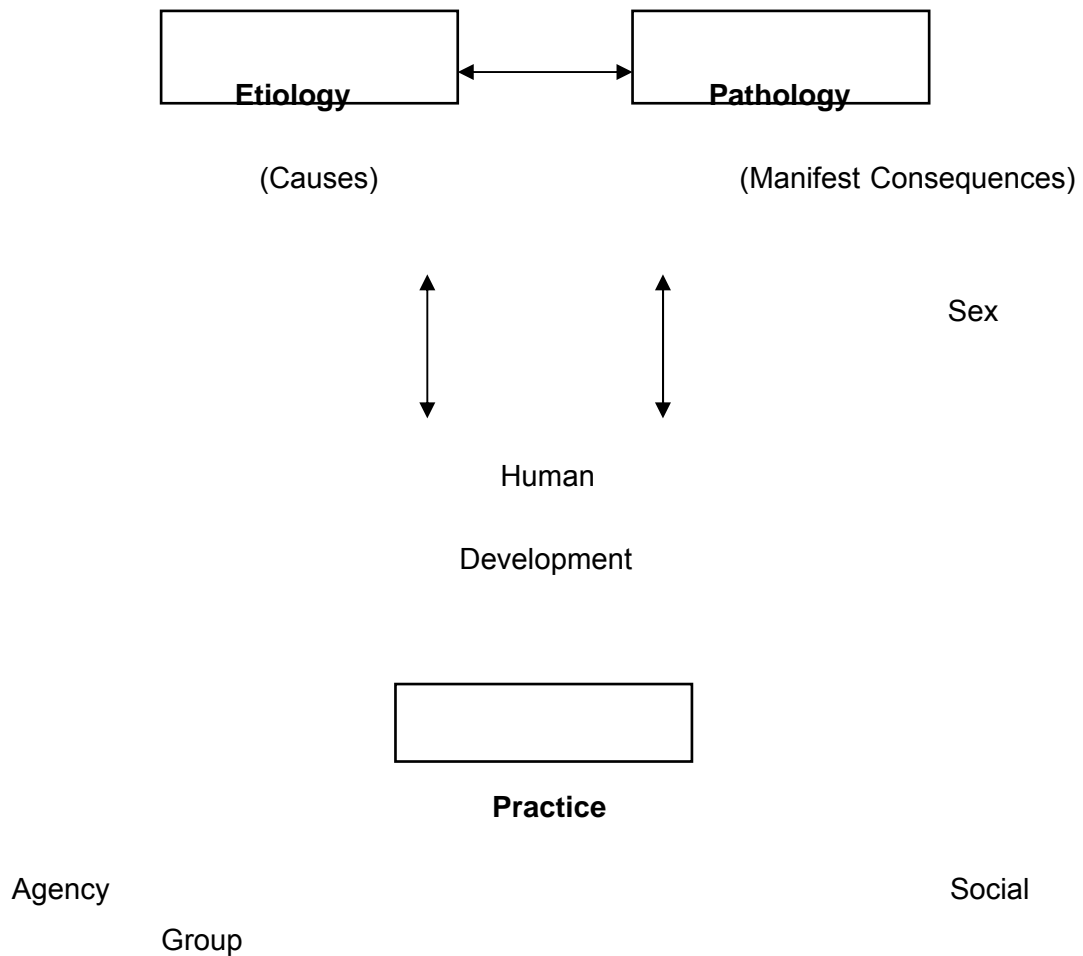
The above framework suggests to situate practice within the manifested diversity of homelessness. It posits that etiology, i.e. origin of homelessness ought not to be separated from the consequent pathology, i.e. different problems encountered by homeless people. Practice requires consideration of both systemic causes within etiology in terms of both structure and (human) agency to relate them to the consequences of pathologies. Practice based only on manifested pathology would likely to perpetuate the exclusions of homeless people through homogenous representation.

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How do western typologies help in defining homelessness in developing countries?

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Abstract

This paper reviews the typologies of homelessness available at the time of a major international study on homelessness in developing countries (2001). It uses the data from the nine countries studied to demonstrate where the typologies which were devised for industrialised countries are useful and where they fall short of assisting understanding of homelessness in developing countries. In an attempt to lay the ground for developing one or more typologies for developing countries, seven criteria used in the study countries are presented. The last, that there is potential for improvement (an upward trajectory) is particularly useful in developing countries contexts.

Introduction

In the study of homelessness in Europe and North America, several typologies have been offered as a means of understanding the different circumstances of groups requiring assistance. In our study of homelessness in developing countries, we find conditions which differ quite markedly from those experienced by homeless people in industrialised countries. In this context, we find it instructive to compare situations in our case study countries with those suggested by the typologies on offer.

We conducted a review of homelessness in nine countries; PR China, India, Indonesia and Bangladesh in Asia, Egypt, Ghana, South Africa and Zimbabwe in Africa, and Peru in Latin America; sponsored by DFID.[47] At the time of our study

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[47] Homelessness in developing countries, DFID Research Project No. ESA343, 2001-2003. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) supports policies, programmes and projects to promote international development. DFID provided

(2001), we offered the typologies, based on industrialised contexts, to our researchers,[48] by sending the relevant sections of UNCHS (2000),[49] and asked them to write detailed comments on their relevance for their local circumstances.

The typologies are as follows:

- Based on quality – FEANTSA's typology and Cooper's typology

- Based on risk –BAWO's typology and Daly's typology

- Based on time in homelessness – Hertzberg's typology

- Based on responsibility for alleviation

Our researchers found that the western-oriented typologies offered some insight into homelessness in their countries and they found some more relevant than others. In general, however, there is a need for different typologies to fit the differing circumstances between industrialised and developing countries, especially with respect to mitigating policy.

Based on quality

M. FEANTSA's typology

In its study of homelessness in Europe, the European Federation of National Organizations working with the Homeless (FEANTSA) posits a quality-oriented definition of homelessness beginning with a four-fold sub-division of housing adequacy.

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funds for this study as part of that objective but the views and opinions expressed are those of the author alone.

[48] The country studies for this paper were authored as follows: Bangladesh, Shayer Ghafur; China, Hou Li; Egypt, Tarek El-Sheik; Ghana, Department of Housing and Planning, KNUST, Kumasi; India, Peu Banerjee Das, with Trudy Brasell-Jones and Jaishree; Indonesia, Tjahjono Rahardjo; Peru, Liliana Miranda Sara and Luis Salazar Ochoa; South Africa, Olusola Olafemi; Zimbabwe, Amin Y Kamete.

[49] Which was written by the author of this paper.

Figure 1. FEANTSA's model of housing adequacy

Security

		High	Low
Quality	High	1	2
	Low	3	4

(FEANTSA, 1999)

According to figure 1. an adequate home (square 1) is one which is secure and where available space and amenities (quality) provide a good environment for the satisfaction of physical, social, psychological and cultural needs.[50] Broad definitions of homelessness (including FEANTSA's) would include all squares except this one. While square one is likely to contain the majority of housing in the European context in which it was developed, it may represent anything from a majority (China) to a small minority (Bangladesh, India) of urban housing in the countries we have examined.

Low quality (squares 3 and 4) in Europe would be manifest by overcrowding, high levels of noise, and pollution or infestation. These are at odds with the need for and right to personal privacy, health, and comfort. Low security, for instance, temporary lodgings, a lack of community belonging or family exclusion and/or poor tenure rights and risk of evictions, are signs of households at risk of homelessness in a narrow sense (squares 2 and 4). However, the main issue for developing countries arising out of this categorisation is that it includes almost any form of housing deficiency within homelessness. Thus, some could argue that all the residents of informal settlements, who probably constitute about half of all urban residents in developing countries, would be included in low quality and low security. While FEANTSA (1999: 10) argues there is a danger that "the unique distress and urgent needs of those people who are identified by a narrow definition (square 4) are lost and neglected" by

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[50] For instance, the UN Global Shelter Strategy from 1987 referred to aspects of home as a site for adequate privacy, space, security, lighting and ventilation, basic infrastructure and location with regard to work and basic facilities–"all at a reasonable cost".

excluding squares 2 and 3, we would argue that, in a developing country context, many millions of households 'in square 4' might not be helpfully be regarded as homeless. Table 2. Shows how our researchers fitted their local circumstances into the model.

Table 2. FEANTSA's model applied to circumstances in developing countries

Security

	High	**Low**
High Quality	**1**. Owner-occupied housing in permanent materials, in low, medium and high income areas, with at least some mains services.	**2**. Owner-occupied or rented housing, and housing on lease,[51] built of permanent materials but on land that is not owned by the owner of the structure (squatters), or is on a short lease, or is threatened by flood (Bangladesh), landslide, and other natural disasters. Lodgers in good quality housing (Indonesia, Zimbabwe, South Africa). Occupants of graveyards (Egypt).

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[51] In present day Indonesia (unlike in the colonial period and the early days of independence) rental units are virtually non-existent. PERUMNAS has only recently introduced rental housing units. Much more common is the lease system, which started to become popular in the 1960s, when Indonesia was plagued by three-digit hyperinflation. By 1998 more than 30% of all urban housing tenure are of this type, while in rural areas the percentage is about 18% (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2000). A lease contract is usually for three or (at least) two years, after which a new contract would have to be made (usually meaning that the lease price, which will have to be paid in advance, will increase). If a new agreement is not reached, the lessee will have to leave the house and find a new place to stay. The lessee vis-à-vis the lessor, therefore, is in a weak position.

| Low Quality | 3. Housing in established areas where services are poorly provided or absent. Congested private slums, refugee colonies and old-city tenement houses (Bangladesh, India), *kampung* areas, especially *kampung kumuh* (Indonesia), old suburbs[52] and transit camps (Zimbabwe, South Africa), temporarily converted shops and emergency housing (Egypt). | 4. Housing in unserviced and illegal squatter settlements with threat of eviction, violence and extortion, *permukiman liar* (Indonesia), backyard or other shacks (Egypt, Zimbabwe, South Africa).

Sleeping rough, pavement dwelling.

Living under staircases, in boats and Zabbalin settlements (Egypt). |

There is consensus in Zimbabwe on what adequate housing is, and little discussion about it. If an occupant owns their dwelling (it is secure) and it conforms to current minimum standards and building regulations (it is of high quality), then they have the right type of housing. Sector three is also tolerated because secure ownership is the touchstone. These dwellings are part of the 600,000 units in the county's inventory. Occupants of backyard shacks and other outbuildings are considered and (consider themselves) to be homeless (sector 4). However, some occupants of high quality dwellings in former squatter settlements (sector two) are insecure as they still illegally occupy the land (through invasion or illegal transactions). They feel insecure, as they have to constantly bribe some officials and are regarded as homeless.

Researchers in Peru, India, China and Ghana and did not find this categorisation helpful. In Perú, *de facto* security is gained by occupying (invading) a plot on unserviced land. If nobody claims the land as theirs after the first day (during which an immediate eviction can be requested without a court order), the occupants can have confidence that they will not be evicted. In Ghana, housing quality is irrelevant in discussions about whether someone is homeless; only those sleeping rough would be counted.

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[52] In Zimbabwe, these include decayed and decaying residential areas established in the colonial era for limited populations (mostly single men), which experienced great increases in population after independence. Among these are Mbare (Harare), Sakubva (Mutare), Mutapa (Gweru), Makokoba, Mabutweni (Bulawayo), Mahombekombe (Kariba). A fuller analysis is found in Kamete (2001).

N. Cooper's typology

Cooper (1995) offers a quality-based typology dividing homelessness and potential homelessness into four categories as summarised in columns 1 and 2 of Table 3. In them, quality is not based solely on tenure and physical conditions, but includes the more socially-constructed concept of home.

Home is a very rich concept. It embodies many ideas such as comfort, belonging, identity and security. Somerville (1992: 532-4) attempts to tease out the multi-dimensional nature of the meaning of home and its converse, homelessness. He presents seven key signifiers of home – "shelter, hearth, heart, privacy, roots, abode and paradise". To these, are added the connotations they have for dwellers (warmth, love, etc.), the nature of the security they give (physiological, emotional, etc.), and how these affect them in relation to themselves (relaxation, happiness, etc.) and others (homeliness, stability, etc.). Homelessness is the condition that represents the corollary of these, expressed in connotations of coldness, indifference, etc., presenting stress, misery, alienation, instability, etc.

Thus "home" is a place where a person is able to establish meaningful social relations with others through entertaining them in his/her own space, or where the person is able to withdraw from such relationships. "Home" should be a place where a person is able to define the space as their own, where they are able to control its form and shape. This may be through control of activities and of defining their privacy in terms of access to their space. When this is done, they have made a home with a sense of their identity (Cooper, 1995).

Our researchers attempted to fit their circumstances into the four categories Cooper offers.

Table 3. Cooper's categories of homelessness and their application in developing countries

Cooper's categorisation and application		Application in developing countries from our researchers
Characteristics	Degree of homelessness	
Housed but without conditions of "home", e.g., security, safety, or adequate standards.	Third degree relative homelessness/ inadequate housing/ incipient homelessness.	These are people who live in dwellings of inadequate standard (Peru, *Kunnanhu* in China), or with insecure tenure (Zimbabwe), who might be large proportions of the population (55 per cent of the population of South Africa). Zabbalins (Egypt). Not recognised as valid in Bangladesh, Ghana, Indonesia,
People constrained to live permanently in single rooms in private boarding houses.	Second degree relative homelessness.	This is a relevant category in China, Peru and South Africa (where it is about 10 per cent of the population). It accounts for a small part of the housing choices in the floating population of China. It includes a common group in Peru, made up of lodgers in the 'popular neighbourhoods', usually young couples, single relatives and students. Shared and emergency housing and graveyards in Egypt. Most could as easily be included in the cell below. Not recognised as valid in Bangladesh, Ghana, Indonesia, Zimbabwe.

People moving between various forms of temporary or medium term shelter such as refuges, boarding houses, hostels or friends.	First degree relative homelessness.	Difficult to separate from second degree homelessness, this includes casual workers who occupy tied employer housing (China), lodgers (Bangladesh, Zimbabwe, South Africa), occupants of workers' hostels (South Africa, Zimbabwe) and some squatters (Indonesia in *kampung kumuh* and *kampung liar*), in converted shops and understairs (Egypt). Not recognised as valid in Ghana, Peru.
People without an acceptable roof over their heads, living on the streets, under bridges and deserted buildings.	Absolute homelessness.	Those living on the streets and public spaces; in boats, shacks and kiosks (Egypt).

Source: Adapted from Cooper (1995).

This typology contains some ambiguities for rapidly developing cities that are not envisaged in the European context. For example, absolute homelessness includes "people without an acceptable roof over their heads". In contexts where squatters and other forms of informal settlement are common, and many people have only rudimentary structures, there is an overlap between the third degree relative homelessness (seemingly the most secure of the homelessness categories) and absolute homelessness (the least secure). Thus, there is no linear progression of worsening conditions down the table.

In cities in Bangladesh, only a minority of evicted squatters may take refuge in their relative's shelter for a short time (first degree). Most of them start living in the street or sheltered public spaces, such as railway stations, bus terminals and shopping

arcades (absolute homelessness) and they have little if no option to take refuge in institutional or social care during their crisis.

This typology has more resonance in China than our other study countries. Households in third degree relative homelessness have permanent living spaces but they may be built to inadequate standards. However, neither the government nor the public regard them as homeless. Usually the government regards them as *Kunnanhu* (households with inadequate living standards); to be helped by social housing.

Households in second degree relative homelessness are regarded as homeless. In Shanghai, it is reported that there are a few "underground" hostels, which are usually located near the railway station and docks, reputedly to accommodate people without legal identification, such as prostitutes, escaped convicts, etc. The rent for one bed in these illegal hostels is very low, from 10 to 30 yuan per day. They are crowded and have very poor facilities (Shanghai Morning Post, Nov. 20, 2001).

With respect to first degree relative homelessness in China, sharing is very common. Many households share dwellings with their parents, relatives or friends, and many live in dormitories. However, we must be cautious about whether they are homeless or not. The dormitory is a temporary shelter for new arrivals in the city, or for local residents. They may be regarded as in need of housing but they often have permanent work and stable social linkages. There is also a large group of people in China who have migrated to cities away from their official place of registration, or *Hukou*, and have not re-registered. These people, who are known as *Mangliu* (blindly floating people) or *Sanwurenyuan* (without registration card), are the closest to being officially defined as homeless people that can be found in China. They are not entitled to (subsidised) housing through the normal channels and, like most households, find themselves unable to afford housing on the open market. Many live in shared rooms in their workplaces and so are very vulnerable as, if they lose their precarious jobs, they will have nowhere to live.

In Egypt, our researchers included households living in open boats, shacks and kiosks in the absolute homelessness group because they are subject to frequent harassment by the police. Those in temporarily converted shop units and those who lie under the staircases of blocks of flats are included as first degree homeless. Those in shared and emergency housing, and those living in graveyards, are included in second degree homelessness because they are likely to have rather more permanence. The Zabbalin communities, who live in poor quality housing and

have been subject to periodic removal and relocation (Dunford, 2002) are regarded as third degree homeless.

In Indonesia, Cooper's typology offers ambiguity as people living in *kampung kumuh* could be included in the homeless category as they might be classed as without an acceptable roof over their heads. Similarly they could be included with residents of *kampung liar* as being in the third degree relative homelessness category since they are housed but without conditions of 'home' i.e., security, safety, or adequate standards.

There are too many people living in refugee camps (victims of human made or natural disasters), boarding houses, hostels, and with friends (or relatives) for them all to be considered as homeless. As Cooper suggests, this would imply that 'something must be done' for an extremely large number of people.

Our researcher in Peru felt that absolute homelessness perfectly matches with those that live on the streets and who are categorised as mentally ill people, indigents, drug addicts, criminals and street children.

The first degree presented by Cooper does not match with Peruvian reality but the second degree matches with the extremely common "lodgers" in the 'popular neighbourhoods', usually consisting of young couples, single relatives and students, who occupy rooms inside the dwellings belonging to their own families. A great majority of the Peruvian population, however, fits into third degree homelessness as squatting on peripheral urban land is an important way to find housing but such areas do not provide *de jure* security or services.

Based on risk

O. BAWO's typology

In Austria, the definition of homelessness used by BAWO (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungslosenhilfe) focuses on risk. The situation of being "houseless" (the term used there) can be acute, imminent or potential, as follows:

"'Potential houselessness' includes those where the housing loss is not imminent but may be approaching because of inadequate housing or income. People in this category would include those with very low incomes, those overstretched in debt, and some pensioners, single parents, handicapped persons and foreigners.

'Imminent houselessness' concerns those who are threatened with the loss of their current abode, who are incapable of keeping it, or who cannot provide a replacement for themselves. They would include those losing tied housing at the end of their employment, those to be released from institutions or prisons, some involved in divorce or separation, those threatened with eviction, and those coming to the end of a fixed term lease.

'Acute houselessness' includes living in the streets; in buildings meant for demolition, subway tunnels, railway wagons; in asylums, emergency shelters, institutions, inns and pensions; and people evicted from their former residence, staying with friends or relatives because of inadequate housing of their own, and living in housing that is an acute health hazard" (UNCHS, 2000) and (BAWO website http://www.bawo.at).

Peressini et al. (1995) use similar ideas in a Canadian study; 'literally homeless'; 'moving in and out of homelessness'; and 'marginally housed and at risk of homelessness'.

Where potentially or actually homeless people are neither counted nor considered, they are sometimes called the hidden homeless. They may include people living in insecure accommodation and those who are regarded as either a concealed or a potential household (Pleace, 1998). Hidden refugees and asylum-seekers are generally excluded from national counts (FEANTSA, 1999)).[53]

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[53] This section draws extensively on UNCHS/ILO (1995) written by the author.

Table 4. BAWO's Homelessness typology based on risk and its manifestation in Bangladesh

BAWO classification	Data from Bangladesh and Zimbabwe		
	Country	Reasons for risk	Affected groups
Potential homelessness: *People in those situations where the housing loss is not imminent but may be approaching because of inadequate housing or income.*	Bangladesh	Social causes rather than inadequate housing or sudden loss of income. Causes rural-urban migration.	Poor widows and people approaching old-age; functionally landless marginal farmers; households vulnerable to approaching river-erosion
	Zimbabwe	High inflation, erosion of savings, rising cost of living and loss of employment	Urban mortgagers especially those in MDAs[54] and LDAs; New owners in HDAs. Pensioners especially those who retired before 1990. Tenants and lodgers of all the above. Refugees whose countries are now considered 'safe'
Imminent homelessness: *Those who are threatened with the loss of their current abode, who are incapable of keeping it, or who*	Bangladesh	Vulnerability to loss of income, eviction or violence	Low-paid employees if without pensions after retirement and without supports from their earning children; households living as squatters, abused/tortured children living with (step)parents

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[54] Medium density areas; and, likewise, Low and High density areas.

cannot provide a replacement for themselves.	Zimbabwe	Downsizing of civil service, retrenchments, retirement, and closures of mines, farms, estates and plantations, obsolescence, foreclosures	Farm mine, estate and plantation workers, prisoners, uniformed service personnel, domestic workers, occupants of company houses; Owners of old houses and their lodgers and tenants, insolvent debtors
Acute homelessness: *Includes those who are living in the streets.*	Bangladesh	Lack of ability to afford any housing	Includes single poor migrant workers who sleep in pavements, children of the street and floating disadvantaged women including single mothers, disabled beggars and prostitutes
	Zimbabwe	Poverty, breakdown of extended family, stigmatisation, mental illness, alien residency, political violence, transport costs, dysfunctional families	The very poor, people released from prisons, discharged from hospitals, those in institutions that are closing down, beggars who have set up base in town, political refugees

Our researchers in China and Ghana found the risk-based typology useful in the context of the floating population of China and the inner city low-quality housing in Ghana. In the absence of relevant social security systems for these people, future reductions in housing quality are likely to cause people to slip into homelessness.

Our researcher in Egypt allocated all homelessness types to BAWO's acute homelessness category.

People living in the *kampung kumuhs* of Indonesian large cities and, probably, many other unrecognised and unserviced squatter areas elsewhere, may be best categorised as being in imminent houselessness as they are in constant danger of being forcefully evicted. There are, for example, cases of mysterious fires that have broken out in these settlements, probably started with official approval[55] which have forced people to leave their homes (Berman, 2001). When a new shopping mall or high rise office tower rises on the site, prior suspicions of official collusion are confirmed.

The current economic problems in Zimbabwe are generating risks for even high and middle income people because of job losses[56] or dwindling incomes[57] Foreclosures and repossessions are fairly common even among those groups. The main risk for residents of the high density areas (low-income areas) is the obsolescence of the dwellings built before the Second World War and some from the 1960s built out of prefabricated material.[58] Pensioners are not in such a desperate state as most of them have paid off their mortgages. The major risk arises from indebtedness being followed by seizure of property and its subsequent auctioning, which the Deputy Sheriff does not hesitate to do.

Release from institutions (mainly penal and health) in Zimbabwe is beginning to be a problem as former inmates are stigmatised and may have been held in remote places from where they may fail to find transport fares back home[59]. They have no option but to settle in the street and in public places.

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[55] Laine Berman of Georgetown University in her article 'The Family of Girli: the homeless children of Yogyakarta' tells the story of a boy named Budi. One day Budi went out to play ball with his friends in a slum neighbourhood of Jakarta called Tanah Merah. When he returned his home was gone. A fire had burnt down his neighbourhood; his parents were also gone. Confused, he ran away and eventually came to Yogyakarta, a city located several hundred kilometres from Jakarta and became a member of the community of street children called Girli, short for 'pinggir kali', a Javanese word meaning 'river bank', indicating the place where they live.

[56] At the time of the case study, it was estimated that about 400 companies closed between January and June 2001 alone, with job losses of some 4000.

[57] At the time of the study, the finance minister admitted that the Zimbabwe Dollar was worth only 9% of its 1990 value (*Zimbabwe Independent*, 2001).

[58] In other work (Tipple, 2000) we show how such obsolescent areas in Zimbabwe are being improved through the efforts of residents.

[59] Travel warrants, issued by the police and the social welfare department are hard to come by. Where they are obtained, there are often not accepted on public transport owing to government's poor payment record.

P. Daly's typology

From work in Britain, USA and Canada, Daly (1996) drew up a five point classification based on the risks run by people who are, or are potentially, homeless:

1. "People who are at risk or vulnerable to homelessness soon, perhaps within the next month, who need short term assistance to keep them off the streets.

2. People whose primary or sole need is housing. They are usually working people who may be temporarily or episodically without homes and really need some financial or other assistance but do not have serious problems otherwise.

3. People who can become quasi-independent but need help with life skills so that they can manage on their own.

4. People with substantial and/or multiple difficulties but who, with help, could live in group- or sheltered-housing. These include those who have been institutionalised or abused and who need time before setting up independently.

5. People who need permanent institutional care or who may graduate on to some supportive or sheltered housing" (UNCHS, 2000: 29).

This typology appears to be relatively unsuited to developing country realities as our researchers seemed to struggle to fit the categories to what they saw around them. The idea of homelessness classification based on risk won general approval but Daly's categories appeared to be concentrating too much on what is a very tiny group in most developing countries – those who are homeless for reasons other than lacking the money to find rudimentary fixed shelter. In table 5., we have tried to fit responses from Bangladesh and Indonesia to Daly's categories.

Table 5. Homelessness typology based on potential and its manifestation in Bangladesh

Daly's categories[*]	Peoples affected in Bangladesh and Indonesia
People who are at risk or vulnerable to homelessness soon, perhaps within the next month, who need short term assistance to keep them off the streets.	Indonesia: People living in *kampong kumuh* and *kampong liar*. (several millions). Occupants of institutions as they close down.
(Working) people whose primary or sole need is housing. ... (they) may be temporarily or episodically without homes and really need some financial or other assistance but do not have serious problems otherwise.	Bangladesh: Male daily-labourers and female garments workers living in 'mess' in slums and squats in Dhaka ; individual male hawkers and transport workers and their dependents living in the streets or squats. Indonesia: Many street dwellers.
People who can become quasi-independent but need help with life skills so that they can manage on their own.	Bangladesh: Floating disadvantaged women, e.g., single mother, disabled beggar and prostitutes; extreme homeless children of the street and passive homeless children on the street.
People with substantial and/or multiple difficulties but who, with help, could live in group- or sheltered-housing.	Bangladesh: Girl street children traumatized by sexual abuse; floating prostitutes; single mother with many young children
People who need permanent institutional care or who may graduate on to some supportive or sheltered housing.	Bangladesh: Disabled persons Indonesia: mentally ill persons

Note [*]**:** Text in this column is from UNCHS (2000: 29).

Based on time in homelessness: Hertzberg's typology

Much of the following theoretical discussion is from UNCHS (2000) written by Tipple.

Hertzberg's (1992) classification of homeless people focuses on the potential short-term homeless people have of either moving back into settled accommodation or slipping into more permanent states of homelessness. To express this, she places them on a continuum based on the length of the homeless episode and their reaction to their state. She divides them into resistors, teeterers and accommodators. Kuhn and Culhane (1998) similarly divide visitors to shelters into transitionally homeless, episodically homeless, and chronically homeless.

There is evidence that long term homelessness generates its own lifestyle. This condition of "homelessness as a lifestyle" as seen by Grunberg (1998) combines impulsiveness, clusters of unsolved problems, and a lack of social and other supports, interacting and perpetuating the lifestyle. These conditions drag the person down.

Hertzberg's (1992) "resistors", are people who have been in stable employment and have spent the least time homeless. They assume that homelessness will be short-lived and should actively be resisted. Resistors are determined to get off the streets, they firmly believe that they will be successful in doing so and returning to their old life. They hold realistic hopes for the future, with expectations of upward mobility but, when their efforts at job hunting meet with no success, and affordable housing cannot be found, they become discouraged, their self-esteem declines; shame and guilt growkeeping them from calling on state support systems if they exist. Alienation, anger and frustration over such circumstances often turn inward, becoming depression. Alternatively they may join the long-term homeless whose accepting subculture seems welcoming amid the rejection. Escape through drinking or substance abuse becomes a daily routine. (Hertzberg, 1992: 155-6).

The Streets   Reaching out

Unemployment

Homelessness

Searching

Survival

Boredom

Depression

Sharing

Loneliness

Socialisation

Anger

Street life

Partying

Homelessness

Alcohol and drugs

Isolation

Withdrawal

Aggression

Violence
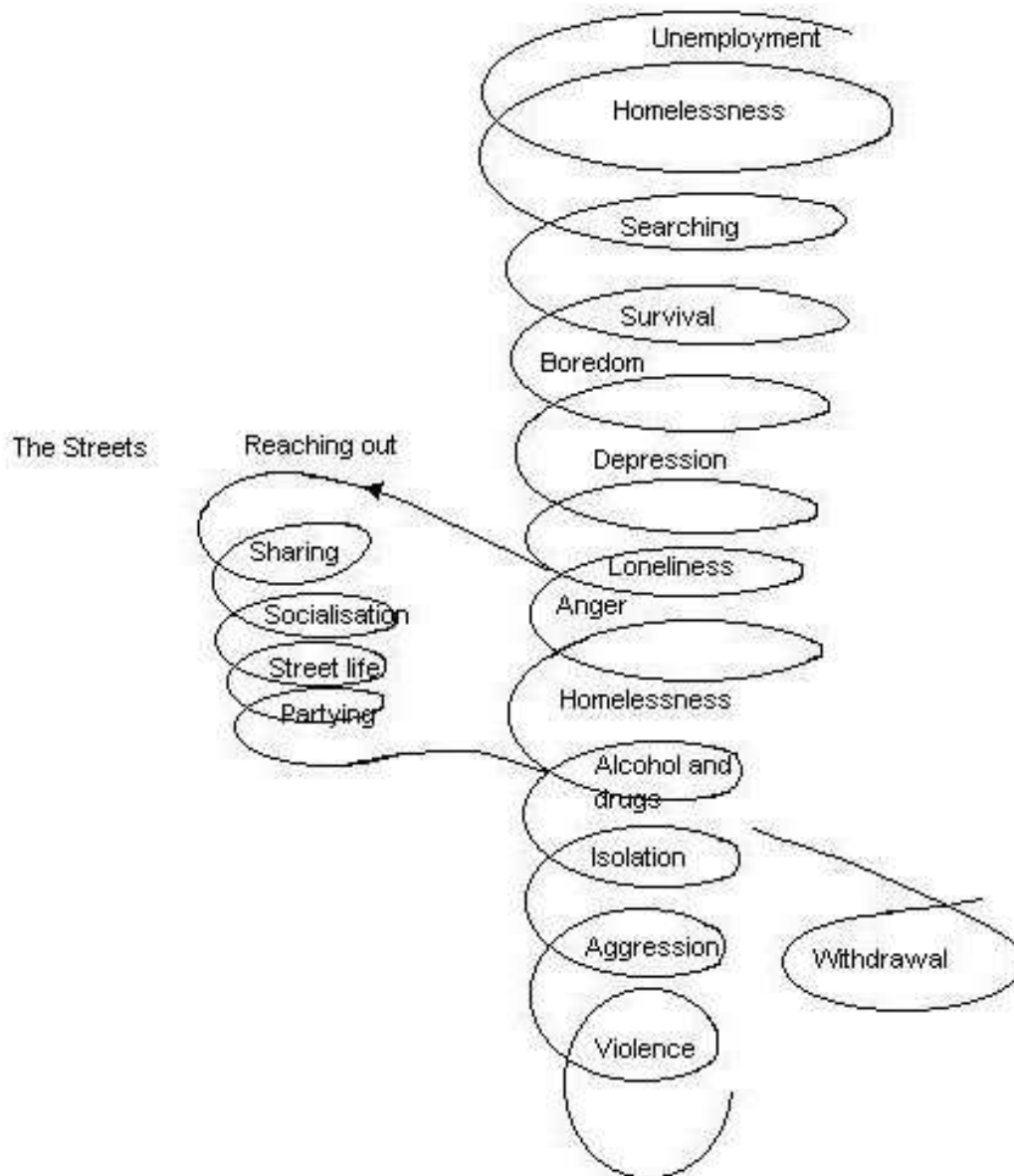
Hertzberg's (1992) spiral of homelessness

Table 6. Characteristics of persons on Hertzberg's continuum of homelessness

Characteristic	Resistors	Teeterers	Accommodators
Length of homelessness	Brief (2-4 years)	Longer (4-10 years)	Long-term (10+ years)
Attitude to condition	Fighting against	Ambivalent	Accepting
Staying where?	Inside	Most outside	Outside
Reason for homelessness	Not own decision	Not own decision	Some own decision
Desire for more education	Most want	Some want	Few want
Literate	National average	Most	Half
Severe family dysfunction	Some	Almost all	Most
View childhood positively	Almost all	Most	Almost none
Desire for own place	Almost all	Some	Few
Realistic hopes for the future	Most	Few	None

The second group are 'teeterers'. They have been homeless for longer and tend to have significant personal barriers to stability; mental illness, alcoholism, severe family dysfunction. Although they hope to stabilize their lives, they tend to have accepted homelessness and hope is edged with despair (Hertzberg, 1992).

The 'accommodators' are the traditional 'bums and hobos' of America, the wandering street dwellers who tend to have been on the streets a long time. Even in severe climates, most stay outside, rarely using shelters. They are proud of their

'independence'; usually taking no welfare payments. They are mostly illiterate, long unemployed, not upwardly mobile, and generally do not wish for a home of their own as many have dysfunctional family circumstances to look back on. They have accepted homelessness and claim to be content with their lives, some claiming to have 'chosen' it. Most believe that there is no place for them in society, nor do they wish to have a part in society, preferring instead their 'freedom'. They have accommodated themselves to being homeless (Hertzberg, 1992). These are the group often characterised as homeless people by the general public and the popular press.

Table 7. Typology based on time and its manifestation in our case studies, mainly in Bangladesh

Categories[*]	Manifestation
Resistors: These people had a steady job/income before becoming homeless recently. They view their homeless status as temporary and try hard to get out of it. But if they fail, they lose their self-esteem and faith in society.	Bangladesh: Resistors are new homeless people from the villages or people evicted from low income neighbourhoods who hope to move back in soon. They try desperately to maintain a source of income, are very conscious to preserve his self-esteem; maintain a family life, and remain involved in a social network. Ghana: Most migrants on the streets of the major towns. Peru: the victims of disasters lodged in provisional tents and camps, generally supported by the State.
Teeterers: Teeterers are homeless for a longer period and tend to have significant personal barriers to stability, mental illness, alcoholism and severe family dysfunction. They view their status less negatively than resistors.	Bangladesh: Most of the resistors, under stress and strain, become teeterers over time. In their present state, they are uncertain about their chance to live in a slum/squatter settlement, their earnings reduce and are uncertain, family break-up starts and social support weakens. Ghana: Some of the mentally ill and destitute who are in institutional care.
Accommodators: Most visible and commonly perceived type of homeless people. None have realistic hopes for the future. Their homeless status has been accepted without any resistance.	Bangladesh: Teeterer adults and children growing up for a long time in the street are the eventual accommodators. They have accepted their fate for living in the street, have often passed days without income and food, no family relationship or social support

	network.
	Ghana: Some of the mentally ill and destitute who are in institutional care.
	Zimbabwe: social outcasts, mostly those with severe mental problems (*mipengo*)

Note *: Text in this column is adapted from UNCHS (2000: 30-1).

Our researchers found it generally difficult to fit their situations into Herzberg's three categories; only a few countries appeared to found any of the categories relevant. In China, a time-based typology could explain some of the different characteristics of people within the general category of "blindly floating". Their attitudes to their dwellings, and their desire for more education or better future, appear to differ greatly between the short-term and long-term blindly floating people.

In Indonesia, people similar to Supri, Dadang and Bu Sri, interviewed by our researcher, who have all been homeless for more than ten years, show a remarkable degree of acceptance of their circumstances. As Supri, says, for example: "I really don't have any other place to go." Meanwhile Dadang and his wife say they plan to stay in Semarang, even if they have to sleep on the sidewalk, because they think it is a friendly city for poor people like them. This philosophical acceptance of their present situation might be based on *pasrah*, a kind of fatalism which is common among Indonesians and especially among the Javanese. It might be the reason why, in other respects, they deviate from Hertzberger's accommodators. They all have families and have been living with their respective partners for many years. All are working to earn a living (albeit in the informal sector) and do not seem to have drinking or substance abuse habits. They want their children to have better education and they certainly do not show the characteristics of the traditional 'bums and hobos' of the United States[60].

The *gepengs* and the few mentally-ill people who go around the city nearly naked, who rarely wash and who barely communicate with other people[61] are probably close to "accommodators". They beg or scavenge garbage bins for food and sleep anywhere they happen to be at the moment.

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[60] However, they lack of solidarity with other people who share the same fate. This is quite in contrast to the close social relationship among residents of 'ordinary' *kampungs*. This feeling of solidarity is also what makes the case of Seno and his friends different from that of Supri, Dadang and Bu Sri.

[61] Which is why it was not possible to interview them.

In Peru, the victims of the frequent disasters who are lodged in tents and camps, generally supported by the State would probably equate to "resistors". But there would appear to be no groups similar to "teeterers" and "accommodators" in Peru.

In South Africa, 50 percent of street homeless people have been homeless for less than five years and 29 percent for between 6-10 years, and 21 percent have been on the streets for over 10 years. Olufemi (1997) argues that homelessness should be perceived not only in terms of the duration on the street, but also the time in which it occurs in an individual's life.

In Zimbabwe, time-based typologies of homelessness have not been very appropriate but the changing conditions, culture and perceptions are likely to make them more so. Also, there is no tradition in Zimbabwe (and, we suspect, in many of our survey countries) of linking housing to such issues as education, childhood and hope for the future. In Zimbabwe, at the time of our survey, transitional homelessness is the only evident and accepted form. Save for a few mentally-disturbed people, there is evidence that homelessness in Zimbabwe is mainly transitional. Of course this is very different from the position which arises if official definitions based on being eligible to be on the housing waiting list are used. For example, Harare's official housing waiting list has people on it who have been there for more than 20 years!

The tendency among all who are considered to be homeless is to better themselves, a feature that even those along railway stations, under bridges and on the pavements display (DSHZ and ZIHOPFE, 2000). The worst that one observes is a waning of their tenacity rather than total resignation. There are a few "accommodators" in the country, mainly confined to what our researcher refers to as social outcasts, mostly those with severe mental problems (*mipengo*).

Based on responsibility for alleviation

Unlike in many countries in Europe, very few developing countries' governments and related agencies appear to have any legal obligation to look after particular categories of homeless people. On the contrary, the state apparatus often only affects homeless people by way of vagrancy laws which allow them to be cleared off the streets, sent 'home' to the rural areas, or imprisoned. The archetype of this is the Bombay Prevention of Begging Act which makes street sleeping illegal and is used

to clear the streets of many cities of homeless people when important events are to take place.

In Zimbabwe, established views sometimes differ from the normal official and popular conceptions. There is help available as long as the homelessness is short, or it does not involve the helping agency in a long term flow of resources should they commit themselves to help. Thus, there is help for street children, children needing accommodation in children's homes, and people who are temporarily displaced. Some long term commitment is made by those agencies that care for the aged, orphans and international refugees and they can finance their operations through per capita grants from central government and local and international agencies.

When numbers of long-term and terminally ill people expanded greatly, particularly HIV/AIDS sufferers, emphasis was placed on home-based care. However, as AIDS sufferers were increasingly homeless (and so unsuited to home-based care), central government introduced the AIDS levy[62] from which funds are channelled to those who are infected, those affected by the diseases, and those helping them.

Indonesia is an example of a country where homelessness is still seen as a public order problem. From time to time, homeless people (whether they are residents of *kampung kumuh*,[63] or *tunawisma*[64] or *gepeng*[65]) are seen as 'disturbing public order' or 'disturbing the city's appearance' and are evicted or removed. They then usually become the responsibility of the Public Order Office (or its equivalent) in each city. Police and army raids have been conducted against homeless people, pedicab (*becak*) drivers, street vendors, and roadside prostitutes[66].

After being raided, the homeless people become the responsibility of the local Social Welfare Office and various charitible organisations. They given a kind of indoctrination (*pembinaan*) to 'enlighten' (*menyadarkan*) them that, as responsible

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[62] The levy is calculated at 5% of income tax (i.e. Z$5 for every Z$100 paid in taxes). Every tax-paying employee in the country pays it. The National Aids Council administers it.

[63] Poorly serviced settlements.

[64] 'Homeless people'.

[65] '*Gelandangan* '*pengemis*' (wandering beggar). Given the Indonesian penchant for acronyms, *gepeng*' for short.

[66] In September 2001 Jakarta's Public Order Office announced plans to buy about 60 guns to equip its officers amid increasing public opposition to its operations, especially from *becak* (three-wheeled pedicab) drivers. The office's head admitted that the guns, mostly gas pistols and rubber bullet pistols, would be used for self-defence purposes during public order operations. The preceding year the office had already bought 60 German-made guns each costing Rp. 22 million (US$2,444). In the first nine months of 2001, the city allocated Rp 36 billion of taxpayer's money for public order operations against *becak* drivers, street vendors, prostitutes and transvestites. (The Jakarta Post, 15 September 2001).

citizens, they are expected to voluntarily leave the city and return to their home towns or villages. In the past, some were sent from cities in Java to less crowded islands in the archipelago as part of the government's transmigration programme. But this has been discontinued in the last few years because the indigenous inhabitants saw it as a Javanese scheme to colonise their islands.

In Bangladesh, destitute people can receive monthly old age allowances and homeless/ rootless/ landless people in rural areas may be provide with shelter or land from centrally controlled and funded programmes. Local authorities play their role identifying the beneficiaries and implementing the distribution of benefits under central supervision. In China, people in the 'blindly floating' population are excluded from the welfare system unless they return to their home area.

In Ghana, a few charitable institutions and non-governmental organisations are assisting and caring for various categories of people who could have been sleeping rough on the street (e.g., abandoned babies and orphans), or are on the street.

Towards a typology for developing countries

It would take quite a stretch of imagination to believe that our researchers felt that the western typologies had a great deal to offer them in understanding homelessness in their developing countries. There are places where some are useful and some parts of some typologies help cast light on local circumstances.

In a previous paper (Tipple and Speak, 2005a), we have discussed definitions of homelessness used in developing countries using six criteria. These are as follows and represented in tabular form in tables 8.and 9.:

Q. Lifestyles

If someone lives on the streets or other open spaces and does not regularly sleep within a recognised dwelling, they are defined as homeless. There may also be components of transience in this state; they tend to sleep in different places each night, even in several places each night.

R. Location

Very closely linked with lifestyle, it tends to define homelessness by where they are; 'on the streets or other open spaces' or 'mobile'. Many countries define homelessness as not living in recognised dwellings - as in Springer's (2000) housing

situation or minimum standard - and then go on to stipulate the sort of places homeless people are found; their location. Thus, those living on the streets (a location as well as a lifestyle) are usually included. The more contentious issue of location is whom to include or exclude on the margins. For example, if those living in squatter settlements are included, this brings together all qualities of accommodation therein, from the very rudimentary to the relatively palatial.

S. Permanence of occupation, security of tenure

This brings together insecure accommodation and risk of becoming homeless under the rubric of 'having no permanent place to stay' (*tidak mempunyai tempat tinggal tetap* in our Indonesian study, 'floating' in both China and Bangladesh).

T. Quality

This includes people living in marginal housing ("*Iskan gawazi*" in Egypt) and unsuitable housing are regarded as homeless. This is not the same as in industrialised countries where the state of repair or lack of a utility can render housing unfit (UNCHS, 2000??), conditions tend to be much worse when a dwelling is included in this.

U. Welfare entitlement

A few of our study countries have definitions based on entitlement to housing and other form of help. Zimbabwe is the most marked example as everyone who is entitled to be on the Local Authority housing waiting list is defined as homeless.

V. Lack of welfare entitlement

Some countries have entitlements for those whose housing conditions are a little above the worst but not for those in the worst. In India, for example, designation as a 'slum' entitles squatters to have rights to plots which are not available unless that 'promotion' takes place. The only definition available in China involves those known as *Mangliu* (blindly floating people) or *Sanwurenyuan* (without registration card) without any entitlements to work, housing and welfare because of their lack of registration.

W. Upward trajectory

In an unpublished paper (Tipple and Speak, 2005b), we have discussed where the threshold between inadequate housing and homelessness might be. Our best current threshold is the ability of people to improve their housing and other circumstances. Those for whom an upward housing trajectory is possible or perceived might reasonably be regarded as not homeless. From the discussions we have had with our in-country researchers, the upward trajectory seems to be more important than any other characteristic in typing homelessness.

There is obviously much room for further discussion and our hope is that this conference will start that process in the developing countries context.

Table 8. Criteria for homelessness by country studied

	Lifestyle (Vagrancy, transience)	Location	Permanence of occupation or security of tenure	Housing quality	Welfare entitlement	Others
Bangladesh	Mobile and vagrant, rootless people	In rail station, launch terminal, bus station, market, shrine, staircase of public/ gov't buildings, open space, etc.				
China						Outside their district of registration
Egypt				In marginal and unsuitable housing,	Those in marginal and unsuitable	

				including shacks, kiosks, staircases, rooftops, public institutions, open boats and cemeteries	housing, and in public institutions are eligible for government-provided housing	
Ghana				Lacking a roof		Lacking anyone to care for them
India				Not living in "census houses", i.e. a structure with a roof.	In settlements officially recognised as 'slums'	
Indonesia			Without a permanent place to stay			

	Lifestyle (Vagrancy, transience)	Location	Permanence of occupation or security of tenure	Housing quality	Entitlement to housing	Others
Peru	Living on the streets: alcoholics, addicts, vagrants, criminals and mentally ill.		Without legal title to land		Households registered on the'Family Plots Programme'	
South Africa		In squatter settlements, in backrooms in townships and elsewhere	Without secure tenure, in squatter settlements, in rented backrooms in townships and elsewhere			
Zimbabwe			In informal residential areas		Any household not owning a publicly	

					provided dwelling is entitled to register on the Official Housing Waiting List (OHWL).	

Table 9. Groups who might be considered homeless but are removed from entitlement

	Categories excluded from rights to housing and other welfare benefits
China	Those known as *Mangliu* (blindly floating people) or *Sanwurenyuan* (without registration card)
India	Pavement dwellers, squatters whose settlement has not been recognised as a 'slum', Hindu *sadhus* (wandering ascetics), *Banjaras* (Gypsies) and Loharas (nomadic blacksmiths)
Indonesia	Those without a identity card issued by the local authority.
Peru	Those living in dilapidated *tugurios*

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URBANIZATION AND HOUSING CRISIS IN DHAKA CITY

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ABSTRACT:

Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, has gradually turned into a mega city with a current estimated population size of 12 million. Population of Dhaka city is increasing at an alarming rate due to rapid urbanization, high population growth rate and rural-urban migration. Dhaka receives most of this increased population with due lack of adequate housing and struggling to cope with the housing crisis depending mostly on the private sector dominated housing activities. This research initiative has undertaken aiming to investigate the distinctive features of urbanization of Dhaka city in general and housing situation in particular. The factors that contributed the speedy and huge urban population growth in Dhaka city are intended to scrutinize. The study is based primarily on the official statistics of Bangladesh regarding population and housing census conducted in the last three decades. The capital city experienced tremendous population growth and housing problems since the 1980s. Besides the high rate of population growth, urbanization and rural urban migration various natural disaster like river bank erosion, flood, cyclone, droughts are significantly contributing to the dismal urban situation each year. The reasons for people to gather in the slums of Dhaka city are identified. The contribution of privates sector in urban housing is very limited that inadequately satisfy the vast housing demand.

Keywords: Dhaka City, Housing Crisis, Private Developers, Urbanization

1. INTRODUCTION

According to an estimate of UN (1999), Dhaka metropolis, currently the 11th largest urban agglomeration in the world. By 2015, Dhaka will be the 4th largest city after Tokyo, Bombay and Lagos with a population of 21.1 million. Few cities in recent history have experienced such rapid population growth as Dhaka. From a town of only 411,279 in 1951, it is now a mega city of over 12 million. The average annual growth

rate of Dhaka city's population during the last three decades has been over 7 percent, doubling its population each decade. The rate of growth continues to be high even now, at nearly 4 percent annually. The constant influx of rural migrants is the rudiment of Dhaka's huge population growth. The nature of Dhaka's urbanism is quite unique, a peculiar mix of rural and urban traits and attitudes.

Housing situation in Dhaka faces the formidable problem of providing minimum shelter of acceptable standard to its city dwellers. The scene is depicted by the volume of slums and squatters, number of families per house-hold and trend in house-hold formation. Housing production, access and affordability becomes the most intractable problems facing over the last three decades in Dhaka city. Limited land supply and huge population growth has exceeded the capacity and ability to provide affordable housing to its city dwellers. Besides, public sector housing activities is limited to public servants only. Thus, formal and informal private developers are the main responsive concerns that are standing at present housing crisis of Dhaka.

This paper aims to explore urbanization of Dhaka city and its consequent impact on housing sector. The reasons for enormous population boost besides the natural growth are attempted to unfold. A number of other studies looked into the concern of housing for urban poor, scatter settlement and urbanization issues of Bangladesh and also some specific topics regarding urban slums in Dhaka city. These studies, however, focused either on the housing issues for the poor or on specific sustainable urban housing topics. None of these studies paid any attention to the causes of Dhaka's transformation in terms of population growth and subsequent degradation of urban housing of the city.

The population growth and the housing situation comparing from 1980s to 2000s are conducted based on the data from the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) concerning population and housing census. In addition, Center for Urban Studies (CUS), United Nations (UN), Center for Policy Dialogue (CPD), Real Estate and Housing Association of Bangladesh (REHAB), Asian Development Bank (ADB) and other relevant research papers, reports, government and nongovernmental documents had been used as sources of information.

2. URBANIZATION

2.1 Country Level

Bangladesh is considered predominantly as a rural and agrarian country, with 23.39 percent (BBS, 2001) of the nation's population living in areas officially defined as urban[1]. Urban areas started to grow steadily particularly in the post British colonial period when they left the Indian subcontinent. Until 1951, Bangladesh was almost completely a rural-agrarian country with 95.67 percent of the population living in rural areas.
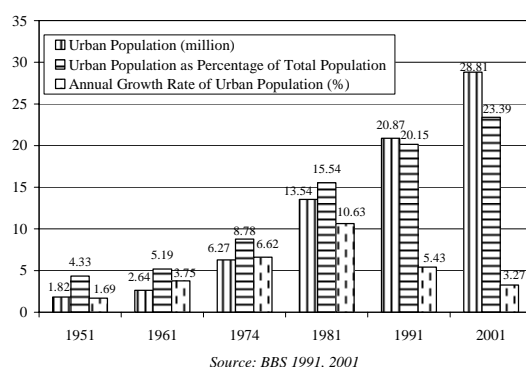
Fig. 1: Time Series of Volume of Urban Population and Growth Rate

Urbanization pattern of Bangladesh is shown in Fig. 1. The level of urbanization was extremely low in 1951 with only 4.33% of the total population living in urban areas. It has increased gradually to 5.19% in 1961 and then very rapidly to 8.78% in 1974, 15.54% in 1981, 20.15% in 1991 and 23.39% in 2001 (BBS, 1991 and BBS, 2001). A recent study by World Bank has estimated that about 40% of the total population in Bangladesh will be living in urban area in Bangladesh by 2025 (ADB, 2000). Urban population density in Bangladesh increased 54.21% between 1981 to 1991 and 38.04% between 1991 to 2001. Present urban population density of Bangladesh is estimated approximately 3008 persons/sq.km. Figure 2 represents the population density of Bangladesh.
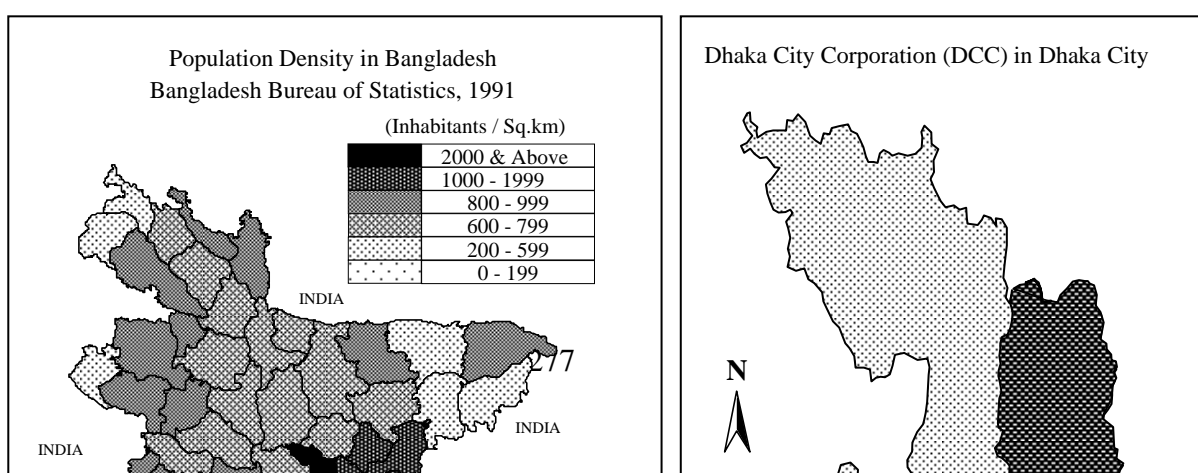
2.2 Regional Level (Dhaka City)

Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh is the primate city of the country as its share of national urban population was 25% in 1981, 31% in 1991 and 34% in 2001 respectively. Dhaka's dominance not only in terms of population, but also in terms of economy, trade, commerce, and administration is obvious. The present population of Dhaka mega city is estimated at 12.3 million while that of Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) area at over 6 million.

Table 1: Population, Area and Growth Rate of Dhaka City

Year	Population	Area (square km.)	Annual Growth Rate (%)
1951	411,279	85.45	1.28
1961	718,766	124.45	5.74
1974	2,068,353	335.79	8.47
1981	3,440,147	509.62	7.53

| 1991 | 6,487,459 | 1352.87 | 6.55 |
| 2001 | 9,912,908 | 1464 | 4.33 |

Source: BBS 1997, BBS 2003

The city area expanded from only 85 square km in 1951 to 1484 square km at present. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics has officially called this extended metropolitan area a mega city in the 1991 census. Population density of Dhaka mega city was found to be 4795 persons/sq.km in 1991 and the present density is estimated at approximately 8573 persons/sq.km. However, the population density of DCC area is more than three times of the mega city area, as in 1991 it was 15,333 persons/sq.km against estimated present density of 18,055 persons/sq.km (Fig. 3).

The gross density of population in the mega city area is 8,573 persons/square km, but this figure hides the reality to a large extent. Less than 40 percent of the mega city area has been urbanized. By 2015, Dhaka's projected population of 21.1 million will fill most of the designated metropolitan area as a result of urban migration, extensions in the peripheries, and fresh urbanization. DCC comprises only 24 percent of the mega city, a total of 360 square km, but within this small area it has to accommodate a population of nearly 6 million, plus another million or so daily commuters.

Table 2: Urban Population Density (persons/sq.km)

Year	National Urban	Dhaka Mega City	Dhaka City Corporation
1981	1,413	4,487*	13,542
1991	2,179	5,058	15,333
2001	3,008	8,573	18,055

*(Density of Dhaka SMA^2)   *Source: BBS 1991, BBS 2003*

3. HOUSING IN DHAKA

The housing situation in Dhaka is not at all satisfactory. The overall supply of housing units in Dhaka city has been inadequate compared to the increasing demands, which is

due to rise in population. This has resulted in overcrowding with high occupancy rates and high room density. The unsatisfactory housing situation is further reflected in the total and per capita availability of floor space of the main living area. Average total floor space for an urban household is only around 30 m^2 and per capita floor space averaged 5.1 m^2 in 1991, while in the densely populated slums, a floor area per capita as small as 1.2 to 1.5 m^2 is a common feature (Islam, 1996).

3.1   Housing Supply in Dhaka

Housing supply system of Dhaka city (Fig. 4) can be divided into two main category, i.e. public and private housing. Public housing is developed for the employees of the government and semi-government organizations. The types of houses are several: single family detached units, multifamily walk-ups and dormitory units. The standard of houses vary from ordinary to luxury type. Public housing accounts for about no more than 10 percent of the housing stock and the rest is private housing. In addition, there are Government-assisted housing for private households. In this system the government has assisted private households by providing flats or serviced sites for sale or long-term lease. Including private housing financed by the government, the subsystem as a whole has provided land and housing for about 150,000 urban households.

The private sector, composed of formal and informal sector, has supplied more than 90% of the housing units in Dhaka. The formal or semi-formal private sector is by far the largest housing supplier in Dhaka. Within the formal private sectors, individual homeowner develops more housing units. Households acquire land and gradually construct their house with official approval of plans. Only a small proportion of households access housing finance. Because of the scarcity and high cost of build able land, most new formal sector residential construction in Dhaka, over the last three decades, been in the form of multi-family units. Commercial developers are the other part of formal private sector housing. Apartments, multi-storey walk-ups and elevator-fitted high-rise multifamily units of moderate to luxury quality, catering to the needs of the upper-middle and high-income households, supplied by private commercial developers.
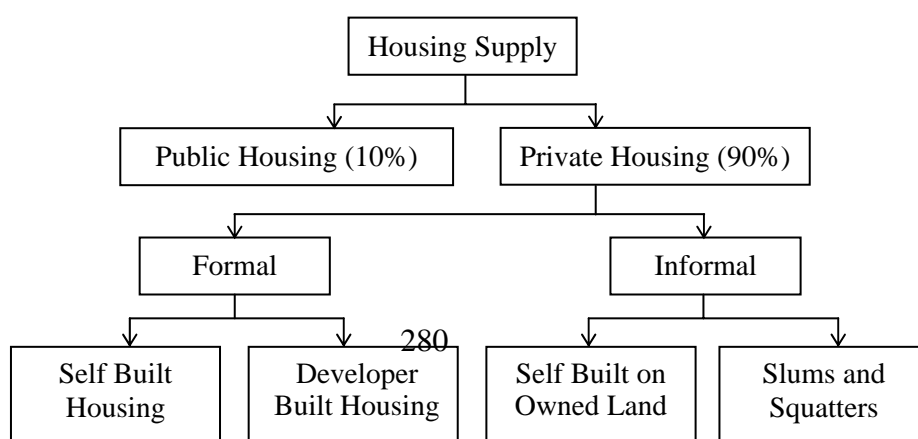
In informal private sector housing, landowners in urban areas construct high-density, low-rise housing units for rental, without adequate services, either for individual households or for group living (mess housing). Private households construct multi-unit housing for themselves and renters with high density and good to moderate facilities, for middle and lower middle-income households, and normally built with or without official building regulations.

Slum land owners construct of very high density housing for renters with very low structural quality, minimum sanitary facilities and very poor to hazardous environmental conditions. These address the housing demand of a large segment of low-income households. These can be family units of one or more rooms, or cheap dormitory type accommodation for single member households in which several persons share a room. The Centre of Urban Studies (CUS) survey estimated that about 75 percent of slum and squatter settlements are located on land owned by private individuals and 25 percent on government land. Squatters are occupier-built or illegal land-grabber built shacks or shanties on government or semi-government land. Shelters are of very poor quality with minimum or even no sanitary facilities. People also build makeshift houses on public or private land or squatting in buildings.

3.2   Housing Cost

The provision of standard housing and residential infrastructure has not kept up with population increases, because of constraints in the main supply factors, such as land and finance, and severe affordability problems. Indeed, land and construction prices for new formal sector housing are high relative to incomes, particularly in the metropolitan areas.

Because of the exponential increase in population in Dhaka, land prices have escalated during the last three decades. There is an active land market that prices land according to location, distance from main centers and physical quality of the site. With

a minimum plot area of 2100 sq.ft within the metropolitan area of Dhaka, a building plot in the lowest income area would still exceed Tk. 3 million which the upper middle class can barely afford (Hoek-Smit, 1998). Regarding the cost of construction, Real Estate and Housing Association of Bangladesh (REHAB, 2003) provide the following data of construction costs per sq.ft. (table 3) at different levels of quality.

Table 3. Construction Costs per sq.ft

Type of Construction	Cost per sq.ft*
High quality construction (multi-family)	Tk.1000 to 1200
Middle quality construction (multi-family)	Tk.850 to 1000
Simple construction (multi-family)	Tk.650 to 850
Single story low-cost house	Tk.450 to 600

Table 4. Cost of Apartment Units

Location of Apartments	Cost per sq.ft*
High Land Price Areas	Tk.2400 to 3400
Middle Land Price Areas	Tk.2000 to 2400
Neighborhoods of Dhaka	Tk.1850 to 2000
Lower Land Price Areas	Tk.1500 to 1600

(1 sq. ft = 0.09 sq.m ; 1 US$ = 66 Taka, November, 2005)

Figures in table 3 show that the construction costs for a small 300 sq.ft house, excluding land cost, would be in the order of Tk.135,000. Such a house would be quite affordable at a median income level. The inclusion of the costs of developed land make such housing solutions inaccessible even for households well above the median income.

3.3   Housing Types of Different Income Group

The only detailed figures on the type of housing are available for Dhaka in Table 5, based on figures from 1985-1986. Although the data is old, the situation has not

changed much for the better and it is, therefore, still relevant to provide a broad picture of the urban housing conditions.

3.3.1. Higher Income Group:

Only 2 percent of the city's population, who constitute the upper income group, use about 15 percent of the residential land of the city. The higher income groups are housed in either low-rise single-family houses, or, increasingly, in multi-family apartment buildings. But housing for higher income group is not at all a problem (CPD, 2003).

3.3.2 Middle Income Group:

Twenty-eight per cent of the city dwellers belongs to middle class and occupies 65 percent of the residential areas. Housing for middle class remains the main challenge as middle class plays important role for urbanization and occupy the largest part of the residential lands. Most of the middle class dwellers live in private apartments on rental basis. Due to poor affordability and high cost of dwelling units, middle class people barely afford to purchase apartment units.

1. Low Income Group:

The lower income households, approximately 70% of the urban households are occupying 20% of the residential lands and housed in a variety of house-types that can be described as follows:

a) Approximately half of the low-income housing units are in bastees[3], informal settlements areas that include both private rental and private ownership housing, built either on privately owned land or on illegally occupied public land.

b) Conventional tenement slums (rental and owner occupied) take up another quarter of the low-income sector. These multi-unit buildings were originally built to compliance with the code, but are presently seriously overcrowded and ill maintained. Overcrowding in these buildings has increased over the last years due to an influx of rural migrants.

c) Other categories of low-income housing includes government provided squatter resettlement camps, plots of land with basic services that are provided on a leasehold basis. Employee housing consist mostly of small apartments in high-rise

complexes provided by the government. Squatters who have built makeshift houses on illegally occupied public or private land.

Table 5: Housing Types by Income Groups and Land Coverage

Income Groups/ Housing Sub-system	Approximate Proportion of City Population (%)	Approximate Coverage of City's Residential Land (%)
Higher Income Group	2	15
Middle Income Group	28	65
Low Income Group	70	20
a) Squatters(including pavement dwellers and vagrants)	2.5	0.5
b) Refugee rehabilitation colonies/squatter resettlement camps (Govt. assisted housing)	6	2
c) Bastees (Private rental and Private owner occupied)	35	11
d) Conventional tenement slums (rental and owner occupied)	17	4
e) Employees housing	7	2
f) Other low income	2.5	0.5

Source: Islam, 1985-86

Housing for lower income group is being ignored over the decades. Presently few Non Government Organizations (NGO) are working at housing sector for the urban poor. But still their effort is very limited in response with high volume of lower income population of the city.

4.   FORMAL PRIVATE DEVELOPERS HOUSING

The Government of Bangladesh cannot cater to the housing needs of its citizens on its own due to paltry fiscal capacity. Thus, the formal private developers are being popular to the upper and middle class as housing provider and growing rapidly. Developers started housing projects in Dhaka in the late seventies. During the 1970s there were fewer than 5 companies engaged in the housing sector. In 1988, there were 42 such developers working in Dhaka and in 2004 the figure has increased to about 250. During the last 20 years the private developers delivered 700,000 to 800,000 unit apartments in Dhaka. According to the database of REHAB (2004) developers are supplying an average of 6000 apartment units each year against the annual need of 60,000 units (Karnad, 2004). Private developers are increasingly important players in the urban land and housing markets, particularly in the market for apartment buildings. This sector has produced close to 3 percent of the houses over the last few years.

4.1   Affordability of Middle Class to Developers Housing:

Multi-storey apartments are steadily transforming the landscape and lifestyle of Dhaka. The conversion of Dhaka from an ordinary town to a metropolis is manifest in the transformation of the nuclear house into private developers high rise apartments. This process is sustained by the demand from the middle class prospective homeowner, to buy such apartments and to have private savings and loan financing made available to underwrite such investments. The sustainability of this housing program depends on overcoming the present housing problems of middle class citizens. House rent vs. income ratio in private developers building is 40 and house price vs. income ratio is over 16. Such high values imply that housing supply is not keeping up with demand and affordability is poor. So, developers housing program is seems to be not contributing in response with the housing crisis of huge middle class dwellers.

4.2   Problems and Prospects of Private Developers:

Private developers feel that the higher income apartment market is becoming saturated and attempt to move down-market. The most serious constraint in doing so is the lack of financing. Finding accessible and affordable land for middle income housing construction is another challenge. One of the largest developers in Dhaka felt, however, that there was sufficient land available for the foreseeable future, but the lack

of long-term finance for middle income households would prevent them from expanding a middle income line of housing production.

5. DEFINING THE PROBLEMS OF DHAKA'S HUGE POPULATION

Dhaka being the capital and largest metropolitan city of Bangladesh with its employment opportunities and other commercial activities has attracted the largest number of migrants from all parts of the country. As a result the population has increased tremendously during the last three decade compared to the expansion in the city area. It appears from fig. 5 that more than half of slums of the country is gathering in Dhaka. Fig. 6 expresses the reasons for people to have come to the slums of Dhaka. Employment (41.75%) is the prime reason to migrate in Dhaka. Other than this, reasons for coming to the slums of Dhaka are river erosion (18.96%), small income (18.62%), uprooted (13.33%) etc.
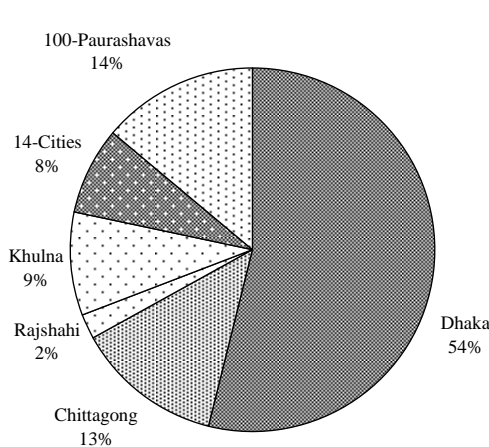
Source: BBS 1997
Fig.5 Slum Population in Dhaka and Other Cities
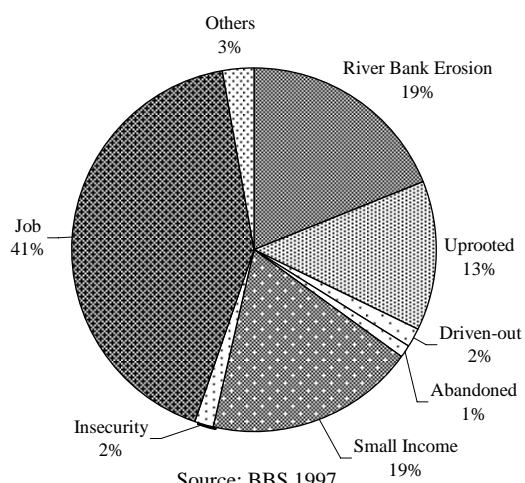
Source: BBS 1997
Fig.6 Reasons for Coming to the Slums of Dhaka City

The reasons behind the rural migrant to gather in Dhaka can be summarized below:

1) Dhaka is the capital city and administrative centre of the country. Factories are largely located in Dhaka. There are about 2,000 garment factories in the city. Most of these factories are in Dhaka, with too many in and around the city centre. Many buildings in the inner city have been converted into garment factories. This industry alone employs around 1.5 million people, mainly women. Besides the garment factories, there are many other industries located in Dhaka. The demand for skilled

and unskilled labour is high and thus remains the major reason for people migrate from the rural areas to Dhaka.

2) Another reason for people to come to the city is to escape flooding in the rural areas that has eroded banks of rivers and the land on which they have lived for decades. Many of the communities having nowhere to go after their land was destroyed due to floods, decided to come to the city and attempt to earn a living.

3) With no Government plans for rural-urban migration, people began to house themselves. According to a survey conducted by the Centre for Urban Studies in 1996, there are over 3,000 slum and squatter settlements in the Dhaka Metropolitan Area. At the time of the survey there were about 1.3 million people living in these settlements. Most of these slums and squatter settlements are typically located on poor, marginal land on the edge of the city where land and dwellings are cheap to rent or purchase.

4) Besides slums and squatter settlements, about half of the urban poor live in dilapidated old buildings in the older part of the city, or in upper income neighborhoods where they work as maids, transport terminals, or, in many cases, under the open sky without any home at all.

CONCLUSION

Like any other city in the developing world experiencing massive population growth, Dhaka's problems range from the mundane to the complex. Present housing crisis of Dhaka city can evaluated for three income groups (i.e. higher, middle and lower) separately. Housing issue for the higher income group of Dhaka is not at all a problem.

Residential lands of Dhaka city is mostly occupied by the middle income group. The major problem for middle class housing is accessible and affordable land. Land for housing and other urban development purposes is in extremely short supply. As a result, marginal lands can be developed at great cost. Formal private developers multi-storey apartments are steadily transforming the landscape and lifestyle of Dhaka. But within DCC, land for housing at market price is affordable to no more than 5 percent of the city's households. Hence the middle income group's housing remains a great challenge due to scarcity of land and poor affordability.

The highest segment of Dhaka's city population belongs lower income class which encompasses the slums, squatters and majority of whom are rural migrants. Rapid

population growth of Dhaka is mostly originated and contributed from the lower income group. Beside the high growth rate and urbanization, natural disasters significantly escalating slum population in Dhaka each year. Slums gather in Dhaka essentially for searching jobs to survive. Ready-made garment industry is one of the fastest growing sectors in the economy of Bangladesh and most of these industries located within and periphery of Dhaka. These industries attracts a rural migrants to Dhaka. Thus slums and squatters are dominantly increasing the population of Dhaka. Housing for this ever-increasing segment of city dwellers is difficult to manage.

Notes:

1. According to 1999 census, the Urban areas are defined as the developed area around (i) an identifiable central place where (ii) amenities live metalized roads, communication facilities, electricity, gas, water supply, sewerage connections usually exist. (iii) Which is densely populated and majority of the population involved in non-agricultural occupation.

2. SMA stands for Statistical Metropolitan Area. In 1981, Dhaka was considered as SMA along with three outlying divisional headquarters city i.e. Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi.

3. The indigenous term, derived from basati meaning settlement, is used for the slums and squatter settlements in Bangladesh and part of India and Pakistan; the dwellers are termed basteebashees in Bengali (Rahman, 2001).

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Dead Capital and the Sea: Post-Tsunami Relief for the Southeast Asian Informal Economy

By Kevin J. Fandl[*]

Several years ago, Hernando de Soto brought to light the vast problem of informal property in the developing world.[i] Informal property constitutes up to 80 percent of all property held by citizens in developing countries, which means that a substantial portion of developing economies operate without the ability to export, guarantee legitimate loans, or grow businesses.[ii] Informal property holders often operate under the regulations of community organizations rather than local or national governments. As such, their rights are protected only insofar as their communities remain intact and free of outside influence.

Southeast Asia is home to some of the fastest growing populations and markets in the world. However, in much of the region, property is unregistered and held without legal title. Foreign investors from China and elsewhere are keen to corner these markets with business investments; yet buying up informal property within a communal system is difficult, if not impossible. Private security forces and community defenses often collaborate to prevent outsiders from attempting to commandeer informally held property.

What happens when this property faces a natural disaster? What community rules and protections apply when substantial portions of communities are washed out to sea? This is a question that must be addressed in the context of the tsunamis that devastated Southeast Asia in December 2004. When large portions of these communities are washed away and no formal titles exist to protect property rights, foreign investors are likely to face fewer barriers to entering local markets, leaving erstwhile informal property holders worse off economically and driving poverty levels to new heights. Governments in Southeast Asia must begin to implement a set of policies that will address these concerns and build a foundation for future economic growth based on formal property markets.

The Need for Property Rights

Property rights are fundamental and must be protected by national and international legal institutions. They allow individuals to hold land, dwellings, and goods

in a manner that is understood around the world in terms of value, credit, and security.[iii] A right to property is more critical than property itself. Property alone cannot easily be traded, leveraged for credit, or protected against intruders. A legal right to that property, however, can accomplish all of these. That right represents a "consensus between people about how these assets should be held, used, and exchanged."[iv] It establishes a transferable value in the property, converting it to useful capital.

Much of the informally held property in the developing world today is acquired through social or communal relationships, such as informal settlements and squatting, rather than through open market exchange. Property claims of this nature are not recognized by the states in which they are located and bear no transfer rights or protection. Land is owned only to the extent that it is physically occupied and no others successfully challenge the ownership rights. Despite these inherent insecurities, informal property systems are still predominant throughout Southeast Asia.

Securing informal property is easier and less expensive than acquiring formal property in developing countries. Complex, time-consuming, and expensive regulations deter the majority of landowners from seeking formal recognition of the property they occupy. Prohibitively lengthy and costly regulations prevent businesspeople, especially those with few if any liquid assets, from acquiring formal title to their operations.[v] Many would-be entrepreneurs are thus unable to obtain loans because they lack collateral.[vi] As a result, a pool of "dead capital" exists: practically worthless informal property that could be used as collateral if registered formally.[vii]

Recognizing the difficulties of obtaining legal property titles, resourceful citizens developed their own systems of land registration to provide limited benefits similar to those that accompany formal property rights. Informal property owners often have their own papers, registration systems, and agreements—all of which are clearly delineated in maps used for informal business transactions.[viii] With these systems in place, informal property owners can buy, sell, trade, and leverage their property within their communities by using reputation as credit. The result is a property rights system that recognizes a very limited group of people and limits the boundaries of the market to a particular community. Access to formal bank loans or foreign investment is all but impossible.

Settlement communities exist to facilitate trade, preserve community values, and offer widespread protection. They often provide a sense of security by keeping informal ownership records. Unlike wealthier, formal communities that can afford to

invest in security systems and private guards, informal communities apply their own security provisions to protect property.[ix] In many cases, attempts to expropriate informal property within these communities lead to physical violence.[x]

While this system functions well for small communities despite its extralegal settlement process, it wreaks havoc on national economies, hampering efforts to develop better infrastructure and eradicate poverty. Informal property owners are largely restricted to trading with and seeking assistance from only those within their communities. The formal economy, which produces exports and pays taxes to expand government programs, accounts for such a small portion of the overall national economy that the true worth of the national workforce is unknown, and the full potential of exports and international trade remains hidden.

This situation exists in developing regions worldwide, and Southeast Asia is no exception. In Bangkok, for instance, the informal sector now comprises roughly 60 percent of the total economy even after having declined during the economic boom of the 1990s.[xi] According to the International Labor Organization, 71 percent of all work in Thailand in 2002 was performed in the informal economy.[xii] In Vietnam, where the state theoretically owns all land, similarly massive informal markets exist.[xiii]

Informal economies in Southeast Asia are distinguishable from those in Latin America and Africa primarily because more financial resources are on the line in Southeast Asia as a result of well-developed markets and higher levels of investment. In some Southeast Asian countries, national governments have recognized informal economies and embarked on regulatory reforms to remedy the strain on regional economies. These reforms contributed to Southeast Asia's characterization by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) as the most dynamic area of growth in the world in 2003.[xiv] The World Bank hailed Thailand, for instance, as having "a world-class system," for allowing property to be registered in only two days and at a cost of only 6 percent of the land value.[xv] In Nigeria and Senegal, by contrast, the formal cost of selling property amounts to nearly 30 percent of the land value.

Natural Disaster Strikes

In December 2004 tsunamis enveloped much of Southeast Asia. Over 200,000 people lost their lives as a direct result of the disaster, the impact of which will be felt in the region for years to come. Emergency efforts are underway to repair the damaged

coastlines and provide much needed health and food aid to affected countries. However, one of the direct consequences of the disaster, the purge of informal property rights systems, is going largely unnoticed. Entire communities, along with claims to remaining property, were washed away completely by the tsunamis.

Survivors without formal property rights have lost homes and businesses, but they also have no claim to the land necessary for rebuilding. There is no office in Southeast Asia to which those who lost informal property can go to confirm their property rights. Moreover, the absence of formal claims to land removes a major obstacle for interested investors to secure property. Once land is registered and occupied, the state is more likely to protect that property against competing claims, even those brought by the original informal property owner. Even if competing claims to previously informal property fail to materialize, there are no insurance claims to be made by informal property owners, meaning they have no access to funds to rebuild or relocate.[xvi]

Impending Threat and the Need for Proper Land Titling

Land that was once ripe with production now lies dormant, susceptible to foreign claims. Some of the best beachfront property in Southeast Asia is now abandoned or in disrepair. Savvy investors can easily take advantage of this situation by taking physical possession of and acquiring formal property rights to abandoned land. With no formal property rights system in place prior to the disaster, control of the land will lie in the hands of an investor with the ability to access the land and apply for a title. Wealthy investors are better positioned to navigate the complex regulatory processes of developing countries quickly. These investors would not have been able to acquire formal property claims prior to the tsunamis because informal communities maintained internal protections and regulations that prevented outside infiltration. With the majority of this informal infrastructure, and any records of its existence, gone, investors have an opportunity to move in to seize valuable land.

Establishing and protecting formal property rights in developing countries will not only expand the income potential of individuals now relying upon informal mechanisms. National governments will also benefit from an enlarged formal market that adds revenue for social programs, generates foreign direct investment opportunities as a result of additional formal collateral, and increases export revenue. Informal entrepreneurs unable to secure credit, if given legal titles, could expand their

business, receive credit and foreign investment, pay taxes, and produce goods or services for export beyond the local community. In addition, providing formal title to these properties can have a lasting and significant positive impact on the value of the land itself. For example, landowners holding legal titles invest more in their property and are free to enter into long-term rental or lease agreements.[xvii]

But registration is only the first step. A recent World Bank survey of world business in 2005 suggested that the economic benefits are much greater when the process of formalizing property rights is accompanied by improvements in the land registry, the collateral registry, the courts, and employment regulations.[xviii] Simplifying regulations, making registration more efficient and cost-effective, and educating informal communities about the benefits of registration will rapidly increase the pace of development in many Southeast Asian nations.[xix]

Now is a critical time to begin these reforms. The tsunamis that destroyed much of Southeast Asia and its informal economies have rendered property in the region vulnerable to outside interference. The loss of these informal settlements and businesses will have destructive effects on national economies because so much of the formal economy relies on informal production of goods, such as agricultural products and textiles, and because informal economies counterbalance shortfalls in national social support systems with local social safety nets. These communal support systems may now be lost. New investors may have good intentions and desire to replace informal businesses and settlements with productive retail shops or factories. For local informal property owners, however, domestic production that redistributes income is better than the capital flight that accompanies foreign-owned businesses. In essence, dead capital is better than no capital.

Southeast Asian governments must take immediate action to protect exposed land and grant formal titles to previously informal owners. This can be achieved with a two-step process. First, foreign assistance in the form of capacity building should be requested immediately while the influx of aid is at its peak. Capacity building involves assistance that is intended to teach or provide tools to a community or government that will improve the ability to bring about positive economic change. These efforts often take the form of legal or regulatory reform, and in this situation would likely involve training by legal and land administration experts to improve cadastral development. Foreign aid agencies and non-governmental organizations have provided much of the necessary funding for basic food and healthcare following the tsunamis. Their priorities should begin to shift toward the provision of capacity-building assistance to help local

communities rebuild. This technical assistance will help to establish a workable land tenure system that accounts for and records all property. Second, a survey of the regions affected must be completed to identify individuals who previously occupied currently uninhabited lands. These surveys, similar to censuses, can be used to map out both the land occupied by surviving informal titleholders as well as land that has no recognized owner, which should escheat to the state rather than be left to foreign control.

Many successful models and high-tech programs exist to aid in the mapping process, but even basic inquiries into the settlement communities could provide the land demarcations that are necessary to begin the recording process. For example, a project jointly funded by the World Bank, Australian government (AusAID), and Royal Thai government worked to accelerate the issuance of land deeds and produce cadastral maps using a uniform mapping system in rural and urban areas of Thailand. The project was completed last year and successfully registered about thirteen million parcels with formal deeds. In some other parts of Southeast Asia, reform efforts are underway to register vast informal land markets. However, most projects are gradual and several tsunami-ravaged countries have not initiated such efforts.

It is likely that, with so many informal property records lost, competing claims to remaining land will arise. To adjudicate disagreements in the post-tsunami context, efforts to create land settlement agencies must begin immediately. One possibility is the establishment of a land tribunal through which community leaders in each district would hold public town hall-style meetings to hear claims. At these informal property registration tribunals, witnesses would provide evidentiary support for informal property claims and tribunals' decisions would result in formal titling and enforcement by the state. Controls would have to exist to ensure fair decisions, including the careful selection of arbiters as well as guidelines for how best to weigh evidence. All of this could be initiated at a minimal cost with the help of legal technical assistance.[xx]

Many development agencies have started organizing requests for capacity-building projects in Southeast Asia, including programs to rebuild local governments in Banda Aceh and provide computers for disaster management.[xxi] Because many regional governments have their hands full rebuilding the region in the aftermath of the disaster, international aid agencies and organizations must take the lead in bringing expertise and funding to the region devoted to putting a land tenure system in place. Groups such as the American Bar Association, the World Bank, and international legal

societies should recruit attorneys and property experts for the critical first phase of this necessary step in the rebuilding of Southeast Asia.

At the same time, NGOs and other assistance groups that intend to engage in relief efforts must bear in mind the potential for resistance from host country governments. Debt relief, health care, and other priorities may overshadow the importance of informal property registration for the political leadership. Emphasis must be placed on the economic benefits that could result from reduced regulations, estimated by the World Bank to amount to a 2 percent annual GDP increase, and efficient land registration, which can "significantly increase land values and investment

Many informal settlements may be gone for good, but remaining informal landholders can be protected now. Taking these steps immediately is not only the most reasonable approach to restoring pre-tsunami local production, but also provides a framework for growth that will enable increased participation in the formal economy and spur economic development. Rebuilding without focusing on future development needs will squander the vast influx of development aid and place Southeast Asia on a path to stagnant growth.

Taking advantage of this opportunity is one of the most important steps toward the development of the region. Recognizing this fact and acting now will help Southeast Asia to integrate into the world market through economic development and poverty reduction. The tsunamis of 2004 claimed at least 200,000 lives; the resulting impact on informal property holders has the potential to destroy millions more.

AKSHAYA SWASRAYA BHAVAN

SHG HOUSING PROGRAMME FOR THE ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED

Lukose Jacob. Director, HiLDA Trust

A Joint project of Federal Bank , HiLDA Trust and

Akshaya Women's Self –Help groups of Wayanad, Kerala.

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Background

HiLDA Trust is a grass root level NGO and a registered Charity working for the development of the Rural and Tribal people of the hilly Wayanad district of Kerala State in India from 1987 onwards. Women & Children, small farmers are our priority groups. Presently HiLDA is working in 2 districts of Kerala with a target population of 50000 beneficiaries. HiLDA promotes the following development programmes;

1. Akshaya Women SHGs, micro-credit and Community business

2. Sexual Health projects

3. Child help line

4. Youth development

5. Ecology, environmental issues and water shed management

6. Drinking water & sanitation

7. Housing programmes

8. Solar Home light promotion

9. Village libraries

10. Research and Trainings

Outline of Akshaya Savings programme

Akshaya Self Help Group and micro-credit programme is one of the pioneering initiatives in Wayanad, started in Oct.1997 by HiLDA Trust, Sulthan Bathery. The programme was started as a poverty alleviation initiative among the rural and tribal people of Wayanad

The Akshaya programme is targeted mainly at women and encourages members of ten to join to and form a group. Each Group opens a savings account with the bank and each member contributes a weekly amount (usually Rs.10/-) The group has its official passbook and each member has her own personal passbook provided by HiLDA, recording amounts saved. Each group elects a president and Secretary who usually travel each week to the bank to pay in the weekly savings that attracts a small rate of interest.

An Akshaya Group meets weekly to discuss the various issues and problems they are facing in the village and possible business ideas. The development workers of HiLDA visit each group regularly certainly once a week in the early months – often hiking several kilometers into the forest from the road and the nearest bus stop. After six months of regular saving the group will start to consider making loans to its own members for various purposes: small income generation projects, emergency medical costs, a wedding or a funeral, school clothes and books.

After one year of continuous saving by a group, the Bank will permit loans of four thousand rupees to be made-unsecured – for every thousand rupees saved. Preferential rates of interest are charges on loans (4.5% for tribal and 9% for others). Not all Groups will take a loan. Often the women – who make up 90 per cent of the Groups – prefer to build up their own working capital through savings rather than borrow to finance the development of their enterprises.

The HiLDA development team is kept busy explaining the concept to new groups, supporting them through the decision to participate, setting up the savings Group systems and procedures, helping them select an enterprise idea, assessing skill training needed, and allowing them to think through viability and practical aspects of getting started as a Community Business. During the first year of a Group's operation, HiLDA also provides training in account-keeping, capacity building, gender sensitivity and leadership as well as training on such issues as sexual health, parenting and child development, and home management.

Outline of the Community Business Idea.

Once they are established, many Akshaya savings Groups go forward to develop an enterprise idea in to a Community Business programme. They test out their idea, often using the earnings from this practical market testing to generate their weekly savings.

Out of the 1200 Akshaya a groups, more than 700 had already started some sort of community business programmes such as Rubber sandal making, Bakery items, herbal medicines, detergent powder and soap, different handicraft items like pot painting, glass painting, fabric painting, note book binding, packing and selling of different spices like pepper, coffee, cardamom etc. Several groups had earned money through different agricultural initiatives like ginger and banana cultivation, cow and goat rearing, cement brick making etc. One of the male youth group started a mini bus conducting regular daily service between Kalpetta and Sulthan Bathery.

The groups are successful in marketing their products also. 4 types of marketing is going on- door to door sale by the members, sale by an agent on commission basis, through a sales shop organized at HiLDA office and by participating in exhibitions. Through these business programmes each member has generated an additional 10 wage days in a month and increased their earnings up to Rs.800 per month. More than 30 Million rupees as micro-credit has been borrowed from various banks and the repayment rate is 97.4%. A silent economic and social revolution is taking place in the villages of Wayanad, reducing poverty and unemployment among the rural and tribal people

X. Other Social Development programmes

Akshaya groups are concentrating not only on economic development but also in social, health and educational development of the members and their families too. The members are getting regular leadership training and thus 10 of the members stood in the local Panchayath elections and 6 won. The members were very active in collecting their contributions during the Indo-Pack war period and at earthquake time at Gujarath. Members are helping the poor and needy, recognizing the best students, involving in different reconstruction programmes of the villages, getting trained in HIV/AIDS preventive progammes etc. Different projects were linked to DIC, Dist panchayaths and SGSY programmes. It is wonderful to witness the programme that more than 1000 poor families were availed the cooking gas connection with the help of bank loan, which they never dreamt off. Annual cultural competitions and get together,

participation in different events organized by Government departments etc made the groups dynamic and promising.

Yuvadhara is yet another project came out as an offshoot of Akshsya. The programme concentrates on high school going students of the Akshaya members. The students are formed in to groups, started savings and they are getting special coaching classes during their exams. Presently 115 Yuvadhara units are functioning with 2000 students.

Y. Akshaya by the end of 2005

Eight years after launching, the Akshaya Programme has attracted the interest of development workers and agencies around the world. In Kerala the Akshaya concept is increasingly supported by Government agencies at Local and State levels and by an increasing number of banks. Recently HiLDA has extended its work into Malappuram District and the Akshaya concept is getting momentum in the Muslim dominated community also. In Wayanad there is a constant stream of inquires from communities wishing to become part of the Akshaya family.

The programme has very well demonstrated the fact that social banking with close monitoring could make wonders in reducing poverty, increasing the employment days and generating additional income for survival of the disadvantaged people along with their capacity building. The joint collaboration of the socially committed banks, HiLDA Trust, the NGO, and the village groups are emerging as one of the development models for the Nation like India.

Whatever be the different structures in the future, it is already clear that a powerful process is in hand in the highland villages of Wayanad. Village groups are taking some control over their future, learning what they might do to change the conditions for themselves, their families and their communities. The energy is there, the capacity is growing at the local level and it is on foundations such as these that sustainable development can be built.

Z. The Housing problem

Out of the 12000 Akshaya families, 2500 are home less and their housing condition is quite unsatisfactory. Majorities are living in ramshackle structures constructed with coconut leaves or perishable sheets and mud. These huts do not contain even the basic amenities and not even enough privacy for the members. The parents and grown up children are sleeping in one room. A facility for latrine is absolutely nil and the

300

members especially the women are the most suffers in answering the calls of the nature. But the families have some land, between 10-25 cents average.

During the group meetings, the housing problem has emerged as one of the major issue s for discussion and we were convinced that the housing problem is one of the most pressing needs to be addressed.

Housing Workshop

With the idea of SHG housing concept in mind we had organized 3 housing workshops for the Akshaya members. The workshop concentrated on the design of the building, amount required, the type of assistance to be sought and the repayment schedule of the loan. The workshop was organized with the help of the local contractors, our Engineering staff and those who are seriously in need of houses. The major outcomes are:

Two types of housing programmes are needed

A) New houses –Scheme I

B) Repair and extension of the existing houses(Scheme II)

New Houses

There are 1000 applicants for New houses and their expectations were:

1   The design of the house should be culturally suitable to the members and in consistent with the weather condition of Wayand.

2   The house should be with two bedrooms, one dinning, I Kitchen, one toilet and a sit out in front.

3   Total plinth area should be 37.52M2 with RCC flat roofing.

4   The estimate of the house is calculated as Rs.70000/-average

5   In some areas the estimate will be little higher because the transporting of goods are difficult. In such cases, the beneficiary has to meet the excess amount.

Repair and Extension

There are 500 applicants for this scheme. There are good structures built by themselves but the family could not complete the work. Some need plastering and fitting of doors and windows. In some cases, the family needs assistance to replace the roofing by tiles or asbestoses sheets. In certain other cases, the family needs an additional room and toilets. So the average estimate for repair or extension of the existing houses is calculated as Rs.30000/-

Resource mobilization

The participants of the workshop suggested availing the amount from banks as a long-term loan. For the new houses the suggested loan period is 10 years and for the repair and extension 7 years.

Operationalisation of the scheme with Simplified conditions

One of the peculiarities of the scheme is its simplified processing, method of operation and peer pressure in repayment. The following suggestions are derived for its operation, processing. The suggested conditions are:

1. The applicant should be a member of the Akshya programme with active involvement of minimum 2 years.

2. The applicant should have taken micro-credit earlier and repaid the amount in time

3. The family should not have long term loans of any sort from any financial institutions at the time of submitting the application

4. The particular Akshsya group where the applicant is a member has to recommend the applicant unanimously based on her previous involvement as a group member and on the need of the family.

5. All the applications thus received will be further screened by the Project Implementation and Monitoring Committee (PIMC) constituted by representatives from Federal Bank, HiLDA and Akshaya Cluster Committee (ACC) of each region. The final selection will be done by the PIMC

6. Once the applicant is recommended for the loan, all such applicants have to form a separate Housing SHGs with 10 members each and open a separate account in their name in Federal Bank as same as like the Akshaya.

7. Once the housing SHGs formed, each applicant has to remit her initial contribution-Rs.10000/ for scheme I and Rs.5000/-for the scheme II

8. Each applicant has to pledge the original Patta/ document of 10 cents of land where the house is going to construct. The land should be either in the name of the applicant or in her husband's name.

9. Along with the document the applicant has to submit the Tax and possession certificate and an encumbrance certificate for the last 3 years and permission of the local panchayat to construct the house

10. When the above formalities completed, the applicant has to sign the bank's application and agreement.

11. The bank then disburse the loan amount plus the beneficiary contribution (total Rs.70000 & Rs.30000) to the housing SHG by three installment based on the completion certificate at 3 stages

12. After releasing the first installment (Rs.20000/ for SI & Rs.15000/for SII) the applicant has to produce stage certificate for getting further installments of Rs.30000 &Rs.10000 (second) and Rs.20000 &Rs.5000/(Final). The stage certificates has to joint certified by NGO representative and ACC president.

13. The repayment of the loan starts in the subsequent month after submitting the completion certificate.

14. The pledged documents will be released only after the full repayment of the loan amount with interest.

15. Until the full repayment the property and house will be owned by Federal Bank and the bank has all right to take legal steps against those defaulters as per the bank's rules and regulations.

The Bank charges an interest rate of 8% (diminishing) for the scheme.

AA.   Repayment of the loan amount

Heated discussions were evolved during the workshop on the repayment. Apprehension of the bankers on repayment of the housing loan was seriously discussed. Later the workshop was very confident on the repayment of the loan amount because:

1   Most of the beneficiaries have additional land other than pledged and they have some annual income from the land as pepper/ coffee, ginger and other minor products.

2   Both the husband and wife are daily wage earns-they are presently working as collie workers and farm labourers and there is a steady income for their living and saving.

3   The beneficiaries had developed a habit of weekly savings through Akshaya programme

4   Most of them had availed loans from the bank and they have developed a culture of repayment through the micro-credit programmes.

5   Some of them are able to repay the amount in monthly installments but others have agricultural income to pay it in annually.

6   Since the borrowers are members of the SHGs, peer group pressure will be high and that itself is one of the important factors that motivate the borrower for repayment.

7   Through the Akshaya programme, members were trained in reducing the expenses and most of them are now following a balanced family budgeting system.

8   Most of the husbands were stopped their bad habits which lead them to indebtedness

9   It is the women who are directly involved in loan along with her husband. Our experience shows that women are very serious in repayment.

10 Even after taking the housing loan, the same members will continue their weekly savings in their SHGs in the same bank.

11 HiLDA's development workers will be doing their close monitoring and follow-up and thus the repayment is ensured

Role of HiLDA

As an NGO, HiLDA Trust is committed to the development of the people of Wayanad. HiLDA will unconditionally take all efforts for the successful implementation, monitoring and repayment of the scheme. To be specific, HiLDA will be concentrating on:

- Giving proper orientation to the Akshaya members on the scheme

- Helping the ACC in the selection process

- Helping the applicants in getting all the certificates

- Advocacy and Lobbying work with different intuitions for the success of the project

- Helping the members in bulk purchasing, transporting of goods at a cheaper rate

- Mobilising voluntary labour from other Akshaya members

- Assuring the quality of materials and work

- Giving technical consultancy service to each construction

- Appointing two support staff (1 Engineer and 1 Social development Worker) for the smooth running of the project with financial backing of the bank

- Monitoring each construction and its stage certification

- Monitoring the repayment of the loan

- Convening the PIMC meeting and feedback

- Tapping local resources for the benefit of the members and bank

- Training and developing minimum 50 women members as skilled masons through this scheme

- Making the project as a novel SHG movement

- Liaison with bank and people

- Helping the bank in application processing and follow-up

- Maintaining proper documentation of activities related to the project

- Helping the bank in getting maximum public relations

Role of the Federal Bank

1. Timely processing of the application

2. Disbursement of the loan based on stage certificates

3. Active participation in PIMC meetings and monitoring

4. Giving Nation wide publicity to the project

5. Developing it as one of the pioneering ventures in SHG concept

6. Documentation of the experience in book/Video form

Salient features of the project

(1)   May be this is a first time experience in India - an SHG- Bank-NGO joint programme on low cost housing for the economically disadvantaged.

(2)   Totally people centered programme and avoiding middleman and contractors

(3)   Beneficiary participation in cash & kind is assured

(4)   More than 1000 disadvantaged families are going to be the proud owners of FB financed houses

(5)   The bank is getting a golden chance to participate actively in National Priority sector.

(6)   More than 2000 wage days will be generated per year, which also helps to reduce poverty and distress.

(7)   The project gives wide Public Relation to the Bank at National and International level

(8)   The housing project is linked to several micro-credit programmes of the other Akshaya groups supported by FB .For example the groups who are already making Cement Bricks can supply the bricks of this housing project.

(9)   NGO presence and active support ensures proper implementation, monitoring & repayment.

AKSHAYA SHG HOUSING IMPEMENTATION

The project is now in full swing.

(1) Two types of loans are now providing

    (1) Rs.70,000 (GBP 1000) for new construction

    (2) Rs.35,000 (GBP 500) for repairs

(2) We have developed a plan for the new house which cost Rs.70,000 (21ft x 18ft-RCC). In most cases the people build bigger house than in the plan.

(3) At present, the owner himself is building the house by hiring skilled Masons/carpenters.

(4) Each house is constructing in independent Private land of the house owner and hence the houses are located in different places

(5) Backed country bricks, wild woods, granite are using for the construction. Some times instead of backed bricks people use cement bricks also for the construction of the walls. All the construction materials are purchased locally.

(6) Usually the owner takes 3-4 months to complete the full house.

(7) The floor is cemented, sometimes with red-oxide

10 such groups (including 100 members) had already availed the bank loans and they had finished the construction of their houses. 6 million Indian rupees were availed as loan and 1 million mobilized as local contribution. The women and their family members themselves construct their house with the help of skilled masons. Mean time 12 women were trained as masons and they too are engaged in the house construction process. A qualified engineer staff from HiLDA trust supervises and helps the members in the construction process. The project is still going on.

Every month, the group meets, check their repayments and make sure that each member has remitted their monthly repayment amount. The field Officer of HiLDA also attends such meetings and thus monitoring is ensured

Problems and Issues

(1) Whole amount is a loan and there is no grant component.

(2) Majority of our SHG members are owning house plots between 5-10 cents so they could not avail the bank loan (The bank insist on 10 cents of land to be mort gauged)

(3) Lot of time/money is wasting since the owner himself has to find out the skilled person who is in great demand. Usually the masons start the work in different places and it gets lagged.

Future Plans & Collaboration

(1) There are 300 housing applicants in the waiting list and the number may increase if we extent the project to the non-Akshaya members also

(2) If there is any eco-friendly technologies – for brick, roof, wood, RCC etc. it is most welcome. We can experiment.

(3) Resource mobilization is a big question – we are trying to convince the Bank people to consider the 5-10 cent group also. But I personally believe that if the project could offer an interest subsidy to the correct re-payers, the project will be getting much more demand

(4) The money for project Administrative cost for HiLDA, especially for travel, stay, food etc. has to be mobilized.

The Swaraya Bhaven project is the pioneering effort in this state and one of the unique housing projects of its nature and getting attention from different sectors.

The Problem of Homelessness in Ukraine

Kabachenko N.

The paper presents a situation with homelessness in Ukraine. Particularly, the following aspects are covered: the legislation, the institutions which serve the homeless people, approaches to data collection methodology, causes of homelessness, challenges with establishing of the new services for homeless people and complications with research activity in this field.

The Homeless Situation

The situation with the homelessness in Ukraine is rather strained and deteriorating. Political and economic changes in Ukrainian society cause processes that lead to increase of number of homeless people. Big cities are most suffering from this problem, where a large quantity of homeless persons are concentrated as they come there for better life from different parts of Ukraine. Well-developed infrastructure of Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, as well as better standards of living, make the city attractive for people looking for means of subsistence. Homeless persons are among them and the number of them is constantly increasing. The number of homeless people in different cities is decreasing or increasing depending on the season. In winter, more homeless people are looking for s shelter in large cities, in spring they move to the south, to the Black Sea coast, where they can find season work, or to the country side.

Obviously, homeless people are often forced to live this way, but a large number of homeless people have temporary, often illegal work at the black market to earn for their living. Besides, a vagrant person may have a private house in a village but is forced to leave it as he/she couldn't get a job. A lot of villages in Ukraine with appropriate housing conditions (houses, communication, roads and so on) are almost empty because active citizens have moved to large cities searching for job.

During the Soviet times the Criminal Code contained an article according to which those individuals engaged in vagrancy (a homeless way of living), mendicancy or antisocial behavior could be held accountable for these action before a court. Usually, they were taken to a Reception Centre, which served mainly for identification purposes.

In case a homeless person hadn't his/her personal identification documents, the officials tried to identify him/her, his/her picture was taken and he or she was given new documents. During 30 days of staying there, the authorities looked

for a job or provided some job training and a place to live (usually hostels were supported by factories and enterprises). The homeless were given a special document (prescription) to go there and in order to start a new life. The police officers were responsible for supervision of this process.

The idea that Ukraine should bring its legislation closer to the European standards had resulted in withdrawal of this article from the Criminal Code. However, consequences of the economic stagnation, massive unemployment and overall poverty haven't been taken into account. Currently, it is not the police responsibility to deal with the problem but in reality they have to work with homeless people in different way because it was practically no ones responsibility until very recently.

Among all the authorities, the police officers are best informed and aware about the problems of homeless people, thus the statistics on the homeless in Ukraine are based only on the data provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Police). Usually they collect the data on the number of persons who were detained and taken to the Receptions all around Ukraine. But recently the quantity the Receptions has declined sharply and there are more than 40 in number. Presently only few large cities of Ukraine, including Kyiv, Charkiv, Dnipropetrovs'k, Odessa, Poltava etc, provide this type of services.

The mission of Receptions is first of all to identify the person detained and verify whether the person has committed any crime or not; but in reality they often have to provide services to those who address them for permanent housing, medical support or sanitary services. It is wrongly believed that all Reception Centre clients have criminal past. But according to the personal of Reception Centres only part of clients have criminal past and ex-prisoners experience.

 Sometimes the homeless are asking to let them stay for few periods in the Receptions because of the cold weather, lack of food or illness. This situation creates some kind of ethic dilemma for directors of Receptions because to do it means to break the law but not to do means to leave a person in an extraordinary situation without help.

According to the data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, there were more than 40,000 homeless persons in Ukraine in 2005. This information can only partially clarify the problem, since those numbers include people who attracted attention of the militia officers by their behaviour and the prosecutor's sanction was obtained to keep the person in that unit. The people whose behaviour did not give any reasons for detention and homeless women make most of the number or larger part of it in comparison to that given above. Militia officers also mention that they arrest people who do vagrancy,

mendicancy or begging. But as a rule they do not detain those with signs of severe illnesses, elderly people and women who don't demonstrate asocial behaviour.

Another big group, which also is included into general number of homeless people in Ukraine, is the immigrants. They are inmates of Receptions but not homeless people. For example, only the third part of those staying in the Kiev Reception during my last visit was the citizens of Ukraine. Another third of them make citizens from other republics of former USSR. The rest of the clients come from abroad, particularly from China, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and African countries, among them lots of transit economic migrants, looking for a way to get Western European countries, as well as refugees.

The homeless people did not exist for Ukrainian social policy – neither were there any legislation nor social services for this group of clients until last time. The important contribution was made by the Parliament hearing in December 2003 on the concept of homeless people or homeless citizens. Before they used the terms BOMZH, an acronym for a vagabond, literally "Without Definite Place of Residence". Equivalent concepts are used as follows: 'vagrancy' and 'mendicancy' or 'go begging'.

In June 2005 a new law "On basics of social welfare of homeless citizen and children without shelter" was passed. The main idea of this law is to create a special system for registration of homeless people, establishing following services: night shelter, centre of reintegration and social hotel. The law comes into force from the 1st of January 2006.

The Services to the Homeless

The overwhelming majority of services for homeless people are provided in the institutions for elderly people. These could be shelters for night lodging at 'territorial social services centres for pensioners and lonely disabled people', shelters for released prisoners, specialised boarding houses for elderly people released from custody (1:3). Only several cities in Ukraine and the Kiev city have the Centres for adaptation or re-socialisation aimed to support people in their wish to change homeless way of living and return to their community.

The Head Department for Social Protection of the Kyiv City Administration, which is responsible for the functioning of social agencies and social workers, has decided to intensify its attention to the problem of homeless people. New possibilities for further development of policies at the local level were feasible after the conclusion of the contract of 16 August 2002 between the Main Department for Social Protection of the

Kyiv State City Administration and the Association of the Netherlands Municipalities to implement the joint project "Reintegration of Homeless Women in Kyiv City". An Integral Approach at the Local Level", in which the Main Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Kyiv, the Main Department of Health, the Job Centre of Kyiv, the Centre of Social Service for the Young People, and Kyiv Centre for Work with Women, the School of Social Work at the University of "Kiev-Mohyla Academy" were involved. Owning to the project, there are new possibilities to learn the experience of reintegration of homeless women in the Netherlands in detail, and to adapt it to the local environment, as well as to create a model, which would serve as a basis for the local state bodies to provide services for the clients like these in other places of Ukraine. The official opening of the Centre, which can provide service for 80 clients at one time, took place on 10 June 2003.

It is important to notice that it is the first institution in Ukraine that provides services to women who have less possibility to be employed, who suffer from being separated from their children, which have to stay in boarding institutions. The Centre's stuff use case management and 8-steps model in their work and pay attention to physical and psychological status, practical skills of independent life, job, place for living, financing acquiring, pro-social behaviour and the status of every single homeless person.

But the idea about the mission the Centre was put into question. After the end of reintegration period, a lot of women stayed at the Centre because they did not manage to earn enough money to pay the apartments' rent. The problem originates from lack of inexpensive housing and there are no affordable hostels or hotel rooms for these people.

> One of the oldest (starting from 1996) and famous projects in Ukraine aimed at homeless people support is Charitable Foundation "A Road Home" in Odessa city. Lots of social workers, NGO's and state organisations are aware of this Foundation's work, visited it and studied its work. The Foundation's staff are working in partnership with "Big Issue Scotland" (DFID) and Eurasia Foundation, are open for exchange of experience, they provide consultations and information support to those interested in development of services for homeless people.

A special feature of Charitable Foundation is the Registration Centre the mission of which is to register homeless. It is located in the centre of Odessa city near Privoz (market place) where a lot of homeless people live and look for means of subsistence.

Location is what makes the work of such organisations successful, however city authorities prefer to locate this kind of institutions outside of the city. But one of the features of homeless people is low level of mobility: they try to find places to sleep at night nearby the place where they can find means of subsistence during the daytime. Because of high tariffs for public transport, homeless people do not have enough opportunities to travel around and get services situated in the outlying districts.

It is obvious that the main problems of homeless people in Ukraine are caused not so much by loss of housing as by their impossibility to fulfil their civil rights, the most important of which is the right to work. Loss of housing for most people automatically means loss of place of registration (propyska). In case of loss of passport, a person that has no registration required by the Decree of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers "On confirmation of temporary order for registering persons at the place of their living" of 16.01.2003 #35 is practically deprived a possibility to resume it. All kinds of social services, assistance, privilege, pension registration in the Unemployment Centre, medical and other services are only available to a person in the presence of passport. To be legally employed is impossible for a person who has no passport. But the way of living of those who have no permanent housing makes them extremely vulnerable to robbery, lost of personal things etc. Thus, the most important problem of homeless people is loss of documents identifying the person and the passport in particular.

Existing system of homeless people support is unable to solve the problem. Thus, the idea of the Centre is to issue passports without a registration stamp to homeless people and to register them, at the legal address of the Centre. According to the data provided by the Centre's staff, about 25% of all clients of the Centre will be able to solve their problems independently and deprive the homeless status.

The project "Social re-integration of homeless people" is being implemented in Chernivtsi city. The system of support and assistance for homeless is based on close co-operation between NGO "Public assistance", Austrian organisation "Folkshilfe" and Chernivtsi city administration including several projects implemented with the financial support of European Commission. In the framework of one of them - "Food on wheels" they provide homeless people with food. Another project "Attracting community's attention to the problems of homeless people" is targeted on highlighting homeless situation of the city in local mass media, involving community in solving the problems of homeless people. There is a "Shelter" in the city, where they provide night's lodging and hot food (lunch, dinner) for 10 persons. There is an opportunity to use showers and

laundry, have medical examination and assistance in resuming the lost documents with temporary registration.

There is also centre for 65 persons. It has a qualified staff: social workers, psychologist, medics, who provide clients with necessary assistance. In the Centre the clients can receive following services: food, night's lodging, sanitary services, psychological and medical services, assistance in resuming lost documents of personal identification.

> In reality, the lack of legal base on homeless care makes activity of such centres very vulnerable. For example, when Charitable Foundation "A Road Home" tried to provide homeless people with food, they were forbidden to do so by Sanitation centre (Department for sanitary inspectors) because the place for dispensation of food had no hand washing facilities.

It's obvious that these examples of functional centres for homeless people are unique and state support and service system is extremely limited. Thus, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine recommended the government 'to determine central authority to co-ordinate the whole range of legal and social protection of homeless citizens' (2:4).

The Homeless Research

It is impossible to quantify the extent and structure of homelessness because of the scarcity of research on homelessness in Ukraine. The situation with homeless/street children is different; the problem is better studied in Ukraine. There is near 90 shelters for street children. More than 120,000 children are registered in the services for under age youngsters. A lot of them have a place to live in, but poverty, alcohol or drug addiction of parents and violence force the children to leave family and stay on the street.

There has been an attempt of scientific research, undertaken by Charitable Foundation "A Road Home", which gives some ideas about homeless people in several cities of Ukraine. The survey was conducted in 2004 in 16 cities, with a sample of 1205 homeless people who were found on the street, shelter, Reception unit, hospital, market, and railway station. The results of this survey can be summarised as follows:

- About 60% of homeless people are 30-49 year old.

- More than 60% are men

- More than 50% are from working class

- About 30% have infectious skin diseases

- About 13% have TB and hepatitis

- About 40% reported their alcohol addiction (3).

The special feature of homelessness in Ukraine is a big of number ex-prisoner in it. According to the data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 43% of homeless people in Ukraine are ex-prisoners (2: 2).

> Researchers of the homelessness problem from U.S.A. and European countries often use data from different service organisations for homeless persons. But we cannot use the data of service organisations for the homeless persons in Ukraine because these mechanisms of care and support are very limited. Some NGO's are trying to help but the NGOs staff suffers from lack of finances and can provide only "bread and bed" for small number of homeless people. Institutions formed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and local authorities face similar problems. The work is even more complicated by the fact that the staffs of these institutions are either not properly educated or have no experience in working with such group of clients as homeless people. Due to the fact, that unqualified personnel don't feel confident in what they do, they tend not to spread information about their agencies' activities, and very often they are unwilling to cooperate researches.

There are no services in rural parts of Ukraine and it is not possible to provide any data on rural homelessness. Moreover, while considering the issues of homelessness, hidden homeless is seldom if ever taken into account. Only those who are roofless and have to sleep in the streets, entrance halls, heating mains, underground, etc. are mentioned. It is highly important to define who are homeless, because it is required for further researches, legislation development and services provision. The social scientists, policy analysts and policymakers are at the very beginning of the development of homeless research in Ukraine. They need examples of good practice of services for homeless. They are also searching for proper enumeration methodology of an accurate count and methods for study of the homeless population and its needs.

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Houseless by Choice in New Delhi

Ranjana Mital

Dekho maine dekha hai yeh ek sapna

Phoolon ke sheher mein ho ghar apna……….

Look, I have a dream

We'll have a home in a city of flowers……

(from a popular Hindi movie soundtrack)

That the city attracts the professional as much as it does the labourer is not classified information any more than the fact that the city harbours more poverty and near-impossible living conditions than any other type of human settlement. This dreary detail stares one in the face with consistent regularity in a country with a population and poverty like India's.

With almost half of Delhi's population below the poverty line there is a clearly a considerable percentage of the city's residents on the streets or 'homeless'. There is also and quite obviously, too, a tremendous shortage of accommodation. Given the average density figures on paper and the teeming crowds every which way in all parts of the city (with the exception of the V.I.P areas) it is evident that there is a serious space crunch as well.

Nonetheless the city still functions- unbelievable though it might often seem. And a majority of those that service the city and support its functioning live in conditions that leave much to be desired in quality of life offered there. Yet, they hope and dream as well.

With housing at a premium even for the comparatively well-heeled, those living on the edge have to rely as much on their own enterprise as their capacity to bear with hardship. Often and necessarily their solutions are out of the 'acceptable' limits laid down on an ever-reducing scale by the byelaws governing residential spaces.

This paper proposes to look into one of these 'alternative' housing sub-systems that have emerged outside the 'planned and developed' city - that, which is neither planned

nor sanctioned. Neither is it illegal. More specifically, the focus is on the low-income or more appropriately sub-standard rental housing that has been and continues to mushroom in every urban village[1] that is situated anywhere near any kind of job opportunity. The more affluent housing colonies, commercial centres and large institutions that lie cheek-by-jowl with the now overcrowded villages provide many employment opportunities for skilled and unskilled workers- the domestic helper, the office peon, errand boys, delivery men, watchmen, rickshaw pullers and so on.

However, this housing type is not exclusively for the underprivileged – there are enough instances where students and young professionals choose to live and even work out of these places because the rentals in the 'planned' areas are either unaffordable or just not worth the money demanded as rent.

A study conducted by some final year architecture students at the School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi showed that renting a room in an upmarket housing colony like New Delhi South Extension could cost the young professional or university student about Rs. 6000/- with an initial security deposit of Rs. 2000/- while comparable accommodation in the urban village of Katwaria Sarai could be had for as little as Rs. 2000/-.[2]

While the above is certainly no revelation to those concerned with housing and its attendant issues, it serves nevertheless to highlight the fact that this kind of 'un-authorised' housing sub-systems have their takers. This curious phenomenon being played out in 'non-sanctioned' development may well be 'unplanned' but is highly successful, driven as it is by market forces applicable in the 'un-organised' sector and providing as it does a viable housing option for a large section of the city's majority.

Depending on the classification system employed up to 13 housing sub-systems may be distinguished in New Delhi. These would include planned development as well as the unplanned which is the concern of this paper. Under the category of the unplanned development are included urban villages, slums and squatter colonies. As their classification suggests these areas follow no development rules or building regulations.

The actual settlement area of urban villages (the farm lands having been acquired by the development authorities or bought up by private developers) engulfed in the spread of Delhi's rapid development was initially excluded from city development plans and therefore outside the purview of the Delhi Development Authority. However, even after building regulations were made applicable to new construction within the notified areas

of the villages there was and still is a possibly convenient state of confusion about the applicability and enforcement of these rules and regulations.

Thus without a clearly stated development plan and given the pressures on land in city, landowners in the villages together with developers have exploited the ambiguity in the rules and their interpretations to construct some very daring (not in the sense of any architectural innovation or the like but in the sense of a complete disregard for any building norms whatsoever- neither safety nor sanitation) and even dangerous buildings.

One such example is the building of walk-up tenements up to four floors (in at least one case even seven floors as the students' study revealed) [3] and as many as eighteen to twenty rooms per floor that are rented out to the migrant workers. Each of these eighteen to twenty rooms could house an entire family! There may be no separate kitchen area and the toilets are always common sometimes down the corridor on the same floor but could also be a separate toilet block for the whole building. Drinking water may be available at certain times of the day at a common tap or supplied through tankers by the Delhi Jal Board – the city's agency for water management.

Whereas concerned authorities dismiss this development as unauthorised and sub-standard or inadequate and environmentalists and custodians of heritage bemoan the state of the physical fabric of the once traditional village settlement, this seems to be the way most urban villages in and around Delhi have gone or are going.

The pattern followed is standard - as many independent rooms as possible with or without a kitchenette and common baths and WCs. Most often the structural stability of the buildings would be in question as would be access for fire tenders in an emergency.

These areas are characterised by their poor facilities in terms of size of rooms, little or no ventilation, inadequate toilet facilities and availability of potable water as well as water for washing, overcrowding and complete lack of privacy. The appalling conditions that prevail in these rooms-to-let would unquestionably establish this housing option to be wholly inadequate by any standards including those prescribed for the city of Delhi. [4]

Applying the 1996 UN definition of housing poverty only serves to reiterate the certainty that the housing in question is below acceptable standards and that those living in it 'suffer from housing poverty'. [5]

Notwithstanding the above, this provides a housing alternative that is popular. The migrant with no initial intention of settling or the poorer one who cannot hope to build or buy his own house sees rental accommodation as a practical choice. For the owner on the other hand, who is usually unskilled and often uneducated, rentals may be his only income. He is often of the hard-hearted kind who keeps a close watch on 'guests' that come to stay or on the use of electricity - taking 'rounds' every morning and evening for instance, to ensure that no electric immersion rods are used to heat bath-water.

It is abundantly clear that this system is plainly outside the law whether it be on the basis of the quality of construction, type of housing or even the 'contract' between landlord and tenant that is never 'formal'.

It is equally unmistakable that this housing option needs to be recognised as a viable one and measures taken to 'make it happen' in the most satisfactory manner possible.

It certainly requires a new mind-set where we stop playing the 'know-it-alls' and learn how to provide or more appropriately enable. In this state of affairs, the small landlord or the self-help one who is the main provider of rental housing is viewed more as a collaborator in the business of providing housing than a member of the mafia. Doubtless some ground rules need to be laid but with the participation of the tenants as well as the landlords.

Who, then, are these people who live as tenants in this unauthorised and inadequate but most easily available housing subsystem?

The horrifying housing situation described above is often the only choice for those who practically keep the city going- a specific group of people loosely bundled under the 'service group', 'private sector' and 'construction worker' categories. While they are generally acknowledged in the census under the above heads, most of their housing systems are not recognised in the master plan. Neither is there any area allocated for them that is in proportion to their large numbers.

However the Master Plan for Delhi 2021 acknowledges that this group represents the 'single biggest challenge' in terms of housing requirements of the city. Further, new housing developments are required to reserve a certain percentage of residential land for the economically weaker section of society.

These informal service providers come from as far away as Nepal and other places within India that in terms of physical distance are even further away. Of course the

maximum number of migrants is from the contiguous states of Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. These people come first singly and are then joined by other members of the family or acquaintances.

They share rooms initially and then rent accommodation, which could eat into as much as 50% of their meager salaries. Some of them live on their work premises itself thus avoiding the tremendous expenditure on rentals. They return periodically to their homes in the villages or small towns to participate in celebrations and even mourning. Here would be included the taxi-driver who lives with his co-workers in a tent always on call, the single domestic workers, live-in-maids, the 'factory boys', the local tea-shop helpers, the mess boys and cooks in the students hostel and so on. The construction-site worker, in contrast, is a 'seasonal' citizen going back to his fields in the village in time for the harvest season.

And all the while each of them dreams of putting back a pile to take 'home'.

In the meanwhile, their children when very young are confined to the room, venturing out onto the street and further as they grow older and bolder- no play areas for them and more importantly, often no care-givers or schools. Their parents, largely uneducated themselves and hard pressed to meet monthly expenses do not have the time to escort them to the government –run free school a distance away or pay for the private school close by. Arguably the worst fallout of this situation is the fact that these children may never go to school and thus never get a chance to better their lot.

Like almost everyone living in the city the author has had, over the years, many opportunities to interact with members of this particular section of urban society that is the subject of this paper. Casual investigations into and observations of the lives and houses of these people and a survey conducted for a paper for Design Philosophy Papers on the houseless in Delhi [6] is the basis for the following observations:

- The 'houseless' are not always 'homeless'.

- That living in sub-standard housing is sometimes out of choice keeping in mind their larger aspirations.

- Ownership is often not an issue just as permanent structures are not always necessary.

- Existing housing policies are of little relevance.

- The perceived necessity of providing 'housing' in the sense understood by most city-dwellers must be reviewed.

- A different kind of housing subsystem/ s needs to be explored and adopted by development authorities.

- At least one category of people living in sub-standard housing could manage better if given supporting facilities other than housing.

- There is a great deal of hope and willingness among the less privileged to struggle towards achieving comparatively high goals.

- The city must give to them at least as much as it takes from them.

Homeless or Houseless:

Referring to dictionary meanings of house and home it may be observed that while 'house' clearly refers to the physical space, the term 'home' suggests a much richer meaning that includes affections, attachments, loyalties, memories etc. [7]

The Hindi word *'ghar'* [8] on the other hand implies all of these meanings including often the family or household. It has been demonstrated that the semantic variations of the lexeme *'ghar'* in the Marathi language may be as few as three or as many as twenty, reinforcing all the same the notion that *'ghar'* or 'home' or even 'house' is not just about four walls and a roof. [9]

References to the 'house' in the Rig Veda, accepted as the beginning of the Indian cultural tradition and a source of information of Vedic society, show that the 'house' in the Rig Vedic period was a 'social notion' rather than an architectural one. [10] This then may be seen as the earliest concept of house dating back to approximately to 1500BC.

In the case of the migrant in the city, *'ghar'* is almost an abstract notion - that of an identity and sense of belonging to a 'native place' far from the harsh reality of the city.

The following anecdote best illustrates the distinction in ideas of 'home' and 'house' as perceived by the migrants in most instances.

During a casual chat a particularly forthcoming rickshaw-puller was asked where his home was. He proudly mentioned his village. On seeing no expression of recognition on his customer's face he proceeded to elaborate on the number of days it takes to get there and even told of the train fare. But where did he live in the city? All the earlier enthusiasm disappeared as he pointed in the general direction of a village nearby. Clearly he identified far more strongly with his family and 'home' in the village than he did with his place of residence in the city.

A majority of those sleeping rough or sharing rooms or even living with their employers nurture a similar sense of home, identifying completely with places that may be hundreds of miles away. Their stay in the city is 'temporary'; they are here for work and mean to return. Of course not all can successfully use urban incomes to support rural establishments; some can never make the magic figure that will allow them to return while others lured by the city lights refuse to.

On the subject of homeless versus houseless it might be pertinent to mention here that New Delhi was for a long time nobody's city. Government officials worked here and returned to their hometowns for their annual vacations and then permanently at the end of their tenures. Perceptions have changed now after at least two generations have been born and brought up here and New Delhi is now home to many – millions in fact!

Returning to the subject of the 'houseless', surveys showed that many prefer to rough it out to save that extra rupee. Thus some single migrants prefer stretching out on the pavement on a summer's night and paying a nominal sum to use toilet facilities rather than spending hard-earned money on renting a room. Many such examples exhibiting varying degrees of comfort levels suggest a situation that is quite different to that which meets the eye:

• Many of the seemingly 'homeless' are merely 'houseless' and

• At least some of the urban poor *choose* to live the way they do towards 'bigger goals' which could be anything from repairing the house in the village to better education for their children or even buying a TV.

Inadequate or Acceptable

If one lives rough out of choice then issues relating to the definition of the terms 'inadequate shelter' and 'sub-standard housing' arise right away. Plainly their interpretations are relative and sensitive to regional variations. Thus while the policy-

maker might reason that certain minimum dimensions are mandatory for a built space to be 'habitable' and members of the upper-middle-class might cringe at the thought of sharing toilets, those living in these conditions are often willing to- not only because they have very little choice but also because they accept it as a 'workable situation'.

As stated earlier, applying master plan listings of essential components of acceptable housing or UN definitions of housing poverty would disqualify this housing option entirely. Where do they live, then?

Even the most die-hards of optimists will agree that the dream of achieving universal homeownership is today just that- a dream and one that will in all certainty never come true. With adequate housing for all a near impossibility may be planners and policy makers need to review housing policies and recognise that:

• 'Inadequate' or 'sub-standard' are often carelessly applied qualifications. 'Low-cost 'or 'no-cost' living needs to be enabled especially in circumstances of abject poverty as may be met with in Delhi.

• A permanent structure is not always necessary just as house ownership in the city is not always an aspiration.

• Rental housing even if often inadequate is a housing option that has proved to be popular among the service providers and urban poor. It is evident that rental housing is an essential option for the urban poor especially in the city of Delhi. Unauthorised or even illegal, renting is happening on a large scale. It might be more useful to make it happen better by assisting the people involved through Non-Governmental Organisations and Community Based Organisations.

Curiously neither the development authority nor other agencies engaged in providing housing seem to consider or encourage the building of rental housing as a necessary housing type.

Outside over Inside:

One of the possible disadvantages of the rental housing especially in the urban villages being illegal is the fact the landlords are answerable to none. Surveys showed that many of the women would have welcomed the possibility of leaving their young children in good care while they went to work to augment the meager family income.

- Clearly there is much more to housing than mere shelter. The immediate surroundings or the outdoors in these cases must concern the authorities more than the indoors.

- Not disapproval of the housing type but encouragement and direction towards improvement is what may be required.

- Supporting facilities not housing is often the greater need.

Cleanliness, safety and security especially for little children and activities to keep the older ones from becoming a nuisance are issues far more urgent than ownership of house. Given the excessive crowding in most of these areas, wouldn't providing facilities like day-cares, centres for adult-literacy/ disseminating of information on much localized scales be more constructive? Not only would the women and children benefit so would the city. For isn't a city's success also dependent upon the physical and social health of its residents?

Do planners and those responsible for the development of the city need to review another premise? Is it time for planners to allow social organizations to step forward? Could residents' welfare associations be encouraged in these villages too?

Recognizing the facts that tenants in these urban villages pay rents, are unafraid of hard work and that they aspire for better conditions could well be a turning point in the condition of the physical fabric of their 'neighbourhood'. A little direction, support and 'self-empowerment' could make a world of difference.

Designing the Outside

That many would rather be on the pavement in Delhi than in their own villages or towns is an actuality that has long been acknowledged. Add to this the fact that Delhi's weather for most times in the years even allows it and you have a peculiar client to provide for. Building shacks on pavements need never be allowed but the rickshaw-puller may well be permitted to stretch out for the night. Having 'cleaned up' the city many times by evicting slum dwellers and re-locating them far out and away from their daily livelihood, it might be time to make amends by little gestures like designing boundary walls that allow for benches or subway-crossings that could double as night shelters.

Instances where urban designers use design against the homeless in a concerted attempt to discourage the shelter-less to use public property are offset by examples

where homeless people build for themselves in the city's left-over spaces with the help of a group of artists. [11]

Give or Take

The migrant does not consider Delhi his home and believes he is here only to take from the city. Regrettably, however it is the converse that is true. The services they provide to the city and its better-off residents far outweigh what they receive in return.

These people essential to the smooth functioning of the metropolis are distinguished by their tenacity and will to survive against the worst of odds. At the recently concluded India Empowered Conclave, Lord Meghnad Desai declared, "The poor know how to work hard, the intermediaries should just get out of the way." [12]

This may possibly not be truer anywhere else than among these uneducated, often illiterate service providers of Delhi who work very, very hard for very low wages day in and day out without a break.

They deserve admiration not pity and assistance not charities.

Not only because these people constitute the city's majority or because the city would come to a grinding halt without them or that their living conditions are a shame to the city but because the city has been exploiting them for too long, it is time to pay back. Now, before they succumb to the pressures of being the city's poorest and crash (or explode!) taking the city down with them.

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1. Contrary to the western notion of urban village as an ideal neighbourhood development, 'urban villages' in Delhi refers to those areas that were originally rural settlements and were later engulfed in the spread of urban development, their farmlands taken over largely for urban residential development.

2. Field survey findings at Katwaria Sarai an urban village in South Delhi for seminar titled, Shelter @Rent.Com held on 8 November 2005, V B.Arch, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi.

3. Field survey findings at Katwaria Sarai an urban village in South Delhi for seminar titled, Shelter @Rent.Com op cit

4. "Shelter, to fully service the needs of the families, should have the following essential components: Space - Sufficient for household activities; Infrastructure (Physical Social) - Water, Electricity, Liquid and Solid waste disposal. Education, Health Recreational and other facilities; Location – In relation to transportation to the work place and educational and other facilities; Tenure - Secure rental/ownership compatible to needs; Social- Economic Compatibility - Socially compatible neighbourhood and economically compatible terms of procurement.'" Master Plan for Delhi 2001

5. "…individuals and households who lack safe, secure and healthy shelter with basic infrastructure such as piped water and adequate provision for sanitation, drainage and the removal of household waste" suffer from "housing poverty' UNCHS (Habitat) 1996 Global Report on Human Settlements, pg 109 quoted in Position Paper on Housing Rights UNHCS (Habitat) March 2001

6. Ranjana Mital, Not Homeless but Houseless in Delhi, <u>Design Philosophy Papers</u>, 03/2005, Team D/E/S, Qld, Aust. 2005

7. <u>Collins English Dictionary</u>, 1983

House: a building used as a home, dwelling; house and home: an emphatic form of home.

Home: the place or a place where one lives, person's country, city etc. especially viewed as birthplace, a residence during one's early years or a place dear to one.

8. *Ghar*: as home/house is common to most north Indian languages.

9. Irina Glushkova, The Position of Ghar within the Marathi Speaker's World A Paremiological Study, in <u>House and Home in Maharashtra,</u> ed. Irina Glushkova, Anne Feldhaus, Oxford University Press, 1988 pg 33.

10. Tatyana Elizarenkova, 'House' and 'Home' in the Rgveda, in <u>House and Home in Maharashtra,</u> op cit. pg 16

11. Anne-Marie Willis editorial <u>Design Philosophy Papers</u>, 03/2005, Team D/E/S, Qld, Aust.2005

12. Lord Meghnad Desai at the Indian Empowered Conclave hosted by The Indian Express quoted in <u>The Indian Express</u>, New Delhi December 21, 2005, Pg 9

Homelessness amongst older people in the UK

Rose Gilroy

This paper explores the nature of older people's homelessness in the UK and makes four points. Firstly that while the UK legislative framework can be accused of failing to provide an accurate picture of homelessness for all groups this may be particularly true for older people. Secondly the vague definitions of age and vulnerability coupled with the diverse interpretations in local authorities provide an inadequate safety net for homelessness older people. Thirdly that older people's homelessness has been both under researched by academics and policy makers and under resourced by government. Finally while homelessness has been judged to be a housing problem in the UK, the nature of the pathways to homelessness for older people calls this into question.

Key words: homelessness, older people, UK, welfare services, vulnerability, statistics

1. The Homeless Legislation

At this conference many scholars will be debating the definition of homelessness: are the issues about tenure and legal right to land; the quality and permanence of shelter or the total absence of shelter (Tipple and Speak, 2003)? In the UK the debate on the nature of homelessness: whose fault and therefore whose responsibility took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Those of you who watch the screening of *Cathy Come Home* (first screened in the BBC Play for Today series in 1966) will see the operation of the welfare relief that was made available to the homeless through the 1948 National Assistance Act. The duty of care was to families defined as a couple with children though there was no duty to help the man who had to fend for himself in one of the hostels set up for men by charitable and religious organisations. Cathy's husband, in order to give his wife and children a chance of help, has to leave them. At the close of the film, Cathy having left the squalid workhouse setting of the mother and children hostel has her children taken away from her by the child welfare officers. In removing herself from the protection of the welfare department Cathy is deemed to be putting her children at risk. That this terrible chain of events could happen to an ordinary decent couple who had not offended "against a single canon of generally accepted good behaviour" (SHAC, 1980: 24) added weight that led finally to the setting up of Committees and Working Parties to comprehensively review the housing supply, the level and type of welfare services as well as the situation of non family homelessness (Clapham et al 1990). Their conclusion was that *principally* the homeless problem was an issue of housing shortage. Finally through a private member's bill (Stephen Ross, Liberal housing spokesperson), the 1977 Homeless Persons Act was introduced: legislation which though revised in 1985, 1996 and 2002 is largely intact. While the final decision was to move the problem and its solutions from welfare (and the newly created local authority Social Services departments) to Housing, the evidence from research into *single people's* homelessness revealed that vulnerability – alcohol abuse, mental health issues that were unreported and therefore untreated – were the core issues (Home Office 1974). The research into the issue revealed not one problem then but several.

The UK legislation provides a safety net but not for all. What was created was a complex system of sequential tests designed to screen out the undeserving and as

such its spirit can be traced back to earlier times and the concept of Poor law relief for the deserving poor. The legislation places a duty to re-house on local authority housing departments those applicants who are homeless or threatened with homelessness; who are eligible for re-housing, who are in priority need; who have not made themselves intentionally homeless and who have a local connection with that borough. Table 1 outlines these concepts though in practice, local authority officers tasked with deciding to whom they have a duty of care have recourse to a Code of Guidance of more than 130 pages (ODPM and DoH 2002).

Table 1: **Definitions of terms used in English Homelessness legislation**

Homelessness	No legal right to occupy any accommodation Has accommodation but may not occupy because of violence or actual threat of violence Hs moveable accommodation e.g. boat or caravan but no where to moor/park
Eligibility	Is a qualifying person in respect of immigration status Has not been guilty of "unacceptable behaviour" that makes them unsuitable to be a tenant
Priority need	A person who has dependent children who would reasonably expect to reside with that person A pregnant woman A person who is homeless through fire, flood or other disaster A person aged 16 or 17. A care leaver under 21 A person who is vulnerable because of old age, disability, mental illness, violence from another person, having served a custodial sentence, having been a member of the armed forces.

Intentionality	Has the applicant left accommodation they had legal right to or lost their accommodation through a deliberate act or failure to act
Local connection	Is or was resident in the borough, is employed there, has family associations, must be near medical support.

As the applicants progresses successfully through each test the duty of care to them increases with priority need the critical test which opens the door (literally) to accommodation. Table 2 maps out the duties owed to applicants at each stage.

While each of these tests has given rise to a plethora of debate and case law the most taxing is the concept of vulnerability defined in the Code of Guidance (ODPM and DoH, 2002) as

[would the applicant] when homeless be less able to fend for himself than an ordinary homeless person so that he would be likely to suffer injury or detriment, in circumstances where a less vulnerable person would be able to cope without harmful effects (page 39).

Homelessness in itself is not enough to create vulnerability.

Table 2: Duties owed to applicants on completion of inquiry by housing authority

Not homeless	No duty owed
Homeless but not eligible	Advice and assistance
Homeless, eligible but not priority need	Advice and assistance

Homeless, eligible and priority need and not intentionality homeless	Duty to provide secure accommodation
Homeless, eligible, priority need and intentionally homeless	Advice, assistance and secure accommodation for a reasonable period so that the applicant may find accommodation for themselves
Homeless, eligible, priority need, not intentional, local connection elsewhere	Secure accommodation requested from that authority

The complexity of the law means that the statistics collected reveal a far from clear picture of homelessness in the UK. Beyond those who are offered permanent re-housing are others who are not re-housed though they are no less homeless. An in-depth examination of the second quarter of 2005 serves to illuminate this point. During April to June 2005 English local authorities made 61,300 decisions on homeless applicants. Of these 27,585 households were accepted for permanent re-housing; 3,678 were given temporary housing and 12,873 households received advice and assistance because although homeless they were not in a priority need group.

However these figures in themselves present only a partial picture of homelessness in the UK. Firstly acceptances refer to households whether the household is a single person or a couple or a large family so the *number* of homeless people is unknown. Secondly not all local authorities make their returns to the ODPM: in the second quarter of 2005 sixteen authorities including three London boroughs failed to make a return meaning that their figures had to be estimated.

Table 3: Homeless figures 2nd quarter 2005 England.

Percentage	Decision
45%	Accepted for permanent re-housing

29%	Found not to be homeless
21%	Homeless but not in priority need
6%	Homeless and in priority need but intentionally homeless

[Source: created from ODPM, 2005a]

Thirdly the homeless legislation relies very heavily, as does all welfare provision in the UK, on the individual or their advocate putting themselves forward for consideration (Crane and Warnes, 2005). It is not usual for welfare services to seek out clients. The nature of older people's homelessness as we will discuss later means they are less likely to be counted among the successful or even the unsuccessful applicants. In short they may not present themselves to the local authority at all. In Newcastle in 2002, four households were accepted as vulnerable on grounds of old age yet 58 people aged 60 and over passed through the voluntary sector hostels (Newcastle City Council, 2003). Finally other counts of homeless people – those sleeping rough and those living in hostels – are not included in the official statistics.   The extent of homelessness for any group in the UK is at best an estimate. The real picture of older people's homelessness will be discussed later following a brief sketch of the position of older people in Britain.

2. Older People in the UK

Britain with much of the rest of the world has an ageing population. The 2001 census revealed that for the first time, there are now more people aged 60 and over than there are children aged under 16. Children make up 20.2 per cent of the England and Wales population while those aged 60 and over make up 20.9 per cent. This is as a result of sustained low fertility (one in five women end their reproductive life without children) leading to fewer young people in the population hence the rise in the proportion of elders. However there is also a decline in death rates leading to a greater number of older people and rising numbers of the very old (ONS, 2002).

Since old age has become "a predictable expectation of the adult lifespan" it is no longer feasible to understand it as a homogeneous experience (Gilleard and Higgs, 2000:1). So the traditional analysis of later life based on structured dependency theory which viewed all older people as frail of body, empty of purse and increasingly excluded from society is being eroded. Individuals and their life-course are the new unit of analysis. Post modern writers argue that our identities are no longer entirely shaped by our relationship to the world of production. For an ageing population there is a freedom to forge new identities through consumption and lifestyle choices (McHugh, 2003). This is not simply a cultural turn in gerontology but a reflection of the largely affluent face of Britain's retired population. One measure of this is home ownership with half of all households of people aged 50 or more living in their own home mortgage free. The current group of retirees have also escaped the increasing casualisation of the labour market and the wrangling over the terms and condition of company pension schemes. In the eight years between 1995/6 and 2003/4 incomes (after deduction of housing costs) rose by 38 per cent for retired people with the bulk of these increases from occupational pensions and benefits. In the same period the proportion of older people living on low incomes (state pension only) fell from 26 per cent to 20 per cent. For those living below the poverty line however there is increasing social exclusion and daily harsh choices to be made (Whetstone, 2002).

These statistics may suggest that want and insecurity are becoming issues of the past for older people in the UK. In fact what we may be looking at is a rosy snapshot representing a privileged group whose position will not be replicated by forthcoming groups of retirees. British society is increasingly polarised with minorities at either end of the spectrum: at one end the privileged moneyed cohort and the impoverished at the other. For those in the middle there are varying degrees of comfort and shifting security. The webs that hold us in our place in British society are gradually crumbling. Families are now more likely to be fractured with 1 in 2 British marriages ending in the divorce court (ONS, 2004). This often leads to many fathers and grandparents (particularly paternal grandparents) losing access to the children of the marriage (Harris, 2003). The concept of a job for life has been eroded by greater casualisation in the labour market. An in depth qualitative study of young men by Furlong and Cartmell (2004) reveals a worrying pattern. The employment histories of most of the young men in the study were dominated by insecure and short-term work usually paid at minimum rates and often characterised by harsh and exploitative conditions. While it might be supposed that this was due to low educational achievement or poor skills or even an

avoidance of secure jobs, the researchers concluded that the precarious hold these young men had on the labour market was a consequence of the 'flexible' nature of low-skilled employment in modern Britain. For those at the higher end of the labour market the outlook is not much happier with professionals (largely graduates) increasingly working on short term contracts not least in the University sector. Uncertainty of relationships and jobs coupled with questioning and gradual erosion of the welfare state may mean that for the foreseeable future "it is possible to fall further and faster and that risk and insecurity are now more pervasive" (Forrest, 1999: 17).

3. Older people and the homeless legislation

Bearing in mind the limited and contested picture presented by official statistics, what they tell us is that older people's homelessness is a somewhat small and static problem with annually between 3 and 5 per cent of all acceptances due to vulnerability on grounds of old age. Table 4 shows the breakdown of local authority acceptances on priority needs grounds since 1991. It is evident that homelessness in the UK is dominated by those who have children or who are pregnant. It might also be said that it is dominated by those whose needs are unequivocal. What, however is old age? Is it a matter of chronology? Is it linked to state policy such as the retirement age for receipt of the state pension so old age starts for women at 60 and for men at 65? The Code of Guidance (2002) advises that

> Old age alone is not sufficient for the applicant to be deemed vulnerable. However it may be that as a result of old age, the applicant would be less able to fend for him or herself. All applications from people aged over 60 need to be considered carefully, particularly where the applicants is leaving tied accommodation. However, housing authorities should not use 60 (or any other age) as a fixed age beyond which vulnerability occurs automatically (or below which it can be ruled out); each case will need to be considered in the light of the individual circumstances (Section 8.14).

Research into practice by Crane (1997) reveals that chronological age is often taken as the identifier of vulnerability with some local authorities using 60 for both men and women (Newcastle upon Tyne is one of these). Others accept men only on or after 65 years of age. Hawes' (1999) survey of fifty local authorities suggests that over 70% of councils use 60 as a qualifier for automatic vulnerability. Only a minority enquired into the circumstances of the applicant and hence accepted some who were under 60 years of age. At the time of writing there is intense debate about the retirement age.

Table 4: Homeless authorities accepted by local authorities by priority need category (percentages). Adapted from ODPM (2005 b)

	Total no of households accepted	With dependent children	pregnant	Old age	disability	Mental health	youth	Domestic violence	other	em
1991-2	139,630	64	14	4	4	4	2	4	3	1
1992-3	136,230	61	13	4	4	4	3	5	3	1
1993-4	125,360	59	13	5	5	5	3	6	3	1
1994-5	116,850	57	12	5	5	6	3	7	4	1
1995-6	116,550	56	11	5	6	6	3	7	4	1
1996-7	110,810	56	11	5	6	7	3	6	4	1
1997-8	102, 430	58	10	4	5	7	3	6	5	1
1998-9	104,260	59	10	4	5	7	3	6	6	1
1999-2000	105,580	59	10	4	5	7	3	6	5	1
200-01	114,670	58	10	4	5	8	4	5	5	1
2001-02	116,660	57	10	4	5	9	5	5	5	1

2002-03	128,540	53	10	5	5	9	6	5	5	1
2003-4	135,430	51	11	3	5	9	8	5	5	1
2004-5	120,860	51	11	3	5	9	9	5	5	1

Should retirement age be raised to 67 or 68 or to 70? If we are living longer and there are more older people should we be working longer to fund our later life and indeed to make better use of our accumulated expertise? Given the lengthening life span are our ideas shifting and is old age now defined as a shift into greater immobility and frailty? These debates are long overdue but what are the consequences of these for older people who are homeless? In contrast to these prevailing arguments, those working with or researching into the needs of rough sleepers argue that older homelessness should begin at 50 as "homeless men of that age have physical disabilities and health problems comparable to the housed population ten to twenty years older" (Crane, 1998: 171). To what extent are people presenting themselves for assistance but being turned away who might in another authority be accepted as a priority? Evidence from the late 1990s into local authority acceptances reveals large variation in the numbers accepted on grounds of old age which *may* illustrate a diversity of interpretation (Hawes, 1997). Further research is clearly needed.

What is the actual size of the older homeless population? Part of the answer lies in examination of the other categories of vulnerability. Hawes' (1999) research revealed that almost ten per cent of local authorities could point to proportions of older people within the categories of physical disability and mental illness. Beyond other elements of the official data set is other data which is even less robust.

Table 5: Annual Rough sleeper counts in England

Year	Count

1998	1850
1999	1633
2000	1180
2001	681
2002	596
2003	504
2004	508
2005	459

(Source: Adapted from ODPM 2004)

Since the 1991 Census, annual single night rough sleeper counts have been made across the UK. While these figures enable progress to be measured over time they cannot hope to capture the entirety of those who sleep rough over the course of a year nor is it possible to accurately analyse these figures by age or other grouping though periodic research suggest that the percentage of those aged fifty and over who are street homeless is at least thirty percent (Kitchen and Welsh, 1998). It is widely acknowledged that the one night count in itself is unlikely to be accurate. For many reasons that might include a desire to escape attention or to avoid danger of attack, many older rough sleepers are not bedding down in the areas where known rough sleepers congregate which is where those conducting the count understandably concentrate. The places chosen by older people may be more inaccessible (rubbish skips, abandoned buildings, cellars) and may be dangerous to those who venture in (Shelter, 1997). Researchers however altruistic need to be mindful of their own safety. Fine grain research in London reveals just how much of gap there may be between the actual position and the one night count: at least 834 people aged 50 and over slept rough on the streets of London at some time between April 1999 and March 2000 (Crane, 2001).

In addition to these obviously homeless people there are those who have self placed in hostels run by the voluntary sector, sometimes moving between hostels and between cities, others who may be living permanently in one hostel. Not all hostels keep records and those that do may not record age. Best estimates suggest that the figure might be 700 individuals aged 50 or over in direct access and first stage (emergency bed spaces) hostels in London alone (Crane, 2001).

Table 6: Estimated numbers of those aged 50 homeless at any one time

Group	Estimated numbers at any point in time	Scope of estimate
A. Rough sleepers	300	Great Britain
B. Living in hostels or equivalent	5,000	England
C. Self-placed in bed-and-breakfast or other temporary accommodation because they have no other option	12,000	Great Britain
D. Imminent releases from prison and nowhere to go	100	England and Wales
E. Staying with friends or family in overcrowded conditions	24,000	England
F. Imminent risk of eviction	500	England
Estimated Total	**41,900**	

[Source: Pannell and Palmer, 2004]

Beyond these there are others who may live (self placed) in bed and breakfast accommodation who have no other accommodation and moving down the ladder of insecurity: those who are to be released from an institution to no address; those living with friends or family who have nowhere else to go; and those at risk of eviction from their accommodation. It can be argued that apart from those in groups A and B the others are not homeless however their hold on shelter is precarious with homelessness only one step away. The 2002 figures for Newcastle show that of the 58 older people (60+) who passed through hostels, 11 had lost their home through eviction while four were as a result of friends and family being unable to accommodate them longer (Newcastle City Council, 2003).

While numbers against each of these elements can only be derived from other statistics or extrapolated from local studies, Pannell and Palmer (2004) estimate that the realistic figure may be close to 42,000 individuals at any one time and this *excludes* those accepted by local authorities..

4. Multiple problems: The nature of homelessness among older people

While this paper has shown that the size of the actual older homeless problem in the UK is far from small yet it is both under researched and under resourced. A review of literature on single homelessness published in 2000 revealed 199 significant studies from the 1990s of which 78 mentioned young people but only 8 discussed older people's homelessness (Klinker et al 2000). A further study of homeless research published in 2004 found 159 studies of young people and only 19 of older people (Crane and Warnes, 2004). The material that is available is often local case studies with rich qualitative material. Much of this makes sober reading. Crane's research (1997) which is the most comprehensive, reveals older people coming to homelessness at various stages in their lives. Some became homeless in old age while others have grown old as homeless people. For some the transition happened in adolescence or early adulthood when they left broken homes, abusive parents, orphanages, foster homes or the armed forces. Triggers for homelessness in mid life included marital breakdown, loss of work and a drift into casual employment and housing among transient workers, or loss of last surviving parent for those who had developed few life and social skills or whose learning disability or mental illness had been "managed" at home. In later life loss of a spouse, retirement and thus loss of life structures, increasing severity of mental illness, loss of tied accommodation and discharge from the armed forces were all triggers that might lead to homelessness though it is clear that chains of events such as - the broken home, the army, alcohol, mental disturbance- were common.. "Rarely does a single factor cause homelessness "(Crane, 1997: 34) and this is powerfully illustrated by a survey undertaken for a London homeless charity (St Mungos, 2004). Figure 1 gives the number of problems per older homeless client while figure 2 sets out the problems seen among the older group.

Figure 1:

Number of problems of homeless people 50+

[Source: St Mungo's, 2004]

Figure 2:

% of homeless people 50+ with problems
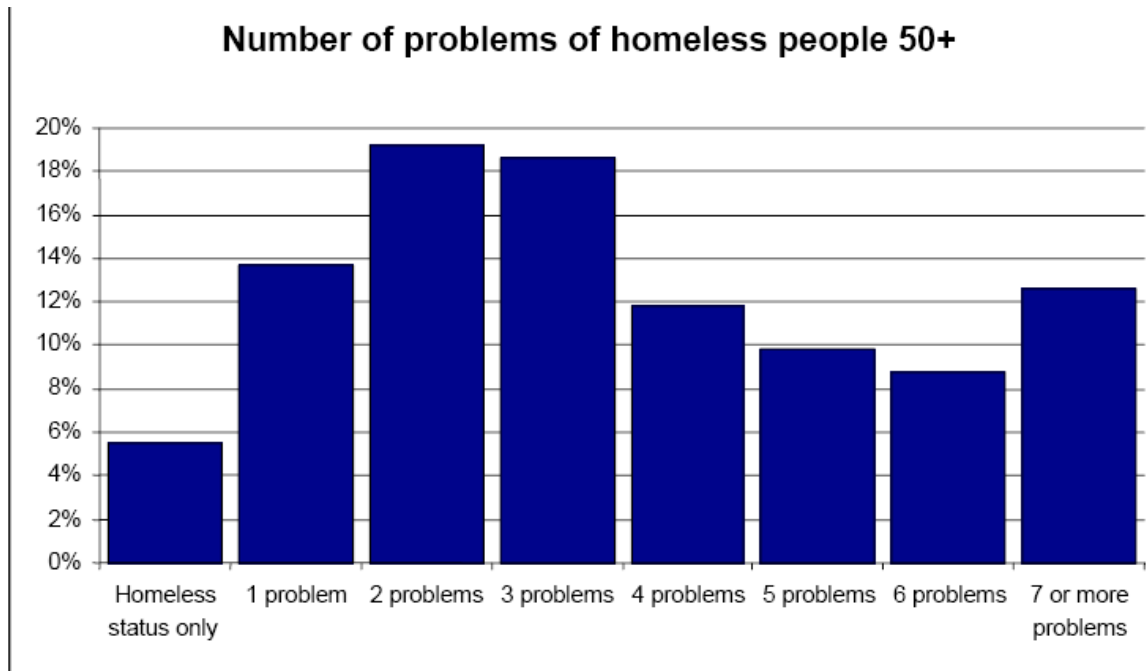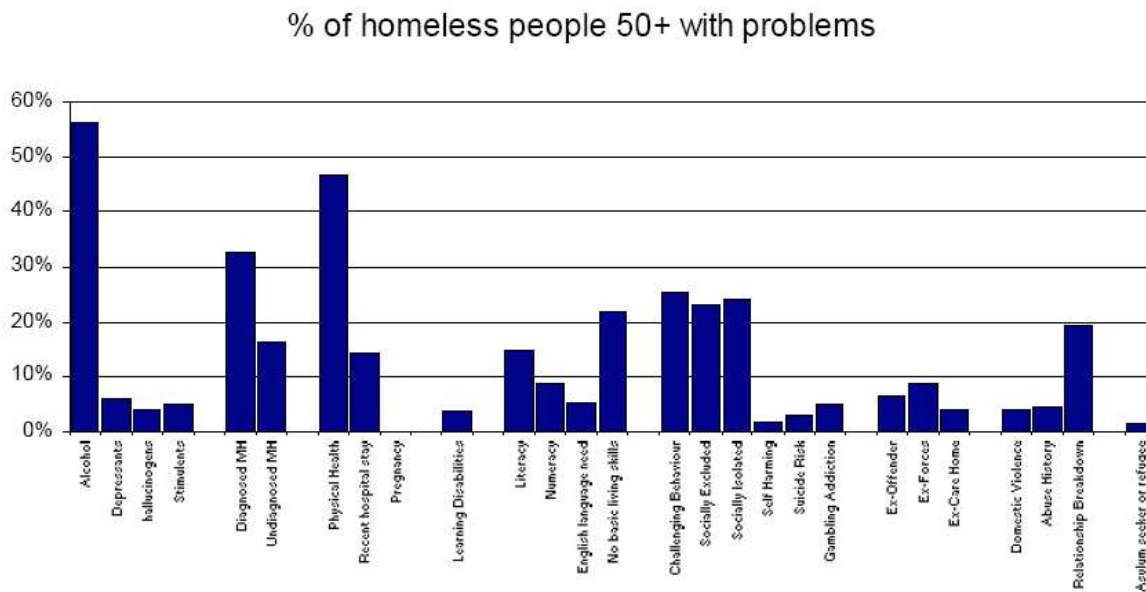
[Source: St Mungo's , 2004]

In Crane's study (1997) half the homeless people who took part reported broken or disturbed childhood homes and for some this was the start of a lifetime of insecurity. Other studies have highlighted the high percentage of ex service personnel who find

themselves among the homeless and who may never adapt to civilian life (Randall and Brown 1994; Higate 1997). This research into the pathways to homelessness has resulted in legislative changes: since 2002 ex prisoners and ex service personnel may be re-housed if they are judged to be vulnerable though as the paper has demonstrated the concept of vulnerability is nebulous and does not guarantee a safety net. Care leavers under 21 years of age are judged to be an automatic priority as are homeless young people under the age of 18. These legal advances may prevent an episode of homelessness becoming a life pattern.

Research clearly reveals that many of the older people sleeping rough or living in the twilight world of hostels may qualify as vulnerable under at least one priority needs grouping. Mental illness is proof of vulnerability and all research reports a high incidence of mental health problems among the homeless particularly rough sleepers (Bines, 1994; Crane, 1998). Wilcock's study (2004) found more than half the homeless research participants reported having one or more chronic physical health problems. In many cases these were severe.

> Many participants had mobility problems and a number of participants had partial or total loss of sight or hearing. Health conditions included: respiratory diseases, including asthma, chronic bronchitis, emphysema and lung cancer; cardiovascular disorders, such as angina and coronary heart disease; alcohol-related diseases, including cirrhosis of the liver and chronic pancreatis; neurological conditions, including epilepsy or seizures, recent history of brain hemorrhage, recent stroke and partial paralysis; and arthritis and diabetes (page 9).

Again many of these would be accepted and re-housed but they don't come forward. Those who have been long term homeless may have become inured to life at the margins; those who are heavy drinkers may have suffered multiple exclusions because of alcohol abuse; those with mental health problems may have distorted perceptions of reality that may influence their capacity to seek help.

5. Responding to the needs of older homeless people

In the 1990s the image of single homelessness in Britain changed or rather the public perception of it altered in the face of an apparent explosion of young homeless who were out on the street often begging with their signs-"homeless and hungry". These

young people with their very visible homelessness particularly in London increasingly caught public and political attention such that in the period 1990 to 2005 central government (both Conservative and Labour) has committed almost £700 million to tackle rough sleeping firstly in London and then spreading out to other urban centres. It can be argued cynically that these actions were intended to clean up the streets so that inward investors and tourists would not be deterred. Older people were not recipients of this new money because older rough sleepers tend to stay away from city centres. The policy intention however is not simply to clean up the streets but to redirect rough sleepers into education, training and employment is in line with an agenda that sees "citizen" as synonymous with worker and tax payer. Nevertheless many younger people have been rescued and a broader range of outreach work and services geared to the problems presented by these young people have been established. However older people are unlikely to be economically productive and in a world where worth is established by productivity or consumption, the older homeless person is not going to be seen as deserving money or time. Compared to the huge sums of money targeted at the young the issue of older homelessness was awarded £600,000 from a national coalition of three charities in 1998 but as reported in 2002, the projects set up were unlikely to continue because of a lack of secured future funding. Crane and Warnes (2005) bleakly comment that because funds often come with demands for statistical returns and proof of successful "throughput" many homeless projects are likely to focus their work on the young and the newly homeless who are easier to approach and to settle. While there is evidence of the great benefits that older people can reap from being successfully resettled (Crane and Warnes, 2002) nevertheless behind each success story is a lengthy period of time and dedicated one to one work establishing trust. If funding depends on quantitative evidence of success, work with older people is not going to become a high priority.

6. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to unravel the complexity of the British homeless problem. While there has been legislation for more than 25 years yet there is clearly a ranked order of priority with children - pregnant women, families, under 18 year olds and young care leavers –clearly coming first. For others proving that there is a duty of care owed to them is a lottery depending on the policies of particular authorities and street level bureaucracy – the power of individual officers to judge as deserving or otherwise. The nature of welfare provision in the UK is that individuals or their advocates need to lobby but as we have seen the nature of homelessness among older people is such that they may avoid contact with authority. The current funding attention paid to rough sleepers

is to be commended for it is this group who are unlikely to be presenting themselves to homeless persons units yet the target there is younger people who can be remoulded into productive citizens. Older people by definition are seen as beyond contributing and are therefore further marginalized. Just as in the developing world, where street children have dominated the homeless debate, so in the UK the debate (and the resources) have been directed at the young homeless people.

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Homelessness in Delhi in the Context of the Master Plan 2001

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Introduction

The study on homelessness has gripped the arena of research in recent times. Its various forms and processes have been studied by academicians and researchers in the past, particularly with reference to USA during the 1980s. But in the present context, the conceptual framework of understanding the phenomenon has changed immensely and has therefore provided sufficient ground for further research of the phenomenon with respect to identifying the changing concepts in the developing world and the various processes responsible for homelessness. 'Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services' (United Nations 1948) is the beginning of Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The subject of homelessness is therefore politically sensitive, because the choice of the definition of who is homeless determines the population which is likely to be enumerated and receive financial support (Springer 2000).

Homelessness in the context of the Western World have been related to concepts of commodification and externalization, status-seeking and deviance and anxiety (Mair 1986), which have arisen through the understanding of who the homeless people are and reasons for them being treated unfavourably and also social explanations to homeless. Other terms often used are transient, tramp and drifter (Wolch and Rahimian 1993), which has reference to a group or a community in particular. Homelessness carries implications of belonging nowhere rather than simply having nowhere to sleep. A theoretical definition of homelessness has widened out from embracing only those sleeping rough to include risk and causality (UNCHS 2000).

The regional differences in perceiving 'homeless' as a concept have markedly varied with the definitions of homelessness and homeless, the understanding for which is essentially important. These definitions are influenced by multifarious factors such as climatic patterns, traditions, culture, social infrastructure and welfare systems, racial and gender issues.

'In the past, a set of definitions for homelessness has been developed in the UN System, used for example in the Compendium of Human Settlement Statistics' (UNCHS 1995, cited in Springer 2000: 477-78). The expression 'homeless household' refers to " (….) households without a shelter that would fall within the scope of living quarters. They carry their few possessions with them sleeping in the streets, in door ways or on piers, or in any other space, on a more or less random basis" (United Nations 1998, cited in Springer 2000: 478).

The Census of India uses the notion of houseless population, for people who are 'homeless' defined as persons who are not living in census houses, and are located and enumerated from places such as the roadside, pavements, in hume pipes, under staircases, or in the open, temple, mandaps, platform (Census of India 1991). This part of the population includes those sleeping without shelter, in constructions not meant for habitation and in welfare institutions can be called '*literally homeless*' (Crane and Warnes 2000:759). In other cases, the definition of the homeless has been more detailed and offers a classification for example, the classification given by Cooper in 1995 (cited in UNCHS 2000), where degrees of homelessness, absolute, first degree relative, second degree relative and third degree relative homelessness have been defined, based on the condition of the shelter. In Austria the *risk component* has been introduced to distinguish different groups of homeless. The situation of being houseless can be acute, imminent or potential. This definition is similar to the one used in a Canadian study literally homeless, moving in and out of homelessness, marginally housed and at risk of homelessness. A *quality oriented* definition has been developed by the European Federation of National Organizations working with the Homeless (FEANTSA) and has been cited in the Global Report. The Observatory has developed a four-fold classification of housing situation which can be used to both define the condition of homelessness and evaluate its extent:

- Rooflessness (i.e. sleeping rough);

- Houselessness (i.e. living in institutions or 'short-term guest' accommodation);

- Insecure accommodation; and

- Inferior or substandard housing (Springer 2000: 478-79)

All of these writings conclude that one of the essential characteristics of homelessness as a phenomenon is its transience, instability, and flux. Hence, homelessness as a whole resembles the trajectories of its individual members, who enter and leave homelessness, sometimes repeatedly, sometimes only once, depending on their fortunes. A report by UNCHS (2000) homelessness was described as not having an acceptable level of housing. It included all states below what may be regarded as adequate for the reference society. To classify someone as homeless indicates a state in which policy interventions are absolutely necessary. In developing countries, a threshold for an average person was proposed, taking into consideration something as inadequate or unacceptable. This report tried to highlight the unique and urgent needs of the people defined by the narrowest definition of homelessness, which are lost and neglected. Instead of discussing about those inadequately housed the special issues raised by homeless people, would be more suitable in developing countries. Many countries have no official concern for homeless people, even to the extent of denying their existence.

Contextualisation Homelessness in Developing Countries: The case of large cities

In developing countries, some define homelessness as having no land or shelter, while others include living in sub-standard housing. As in high-income industrial countries, people living rough on the streets may (perversely as it may seem) be excluded from the homelessness figures and policy.

In developing countries, population growth - particularly in cities - is still very large, although the rates of increase are declining. However, the sheer scale of the growth poses a severe task for housing suppliers. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the growth of households has required and will require the supply of more than ten dwellings per thousand population (UNCHS 2000).

In many countries, urban regeneration and renewal, and gentrification of inner city housing stocks, have reduced the supply of cheap urban housing. Improvement of the housing standards for the vast majority tends not to have affected the poorest segment of the population. The restructuring of social and public housing in many countries contributes to decreased access to housing for the poor. The urban situation looks awful and it becomes all the more grave with a large population deprived of basic needs in an affluent metropolitan city which is forced to find a shelter in commercial areas and congested localities, on the streets and pavements, under the bridges, open

spaces like parks, shops, temples, etc, even on the rickshaw and carts. They are mostly visible in nights since during the daytime these places become unsuitable for stay and these people mostly go out to earn their livelihood. Whereas a good number of them are residents of Delhi, majority are pulled, migrating to Delhi due to opportunities, or pushed from the rural poverty and in many cases due to natural calamities. This has been explained as 'supplementary homelessness' and 'survival homelessness' (Speak 2004: 470). In many cases however, 'supplementary homelessness' could be a typical characteristic feature of the migrants who preferred to sleep rough instead of spending money on housing, primarily to send money back home in the village. This could be considered a conscious decision on part of the houseless person. However, the percentage of population in this category is difficult to determine. Another category is 'survival homelessness' (ibid: 473) where the common strand often lies in the origin of the persons who are homeless and places where they live i.e. pavement, below flyovers, etc. The latter group is different from the former group only with respect to the precarious economic conditions in the village which push them to large cities, where situations often become worse. As pointed out by Rahman (1997) cited in Speak (2004), 'the multi-dimensionality of rural poverty is so complex in developing countries that the smallest change can tip the balance between being able to cope with fluctuating fortunes and being tipped into crisis'. This however, could be the type of homeless in a large part of Delhi, despite industrial closures.

Delhi Master Plan and Homelessness

There's something grimly unique about impoverished third world societies. The magnitude of problems is so large that it affects tens of thousands of people resulting in creation of barely a ripple, outside of those immediately affected. One such has been unfolding in Delhi over the last one year (Adve 2004). Delhi has been one of the major centres where in-migration for search of jobs had been taking place, which was responsible for industrial employment rising up by 300 per cent between 1970-71 and 1990-91. In the same period, the number of industrial units in the city went up from 26,000 to 93,000. In the mid-1990s, it was estimated that more than 200,000 people had migrated into the city in the past decade. In 1996-97, the number of industrial units in the city stood at 1,26,000, with an employment of 11,36,000. It was in order to deal with continuous pressures of in-migration, that the planners decided to develop ring towns around the main city, which taken together would mean a larger National Capital Territory (NCT), becoming a seat for foreign investment in the new grid of global cities. 'This process of internal restructuring has been an event of the past when the Master Plan of Delhi 1962 was prepared with help from a team of the Ford Foundation. This

Plan was based on an elaborate idea of 'zoning' wherein residential, commercial and industrial zones were spatially segregated. However, no provisioning for the working class residences was taken care of. In the next decade, Delhi witnessed the growth of large scale expansion and alongside settlements came up without any civic amenities like sewerage, water and electricity supply. It is such settlements that became the target of the first wave of relocation in the 1970s and 80s. A new Plan was ready by 1982, but this saw the biggest violation of the Master Plan of 1962, when the city started gearing up for the Asian Games. It was only by 1986 that a revised Plan was passed and even that came into force in 1991. This plan was referred to as the Delhi Master Plan 2001' (Nigam 2001: 43). As per Economic Survey of Delhi 2001- 2002, there were about 1,29,000 industrial units in Delhi in 1998 against 1,26,000units in 1996-97. Some features of the DMP 2001 were:

- DMP 2001 prohibits industries in five Use Zones (recreational, transportation, utility, government, public/semi public) and permits them, with stipulations, in four (residential, commercial, manufacturing, agricultural).

- Industries in unauthorized residential colonies developed in violation of DMP 2001

- Industries in privately developed industrial estates in areas where Zonal / sub-Zonal Plans have not been notified. DMP 2001 stipulates 265 Ha for extensive and 1533 Ha for light industrial estates in outlying areas (http://plan.architexturez.org/site/dmp2021/ncmp/m/040915).

- 'It is important to note that the DMP 2001 already marked a serious shift away from the MPD 1962, even in terms of the provisions that were made for space allocations for the poor. To take just one instance, while the MPD 1962 considered a minimum of 80 sq. metres as the minimum space for the residential requirements for a single family of the poor, the later plan brought it down to a mere 25 sq. metres' (Nigam 2001:44).

The two issues which required absolute attention in the light of the DMP 2001 were:

- Dislocation of thousands of working class families due to the closure of factories, and

- The demolition of jhuggi bastis and the consequent displacement of those living in them.

Following a Supreme Court order (of 12 September 2000) that directed the Delhi government that "all polluting industries of whatever category operating in residential areas must be asked to shut down", teams of sub-divisional magistrates accompanied by police personnel had begun sealing hundreds of 'non-conforming' polluting units. Twenty-seven "undisputedly polluting industries" - acids and chemicals, dyeing and bleaching, electroplating, glass products, plastic dye, polythene, steel re-rolling, PVC compounds, among others - listed in Annexure III 'F' in the Delhi Master Plan (MPD 2001) were initially targeted by the government. Over the next few weeks, hundreds of factories in Tri Nagar, Keshopuram, Vishwas Nagar, Rohini, Narela, Samaipur Badli, and numerous other areas were sealed. Within a week, almost 4000 industries were sealed and about 50,000 workers were thrown out of job. A large number of workers belonging to the surrounding states were forced to go back to their villages and extra boggies were provided in trains where they could travel back, without tickets. But later on many were caught travelling without tickets, and were taken to custody, because they could not pay the fine. (Roy: 2004). Another effect of the closure of industries were all kinds of small establishments and the casual, contract or the informal workforce within them, which were hard hit by closures. These included teashops, dhabas, vendors and hawkers, as well as loaders transporting material. A survey by an organisation called the Janwadi Adhikar Manch revealed issues of loss of livelihood and homelessness following the closure of industries. An initial phase of protest was carried out by some workers which fell on deaf ears and the owners refused to pay any kind of compensation to them. Some skilled workers in certain industries were informed on the day of the closure, that their services had been terminated. However, owners continued work at other establishments in other parts of the city, where machinery of the closed unit, was shifted. Some remained hopeful about the probability of reopening of the unit, which eventually closed down and the workers were paid only a month's salary and in some cases, nothing. A sudden shock pushed them out of their homes or into casual or daily wage work on exploitative terms and conditions in the informal sector. Some of the owners could not afford large investments and therefore wanted to invest in smaller operations in Delhi like phone booths, shops, property dealing agencies or any other kind of commercial activity, which would be able to generate employment, although not to the extent of the manufacturing sector (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch 2001)

Another aspect of the Master Plan of Delhi 2001 was the demolition in Pushta as a part of demolitions of taking place for the last few years. This was simply a manifestation of the continued but unstated policy of throwing a section of the working

poor out of this city. About 25,000 jhuggis were dismantled in Delhi between 1990 and 1999. In more recent years as many as 50,000 jhuggi homes have been dismantled. The large-scale closure of industries after the mid-1990s, and the limiting of manufacturing activity in the city has left the poor with no other choice but to occupy pavements, pipes, benches in parks, etc. in the city because returning to the village would push them into deeper poverty. About 27,000 jhuggis (slum houses or shacks) have been destroyed since late February, 2004, in the Yamuna Pushta, a stretch of land along the river Yamuna that trickles through Delhi where nearly 100,000 people have been rendered homeless, violently. They have been termed by authorities as "encroachers" who "pollute" the Yamuna and the city in general. Most of the residents in Pushta work as cycle-rickshaw pullers, plying people around on their three-wheeled cycles, waste-pickers, hawkers, sweepers, domestic workers, drivers, and construction workers. A majority of them had to leave for their villages, or dispersed in the city. The relocation sites are 18-35 kilometers away from Pushta, which would mean that they would have to spend a large amount of money to travel from their workplaces to their homes. The recent demolitions are a result of the plans of the Government to make use of the huge tract of land on which the jhuggis were located to set up a tourism complex, clubs, convention centers and a financial district. Delhi's powerful land mafia and property dealers are salivating at the potential profits this land in the centre of the city could generate, owing to the fact that Pushta itself extends over 100 acres. The Master Plan and the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) talks of "channelisation of the river Yamuna" towards "development of the riverfront". In 1998, the DDA submitted a plan to develop 24,250 acres of the river-bed. The cost of developing this land has been put at Rs. 800 (US$18) per square meter, and its sale price at Rs. 2,660 (US$ 59) per square meter, going up to Rs. 15,960 (US$355) per square meter for commercial property (Adve 2004).

> "A modern global city is the immediate agenda of my government. A city that all Indians can be proud of", the Lieutenant Governor said as he listed the government's priorities like upgradation of infrastructure and augmenting the basic civic amenities. "A city with modern, eco-friendly, cost-effective and efficient modes of transportation through a well-integrated multi-nodal transport system … uninterrupted supply of power and water … modern amenities and excellent services of sanitation and sewage
>
> disposal", he said. (**The Tribune** 2003).

Identifying the 'Houseless' in Urban Delhi: Some results from the Census

'By any estimate over 1 lakh people are homeless in Delhi alone. Estimation of homeless population becomes difficult in the absence of any fixed abode (sans domicile fixe). According to the 1981 census, there were about 75,000 houseless households in 12 select metros in India. That means, 3,75,000 persons were "without a roof over their heads" and languishing on the city streets. This problem was more acute in the three metros, Kolkata, Mumbai and Delhi, which put together were reported to have 78% of the houseless population. 20,07,489 houseless persons in a grossly under enumerated Census 1991, with urban houseless as 7,25,592. However, 2001 census appears to have taken a realistic view by counting 13.5 million 'household shortages', each household having six members, the total houseless population being estimated at 7.8 crores in the country' (ActionAid India Society & Slum and Resettlement Wing, MCD 2003).

Table I shows extreme trends in the growth rate of houseless population in urban Delhi between 1981 and 2001. The overall houseless population declined from 1981 to 1991 exhibited by a negative growth rate of 16.34 per cent, with the male and female houseless population showing a negative growth rate of 13.39 and 32.10 per cent respectively. However, a sudden rise in the growth rate of houseless population is noticed between 1991 and 2001, as revealed by a percentage of 26.89. The male houseless population showed a lower growth rate of 25.13 per cent as compared to female houseless population growth, which soared upto 38.88 per cent as represented in Figure I. The high growth rate of female houseless population between 1991 and 2001 clearly indicates the increasing vulnerability of this group which had earlier reduced between 1981 and 1991. The overall increase in the growth rate of houseless population in urban Delhi may be attributed to the large scale migration of population in rural areas in search of jobs, especially after the initiation of the globalisation process.

Table I: Houseless Population in Urban Delhi (1981-2001)

	1981			1991			2001		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Female
Population	22516	18974	3542	18838	16433	2405	23903	20563	3340
Growth				-16.34	-13.39	-32.10	26.89	25.13	38.88

Rate									

Delhi has since then, been undergoing a process of renewal whereby, not only large multiplexes and residential colonies have grown, but in most cases have occupied those lands where the low income groups resided earlier.

Figure I: Growth Rate of Houseless Population in Urban Delhi
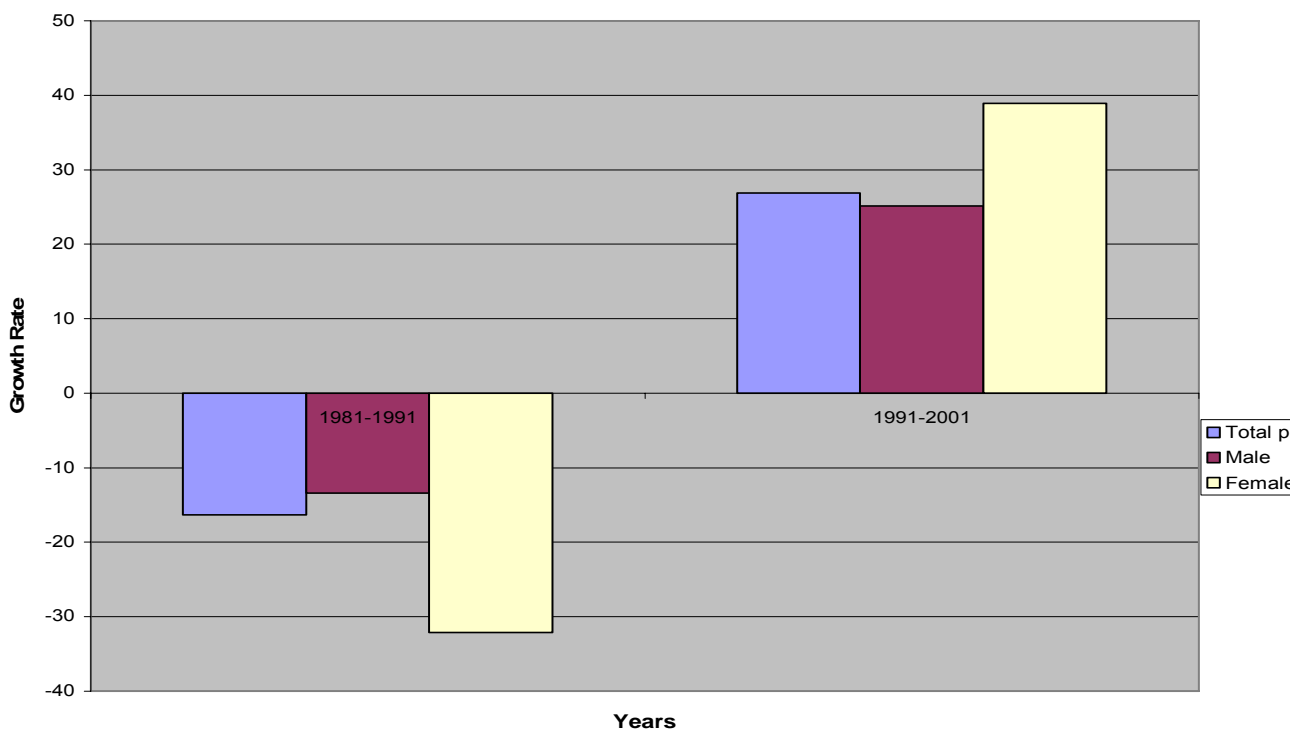
The evicted population were forced to leave without any compensation or alternative arrangement for shelters/homes. An obvious solution for them was to arrange for an accommodation on footpaths, under flyovers, inside hume pipes, etc.

Table II: Percentage of Houseless Population of Urban Delhi According to Sex (1981-2001)

 An observation of the data on male and female houseless population in 1981, 1991 and 2001 indicates that compared to the houseless females, the percentage of houseless males has been significantly higher with regard to total houseless population at all points of time, as shown in Table II. This could be attributed to the fact that a large section of the houseless population consists of male migrants from the rural areas searching for a better life for themselves and their families in the village. The percentage of houseless male population shows an approximately 3 per cent increase between 1981 and 1991 followed by a decline of about 1 per cent in 2001. In the case of female houseless population, the trend shows a decline of 3 per cent between 1981 and 1991, followed by a slight increase of 1 per cent in 2001.

Table III: Total and Houseless Population of Urban Delhi (1981-2001)

	Delhi HL	Delhi (T)	% of HL to T	Delhi HL	Delhi (T)	% of HL to T	Delhi HL	Delhi (T)	% of HL to T
	1981			1991			2001		

	1981	1991	2001
Male	84.26	87.23	86.03
Female	15.73	12.77	13.97
Total Population	22516	6048149	0. 37	18838	9152833	0. 21	23903	12819761	0.19
Males	18974	3346937	0. 57	16433	5008511	0. 33	20563	7037671	0.29
Females	3542	2701212	0. 13	2405	4144322	0. 06	3340	5782090	0.06

An analysis of the percentage of houseless population to total population in urban Delhi shows a declining trend for total as well as male houseless population between 1981 and 2001, as revealed in Table III. The proportion of female houseless population to total population in urban Delhi between 1981 and 1991 declined but remained constant between 1991 and 2001. A diagrammatic representation of the above has been shown in Figure II.

Figure II: Percentage of Houseless to Total Population in Urban Delhi (1981-2001)
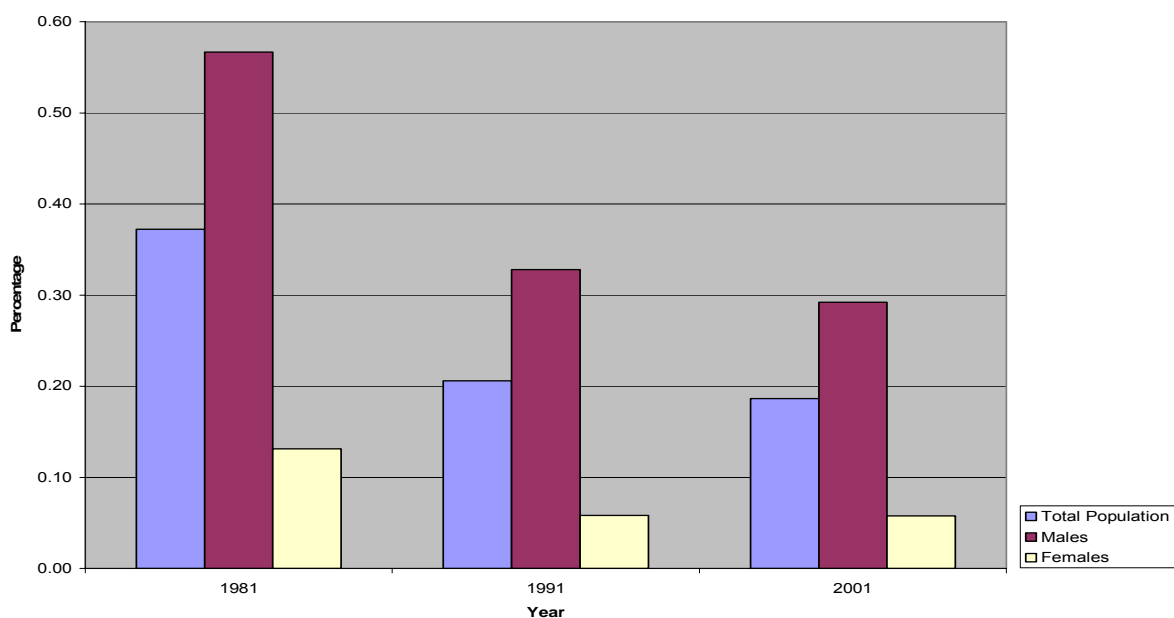
Table IV (a): District-wise Socio-Economic Characteristics of Total and Houseless Population of Urban Delhi in 2001

	DELHI (T)	DELHI (HL)	NORTH WEST (T)	NORTH WEST (HL)	NORTH (T)	NORTH (HL)	NORTH EAST (T)	NORTH EAST (HL)
No. of Households	2553579	9809	513755	1137	140195	2717	285831	367
Total Population	12905780	23903	2595506	2536	734940	7059	1626514	903
Male	7085147	20563	1424948	1971	402158	6624	879520	671
Female	5820633	3340	1170558	565	332782	435	746994	232
0-6 Population	18588689	1609	386948	286	98110	218	271900	116
Male	994134	883	208135	167	51996	125	145118	64

Female	864555	726	178843	119	46114	93	126782	52
SC Population	2154877	2869	503378	250	127626	687	242775	160
Male	1163682	2082	274109	195	67956	542	130627	111
Female	991195	787	229269	55	59670	145	112148	49
Literates (Total)	9050813	8203	1783739	830	511451	2581	1052514	302
Male	5322741	7750	1053954	765	295994	2506	622617	276
Female	3728072	453	729785	65	215457	75	429897	26
Total Workers	4244170	19140	836470	1772	242536	6298	459994	600
Male	3702069	18044	734187	1572	215246	6195	419633	520
Female	542101	1096	102283	200	27290	103	40361	80
Total Main Workers	4043839	17025	797829	1565	231757	5801	433389	549
Male	3553773	16124	706317	1420	207478	5716	400280	476
Female	490066	901	91512	145	24279	85	33109	73
Total Marginal	200331	2115	38641	207	10779	497	26605	51

Workers							
Male	148296	1920	27870	152	7768	479	19353	44
Female	52035	195	10771	55	3011	18	7252	7
Total Non-Workers	8661610	4763	1759036	764	492404	761	1166520	303
Male	3383078	2519	690761	399	186912	429	459887	151
Female	5278532	2244	1068275	365	305492	332	706633	152

Source: Primary Census Abstract of Delhi, 2001 Note: T=Total, HL=Houseless

Table IV (b): District-wise Socio-Economic Characteristics of Total and Houseless Population of Urban Delhi in 2001

	NEW DELHI (T)	NEW DELHI (HL)	CENTRAL (T)	CENTRAL (HL)	WEST	WEST (HL)	SOUTH WEST (T)	SOUTH WEST (HL)	SOUTH (T)	SOUT (HL)
No. of Households	39633	217	120616	2444	415635	939	320792	458	433962	1113
Total Population	179112	709	646385	5676	2042114	1985	1529587	1524	2106262	2676
Male	99956	518	350831	5340	1113718	1663	860336	1027	1169725	2078
Female	79156	191	295554	336	928396	322	669251	497	936537	598
0-6 Population	21496	107	80480	102	274160	173	216247	238	306383	275
Male	11327	65	42292	54	147492	88	116745	113	162172	157
Female	10169	42	38188	48	126668	85	99502	125	144211	118
SC Population	39803	75	150815	436	307496	422	215611	228	330199	433
Male	21706	60	79329	335	166353	292	118040	145	178359	283
Female	18097	15	71486	101	141143	130	97571	83	151840	150
Literates (Total)	131196	210	450989	1836	1479425	730	1105775	486	1480356	906
Male	78540	195	255253	1765	850230	699	669888	405	890499	844
Female	52656	15	195736	71	629195	31	435887	81	589857	62
Total Workers	67594	480	223851	5153	691429	1552	528176	921	726166	1752
Male	55226	386	196069	5039	590748	1431	461066	761	622195	1579
Female	12368	94	27782	114	100681	121	67110	160	103971	173

Table V: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Houseless Population expressed as Percentage of Total Population within the Districts

	DELHI	NORTH WEST	NORTH	NORTH EAST	EAST	NEW DELHI	CENTRAL	WEST	SOUTH WEST
No. of Households	0.38	0.22	1.94	0.13	0.15	0.55	2.03	0.23	0.14
Total Population	0.19	0.10	0.96	0.06	0.06	0.40	0.88	0.10	0.10
Male	0.29	0.14	1.65	0.08	0.09	0.52	1.52	0.15	0.12
Female	0.06	0.05	0.13	0.03	0.02	0.24	0.11	0.03	0.07
0-6 Population	0.01	0.07	0.22	0.04	0.05	0.50	0.13	0.06	0.11
Male	0.09	0.08	0.24	0.04	0.05	0.57	0.13	0.06	0.10
Female	0.08	0.07	0.20	0.04	0.05	0.41	0.13	0.07	0.13
SC Population	0.13	0.05	0.54	0.07	0.08	0.19	0.29	0.14	0.11
Male	0.18	0.07	0.80	0.08	0.09	0.28	0.42	0.18	0.12
Female	0.08	0.02	0.24	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.14	0.09	0.09
Literates	0.09	0.05	0.50	0.03	0.03	0.16	0.41	0.05	0.04

(Total)									
Male	0.15	0.07	0.85	0.04	0.05	0.25	0.69	0.08	0.06
Female	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.00	0.02
Total Workers	0.45	0.21	2.60	0.13	0.13	0.71	2.30	0.22	0.17
Male	0.49	0.21	2.88	0.12	0.14	0.70	2.57	0.24	0.17
Female	0.20	0.20	0.38	0.20	0.08	0.76	0.41	0.12	0.24
Total Main Workers	0.42	0.20	2.50	0.13	0.11	0.64	2.11	0.20	0.17
Male	0.45	0.20	2.75	0.12	0.12	0.64	2.33	0.22	0.16
Female	0.18	0.16	0.35	0.22	0.06	0.67	0.41	0.09	0.25
Total Marginal Workers	1.06	0.54	4.61	0.19	0.55	2.08	6.26	0.72	0.23
Male	1.29	0.55	6.17	0.23	0.63	2.05	8.43	0.81	0.28
Female	0.37	0.51	0.60	0.10	0.31	2.20	0.45	0.45	0.07
Total Non-Workers	0.05	0.04	0.15	0.03	0.02	0.21	0.12	0.03	0.06
Male	0.07	0.06	0.23	0.03	0.03	0.30	0.19	0.04	0.07
Female	0.04	0.03	0.11	0.02	0.02	0.15	0.08	0.02	0.06

The Census 2001 for the first time has enumerated the houseless population providing valuable information about their socio-economic characteristics. Tables IV (a) and (b) show the district-wise socio-economic characteristics of houseless population in urban Delhi in absolute figures. The indicators shown in the two tables captures the demographic characteristics of the total and houseless population in urban Delhi to bring about a comparison between the two groups mentioned above. The female population and children within the age group of 0 to 6 years represent the most vulnerable groups. The employment status of the houseless population has been shown through the categories of workers.

Table V shows the district-wise socio-economic characteristics of houseless population as percentage of total population in urban Delhi. The primary observations have been highlighted as follows:

- The proportion of houseless households in the Central district is the highest (2.03 per cent), followed by the North district (1.94 per cent).

- Less than 1 per cent of the houseless population to total population in all the districts is literate.

- Proportion of houseless children in the 0 to 6 age group within each district is fairly low compared to total population in the same age group.

- In the North district, houseless population accounts for 2.60 per cent of total workers followed by the Central district (2.30 per cent).

- In New Delhi, total houseless workers account for 0.71 per cent with females showing a slightly higher percentage than males. A similar trend is noticed in the North-East and South-West district as well.

- Within total workers in each district, the proportion of houseless marginal workers is more than houseless main workers. Only the Central district shows a percentage of 2.11 as houseless main workers. All other districts exhibit a percentage of less than 1.

- The proportion of houseless marginal workers to total marginal workers is highest in the Central district (6.26 per cent), followed by North (4.61 per cent) and New Delhi (2.08 per cent).

- The percentage of houseless non-workers to total non-workers in all the districts is very low, which indicates that most of the houseless persons are engaged in some form of economic activity, even if lowly paid.

Table VI: District-wise Concentration of Houseless Population expressed as Percentage of Total Houseless Population in Urban Delhi

	NORTH WEST (HL)	NORTH (HL)	NORTH EAST (HL)	EAST (HL)	NEW DELHI (HL)	CENTRAL (HL)	WEST (HL)	SOU WES (HL)
No. of Households	11.59	27.70	3.74	4.25	2.21	24.92	9.57	4.67
Total Population	10.61	29.53	3.78	3.49	2.97	23.75	8.30	6.38
Male	9.59	32.21	3.26	3.26	2.52	25.97	8.09	4.99
Female	16.92	13.02	6.95	4.91	5.72	10.06	9.64	14.8
0-6 Population	17.78	13.55	7.21	5.84	6.65	6.34	10.75	14.7
Male	18.91	14.16	7.25	5.66	7.36	6.12	9.97	12.8
Female	16.39	12.81	7.16	6.06	5.79	6.61	11.71	17.2
SC Population	8.71	23.95	5.58	6.20	2.61	15.20	14.71	7.95
Male	9.37	26.03	5.33	5.72	2.88	16.09	14.02	6.96
Female	6.99	18.42	6.23	7.50	1.91	12.83	16.52	10.5
Literates (Total)	10.12	31.46	3.68	3.93	2.56	22.38	8.90	5.92
Male	9.87	32.34	3.56	3.81	2.52	22.77	9.02	5.23
Female	14.35	16.56	5.74	5.96	3.31	15.67	6.84	17.8
Total Workers	9.26	32.90	3.13	3.20	2.51	26.92	8.11	4.81
Male	8.71	34.33	2.88	3.11	2.14	27.93	7.93	4.22
Female	18.25	9.40	7.30	4.65	8.58	10.40	11.04	14.6
Total Main Workers	9.19	34.07	3.22	2.98	2.43	26.40	7.76	5.10
Male	8.81	35.45	2.95	2.93	2.08	27.25	7.68	4.42
Female	16.90	9.42	3.10	4.09	9.06	11.81	9.31	17.3

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Table VI shows district-wise percentage of houseless population to total houseless population in urban Delhi in 2001. This table captures the concentration of houseless population in each district along with its socio-economic characteristics with respect to the total houseless population in urban Delhi. The main observations are as follows:

- Highest percentage of houseless households is found in the North district (27.70), followed by Central (24.92), North-West (11.59) and South (11.35).

- The North district accounts for 29.53 percent of the total houseless population, followed by the Central district. However, the South district has a higher population concentration of 11.20 per cent as compared to the North-West district (10.61 per cent) although proportion of households is higher in the latter.

- The North and South districts account for 17.78 and 17.09 per cent of the population between the 0 to 6 age group respectively, followed by the South-West district (14.79 per cent) and North district (13.55 per cent). This age group is extremely vulnerable and must be taken care of, especially the group of children whose proportion is higher in the East, Central, West and South-West districts.

- 31.46 per cent of the houseless population in the North district are literate, followed by Central (22.38) and South (11.04).

- Highlighting on the economic aspect, the North district (32.90 per cent) accounts for the highest proportion of total workers, followed by the Central district (26.40 per cent)

- The proportion of marginal workers is highest in the Central district (31.16 per cent), followed by the North (23.50 per cent) and South (11.73 per cent) districts.

- Compared to their male counterparts, the proportion of female total workers is higher in all the districts except North and Central districts. The proportion of female total workers is highest in the North-West district (18.25 per cent), followed by the South (15.78 per cent), South-West (14.60 per cent) and West (11.04 per cent) districts.

- A similar pattern is noticed within the categories of main and marginal workers with an exception in the case of the latter where the proportion of female workers is slightly less than the male workers in the South-West district as well.

- The highest proportion of non-workers is found in the South district (19.40 per cent), followed by the North-West (16.04 per cent) and North (15.98 per cent) districts. Within this category, the proportion of females is less, compared to the males in New Delhi, North, Central, West and South districts.

Table VII: District-wise Employment Scenario among the Houseless Population in Urban Delhi

	DELHI (HL)	NORTH WEST (HL)	NORTH (HL)	NORTH EAST (HL)	EAST (HL)	NEW DELHI (HL)	CENTRAL (HL)	WEST (HL)	SOUTH WEST (HL)	SOUTH (HL)
Percentage of Main Workers to Total Workers										
Total	88.95	88.32	92.11	91.50	83.01	86.25	87.21	85.12	94.35	85.84
Male	89.36	90.33	92.27	91.54	84.14	87.05	87.18	86.51	93.69	86.13
Female	82.21	72.50	82.52	91.25	70.59	82.98	88.60	68.60	97.50	83.24
Percentage of Marginal Workers to Total Workers										
Total	11.05	11.68	7.89	8.50	16.99	13.75	12.79	14.88	5.65	14.16
Male	10.64	9.67	7.73	8.46	15.86	12.95	12.82	13.49	6.31	13.87
Fema	17.7	27.50	17.48	8.75	29.4	17.0	11.40	31.4	2.50	16.7

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Non-Worker/Total Worker Ratio										
Total	0.25	0.43	0.12	0.51	0.36	0.48	0.10	0.28	0.65	0.53
Male	0.14	0.25	0.07	0.29	0.20	0.34	0.06	0.16	0.35	0.32
Female	2.05	1.83	3.22	1.90	2.22	1.03	1.95	1.66	2.11	2.46

Source: Computed from Primary Census Abstract of Delhi, 2001

Table VII depicts the status of employment amongst the houseless population and gives the district-wise percentage of houseless main and marginal workers to total workers, and the ratio of houseless non-workers to total workers in urban Delhi. The main observations are as follows:

- 88.95 per cent of the houseless population of urban Delhi belongs to the category of main workers.

- The percentage of main workers to total workers amongst the males varies from 84.14 per cent in the East district to 93.69 per cent in the South-West district, while that for the females varies from 68.60 per cent in the West district to 97.50 per cent in the South-West district.

- The percentage of main workers to total workers is higher in the case of males in all the districts except South-West and Central districts.

- The highest percentage of main workers to total workers amongst females is found in the South-West district (93.69), followed by the North (92.27), North-East (91.54) and North (90.33) districts.

- The highest percentage of main workers to total workers amongst females is found in the South-West district (97.50), followed by the North-East (91.25), Central (88.60) and South (83.24) districts.

- Compared to their male counterparts, the percentage of female main workers to total workers is higher in the South-West and Central districts.

- The percentage of marginal workers to total workers amongst the males varies from 6.31 per cent in the South-West district to 15.86 per cent in the East district, while that for females varies from 2.50 per cent in the South-West district to 31.40 per cent in the West district.

- The percentage of marginal workers to total workers is higher in the case of females in all the districts except Central and South-West districts.

- The ratio of non-workers to total workers is highest in the South-West district (0.65), followed by the South (0.53) and North-East (0.51).

- The ratio of non-workers to total workers varies from 0.06 in the Central district to 0.35 in the South-West district. In the case of females, the ratio varies from 1.03 in New Delhi to 3.22 in the North District.

- The ratio of non-workers to total workers is higher in the case of females in all the districts.

Conclusion

Castelles referred to the concept of 'the fourth world' of informational capitalism, which could be considered as primarily responsible for acute forms of social and housing exclusion experienced by a large populations in the last 20 years (Kennette and Iwata 2003). 'Restructuring, rationalization and globalisation have tended to re-inforce social divisions and have contributed to a new dynamic of inequality' (ibid: 62).

The site of temporary shelters made of polythene and bundled blankets in the corners on footpaths in everyday life in a city, reveals the extreme state of destitution and deprivation, with the processes and contexts of homelessness, often complex and multifarious depending upon the settings. The financial crises of the 90s has seen a collapse in the urban functions and, this economic contraction has affected lives of millions, aggravating social vulnerabilities, which have manifested itself in various dimensions - fall in incomes, rising absolute poverty and malnutrition, declining public services and its impact on social sectors like education and health and specific groups like women. Another common feature is the lack of proper housing for the poor, who settle in peripheral areas of cities in slums (UNCHS 2001). In Asia, cities became the locus of bad debt generated in large part by a vast over supply of middle and upper class housing estates, condominiums, hotels and office towers. The Asia crisis

revealed the destructive side of globalisation (ibid: 19). Delhi being one of them in Asia, has met with the same fate in the last ten years.

The authorities have their visions of 'shining' metropolises, full of skyscrapers, flyovers, movie multiplexes, and chrome-and-glass offices catered to by fast-food joints. The upper middle class and elites who have flourished since the mid-1990s are totally complicit in this transformation. In this vision the working poor have no right and little space. As per the DMP 1962, 5 per cent of the area would be separately kept for low income housing, which would take care of the poor in the city, but the DMP 2001 has not complied with it and has remained only in paper. Under Master Plan of Delhi 2001, the government was supposed to build 1.62 million houses (Master Plan of Delhi 2001), but built only little over half a million units, most for the better-off residents. There's only been some space created in a few relocation sites, but this is deeply inadequate. Between 1990 and 1998, 93 per cent of the area acquired by Delhi Development Authority (DDA), was located in Dwarka and Rohini. The cheapest houses being built by the authorities cost a quarter of a million rupees (about US$ 5,500), way beyond the scope of the vast majority of Delhi's urban dwellers (Adve 2004). Considering our analysis from the Census, certain districts in Delhi, especially North, Central and North-West need immediate attention as far as policy is concerned. These districts as already mentioned in the analysis, constitute the largest percentage of houseless households.

The closure of industries and demolition of jhuggis in the Pushta area have rendered large numbers homeless on grounds that the 'poor pollute'. 'A recently published study on Yamuna pollution and the Pushta reveals that a tiny fraction of the 3,600 million liters wastewater generated in Delhi each day derives from those living on Yamuna's banks. The government norm for supplying water to jhuggis is 40 liters per person a day. Slum dwellers actually receive much less, in many areas between 16-18 liters (2 buckets) daily per person. The middle class and the rich consume much more, in some posh areas as much as 450 litres per person. There is an obvious relation between one's access to resources and the capacity to pollute. The poor don't pollute to the degree claimed simply because they cannot' (Adve 2004).

In short, Delhi's urban planning is consciously keeping out the poor. What is needed is a policy of equitable land distribution. What we have is the absence of housing for the poor. And given the average Delhi wage of Rs. 2,000 a month (about US$ 44), the urban poor have been priced out of the housing market, and are forced to live in abysmal conditions. Three-and-a-half million people - a quarter of Delhi's total

population of 14.3 million - crammed in over 600,000 slum dwellings in a fraction of Delhi's urban space, always considered 'encroachers' by the authorities and the middle class (Adve 2004).

What do we need to do?

The requirement today therefore is primarily to understand the factors leading to homelessness, which is of course poverty, arising in most cases out of rural poverty which drives people into a severe economic shock forcing them to migrate to the cities for a better future. The city however provides jobs mostly in the informal sector where wages are extremely low. It is very important to create alternate sources of livelihood in rural areas which can arrest mass scale migration to the cities. This is important since the city will not be able to provide space owing to its very own limitations with respect to provision of basic amenities, which after a point of time will not be able to keep pace with the growing population. Again, the informal sector has grown on a large scale since the nineties. This sector has given maximum push to the economy and will continue to do so even in the future, and hence needs a legal support.

The population already displaced from areas where industrial closures have taken place should be provided some form of temporary accommodation. This facility could however be restricted to workers of those industries which would be relocated, and provision of homes in a planned manner could be undertaken in these relocated sites. This could be backed by a legislation guaranteeing residence to specific numbers with continuous monitoring to reduce the extreme burden on resources.

Again, the authorities of Delhi who have undertaken jhuggi demolitions, need to understand that an establishment bulldozed overnight would not solve the problem of the city. The population would only continue to live in temporary shelters on roadsides and Delhi would not be able to elevate itself to become a part of the map of global cities. It is advisable to undertake a programme whereby a part of the area in Pushta to be acquired for commercial growth could be bounded by a wall and low cost houses can be built. This could solve the problem of a large part of the houseless population to quite an extent.

If the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have to be achieved with regard to provision of housing for all, certain compromises have to be made by the administrators and entrepreneurs for long term gains. On the occasion of World Habitat Day celebrated on October 3, 2005, the state of human settlements, especially the living conditions of the urban poor and their basic right to adequate shelter was

highlighted upon. The Centre for Human Settlements International (CHS-Habitat), Kolkata saw the congregation of several stake-holders. The aim was to highlight the policies to be adopted and actions to be taken for slum development and upgrading projects in Kolkata and which can be replicated in other cities of India and in the adjoining Asian countries.

 The poor cannot be completely kept away through forceful eviction. This will result in a deprived and alienated population, otherwise 'hidden from the glitterati of globalisation' which would soon turn out to be the worst enemies of this process of globalisation.

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The relationship between economic development and homelessness in South East
Asia

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Abstract

The accelerated globalisation of the last two decade has seen the growth of
South East Asian countries as major centres of manufacturing and information
processing. Whilst stimulating national economies and improving life for some,
there remain many millions of people in these countries whom the benefits have
not reached. This economic development has been a catalyst for increased
rural to urban migration at a time when structural adjustment policies have
resulted in the deregulation and privatisation of urban services and housing
sector. Thus, increasing poverty, massive urbanisation of production and
economic activity and failing state provision combine to make the people of
these countries more vulnerable than ever to homelessness.   Drawing on a
study of homelessness in nine developing countries, this paper explores the
relationship between global economic activity in four South East Asian countries
and increasing levels of homelessness.

Introduction

This paper reports some of the findings of an international study on homelessness in
nine developing countries as they appertain to the South Eastern Asian countries in the
sample, i.e., Bangladesh, China, India and Indonesia.[68] We have chosen to discuss the
situation in South East Asia specifically because many of the countries within this
region, unlike others in our sample, are actively developing high technology-driven
global market.   Whilst this has, in many cases, brought great economic gains to these
countries, it may also have served to widen the gap between rich and poor, arguably

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[67] The authors acknowledge the contributions made by writers of the four country case studied drawn
upon in this paper: Shayer Ghafur, Hou Li, Peu Banerjee Das and Tjahjono Raharjo.
[68] Between them, these four countries contain almost half the people in the world.

increasing the latter. Thus, in some of the new economic activity in our four South East Asian countries, the implications for homelessness could be great. Moreover, it may be that this economic development is, to some degree, dependent on people on a workforce willing to move to urban locations and live, either in abjectly poor conditions or be homeless, simply to get a job.

Over a decade ago, Castells {, 1989 #449} noted that high technology-led economic development in western economies resulted in income disparities between sections of society. In developing countries only the smallest minority of people are likely to benefit directly from such development, as structural adjustment policies have pushed many governments to deregulate and privatise many of their functions, and removed what rudimentary support networks existed.

It is reasonably obvious that, while homelessness in industrialised countries does not tend to be driven by housing shortages, in developing countries many people are homeless simply because there is no suitable accommodation (in terms of price and location) for them. Governments in South East Asia have mainly been unsuccessful in ensuring that there is sufficient appropriate housing for their people, especially those in the very lowest income ranges. From a policy stance of providing well-built though small dwellings directly through public sector activity, most could not keep pace with demand and have now withdrawn from direct mass supply. This is in line with the letter, if not the spirit, of the enabling approach which has been encouraged by international agencies since the 1990s (see for example {UNCHS, 1996 #34}. Thus, Bangladesh, India and Indonesia all have relatively small direct-supply initiatives (mainly for government employees) and some initiatives to supply land to low-income households on which they should build their own dwellings directly or through contractors. China, however, has continued to carry out direct housing supply through its local authorities in truly heroic quantities and as the main provision mechanism for low income households. Although supply falls short of providing for all households, it has increased more rapidly than population, even in urban areas, and there was an improvement from an average of 3.9 square metres per person in 1949 to 9.7 square metres per person in Shanghai in 1988 {Shanghai Statistical Bureau, Various years #400}.

In India for example, even though the number of plots supplied to low-income households is very large indeed, urban population growth[69] exceeds the ability to supply plots and shortfalls are still very great. For example, a recent report estimates the shortfall of permanent (*pucca*) dwellings at 8.87 million with the great majority –

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[69] Annual Compound Growth Rate was 3.14 per cent between 1981 and 1991{NIUA, 2000 #325}

about 7 million – needed by households with less than Rs.5,500 (£60) per month income (HUDCO and UNCHS, 2001). Just as in Bangladesh and Indonesia, most low-income households in Indian cities resort to accommodation in informal settlements which may be very rudimentary in form and with some degree of insecure tenure. In China, matters are different as the socialist state supplies most housing which is then allocated by employers (work units) to their workers at subsidised rents. If no housing is available for workers, they can stay in a hostel with other workers awaiting accommodation, or continue to live in their family homes until the work-units can allocate dwellings.

About the empirical study

The research, which was funded by DFID,[70] was carried out between April 2001 and May 2003, by the Centre for Architectural Research and Development Overseas (CARDO).[71]   The nine countries involved were selected for a number of reasons. Firstly, they present a range of housing and homelessness situation and degrees of poverty. Whilst the mass of the population in all nine countries is poor, the social marginalisation of the poor differs, for example between Bangladesh, where poverty is all pervasive, and South Africa, where it is concentrated predominantly amongst the majority black population.   Secondly, they give a range of different cultural experiences and understanding of housing and homelessness. For example, cultures connected with property ownership differ greatly between China, where private ownership is just re-emerging and Zimbabwe, where anyone who does not own their own house is considered as homeless. China also offers the opportunity to explore the effects of new population mobility and an emerging market economy on housing and homelessness. Thirdly, they present a range of institutional situations and welfare regimes. For example, South Africa has a well established pensions policy and some degree of welfare, whilst most others have virtually no welfare support at all. Fourthly, for logistical purposes, they are all countries in which CARDO has good connections and can employ country-based researchers with whose work they are familiar. Finally, they are all countries in which DFID has research interests.

A researcher was commissioned in each of the nine countries to undertake the study according to a specification which details several main areas of investigation[72]. The work included conducting a local literature review, trawling secondary sources for statistical data, and (where possible) undertaking interviews with homeless people and representatives of government and non-government organisations. Specific case studies of 'typical' homeless households were sought through interview and oral testimony.

For a number of reasons the availability of data varies very widely among countries. Firstly, availability of data is likely to be influenced by the 'service statistics paradox', in that, those countries with a willingness to acknowledge homelessness, and to establish services for homeless people, are more likely to be able to locate and count them and, thus, will have more accurate (and higher) figures {FEANTSA, 1999 #136}. Secondly, definitions vary widely and are non-existent in some countries. The lack of definitions is probably brought about, in part, by the politically sensitive nature of homelessness. Where housing is seen as a basic right of citizenship, to acknowledge homelessness is to admit a failure of the government to support citizens or that the social system is failing {Jacobs, 1999 #425}. Cultural differences further complicate the definitions of homelessness. For example, in the Twi language used in our Ghana study city, Kumasi, there is no word for homelessness, as 'home', in its broadest sense, is related to family and kinship. Therefore, only those people without any family anywhere, however, remote, could be homeless.

The direct empirical data, including quotes and oral testimonies, was collected by the authors whilst visiting the countries, or by the in-country researchers for their reports. Where some data were collected by the authors, the in-country researchers acted as interpreters and, where necessary, transcribed and translated discussions and offered contextual information. The use of this data is discussed further in a later section. This paper is based on the element of the study which explored the causes of homelessness in the four south east Asian countries

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[72] The main areas of investigation are: current housing supply characteristics; current definitions of homelessness; what the median household would regard as unacceptable shelter; appropriateness of western typologies; numbers of people involved in types of homelessness; systemic causes of homelessness, isolation or exclusion of homeless people; characteristics of homeless people; street children, typologies of street children; causes of street child phenomena; conditions of living; responses to homelessness; actors and agents. Within each of these sub sections are explored in detail.

Definitions of homelessness

As most accepted definitions and typologies of homelessness have been developed for industrialised countries, and are generally inappropriate to either street homeless people or squatters in developing countries, it is valuable to begin with an explanation of the different ways in which homelessness is defined in developing countries in general and our 4 countries in particular.

UN-Habitat, addressing developing countries, defines a home in terms of whether or not it is "adequate" measured by whether it has tenure security, is structurally stable, has infrastructure support, and is convenient for access to employment and community services (for an explanation see {UNCHS, 2000 #126: Annex ii}.

By this definition most of the world's urban squatters (probably about a billion people) would be considered homeless. We do not necessarily feel that squatters should be excluded from a definition of homelessness but, if they are to be included, their sheer numbers would distract attention from those in more desperate circumstances, such as the street homeless, without any form of shelter. On the other hand, some squatters live in such poor structures that their circumstances may be as desperate as many of those on the streets. There is, thus, a fuzzy margin but we still regard it as valuable to consider the differences between squatters and street homeless people as summarised in table 10. compiled by our Indian researcher {Das, 2002 #451}.

Table 10. Differences between squatters and street homeless people in India

Definitions of homelessness differ between our four South East Asian countries. For example, the Census of India defines homeless people as those not living in "census houses", i.e., structures with a roof. People are eligible for support under housing land allocation programmes if they do not have a roof or land. However, if a household has a plot in a regularised area, but only a shack upon it, it is not regarded as homeless because of the land holding. By a quirk of policy, pavement dwellers are usually not included because they are rarely on the voters' list or in possession of ration cards.

In Bangladesh, only those in inadequate or inappropriate structures are homeless {Ghafur, 2002 #450}. The Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics {BBS, 1999 #14} suggests an official definition of homelessness, which it uses for census purposes, as:

> *"[The] floating population are the mobile and vagrant category of rootless people who have no permanent dwelling units whatever …and they are found*

on the census night … in the rail station, launch ghat (terminal), bus station, hat-bazaar (market), mazar (shrine), staircase of public/government buildings, open space, etc.".

In China, the concept of a floating population is also the basis for homelessness. By law, all households must be registered, but those not resident in the area in which they are registered are regarded as floating. Most of these are migrants to the urban area who have travelled without permission. Among them, the least rooted are labelled "*mangliu*" meaning "blindly floating people". They are not entitled to housing, education, or many other social benefits available to the registered population and must return to their place of registration to obtain them {Li, 2002 #445}.

In Indonesia, the census of 2000 divides the population into two main categories, those having a permanent place to stay (*mempunyai tempat tinggal tetap*) and those not having a permanent place to stay (*tidak mempunyai tempat tinggal tetap*). Those not having a permanent place to stay include ship's crewmen, nomadic people and people living in houseboats or floating houses, as well as the more obvious *tunawisma* – houseless {Rahardjo, 2002 #213}.

As we see, all four of the countries use definitions based to some degree on rooflessness and have little concern for quality of shelter.

Numbers of homeless people

It is very difficult indeed to enumerate the scale of homelessness in the Asian context because:

- Each country defines homeless people differently and does not necessarily include all people whom we or other commentators might regard as homeless;

- Numbers of homeless people admitted by states are influenced by the 'service statistics paradox' {FEANTSA, 1999 #136}, in that those countries with well developed services for homeless people are more likely to be able to collect more accurate data showing more homeless people.

Acknowledgement of homelessness, and a willingness to enumerate it, is also conditioned by the way in which a state wishes to be seen by international aid agencies. If housing is seen as a right of citizenship, it is often more beneficial to prioritise poverty but play down homelessness {Jacobs, 1999 #425}.

Table 11. Homeless population estimates

With the above caveats, our best guess at the numbers of homeless people in our four South East Asian countries (as shown in table 11.) is **Error! Reference source not found.** (but only 0.4 per cent of the population), with a capital cities total, excluding Beijing, of **Error! Reference source not found.** (8 per cent). The former figure compares with UNCHS {, 2000 #126} estimates that Canada and America have between 0.15 and 0.25 per cent. The latter figure is heavily influenced by the relatively high figure for Jakarta which includes residents of the poorer squatter settlements (*kampung kumuh*).

The urban concentration of homelessness is no surprise. For example, in Indonesia, 14 per cent of the population of Jakarta is homeless compared with only 1.5 per cent of the national population.

Global economic development and homelessness

Along with shortfalls in the housing supply system (above), the fundamental cause of homelessness in South East Asia, and other developing countries, is poverty, especially rural poverty which drives large numbers of people to seek employment in cities {Rahman, 1993 #23}.[73] Most often a single man will move to the city to work and send money back to the family home. As he will usually have little to offer the urban economy but his strength, he will only find a low-paying job such as day labouring, market portering or rickshaw pulling. Once earning, he will often choose to sleep on the city streets or in a public space rather than spending any of the little money earned on accommodation and transport to work. If the weather is bad, he might pay to stay in a hostel, if places are available, but the rest of the time he will save money by sleeping rough. In some cases, other family members will follow him to the city as his earnings are insufficient to improve their rural lives. This use of homelessness as part of a housing career is particularly common in India and Bangladesh, where we more commonly encountered families living in the streets than in other countries, such as Peru or Egypt {Speak, 2004 #328}.

However, as well as the push of poverty, rural people also respond to the pull of perceived wealth and increased opportunity of the city. This pull probably exists in all

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[73] There is a particularly acute form of rural impoverishment in Bangladesh where annual river floods change the shape of the land and rob some people of theirs while endowing others with extra. Many homeless people have suffered this way**.**

developing countries but is arguably stronger in those countries where urbanisation is driven by a rapid rise in economic activity, such as in South East Asia. For example, while rural to urban migration in Peru has swollen the populations of cities such as Lima, from 5 million in 1985 to 7.4 million in 2000 [UNCHS, 2001 #327], it has taken place at a time of economic stagnation. Thus, those arriving in the city are competing for very limited jobs and money. However, in some South East Asian cities, rural migrants have arrived at a time of great economic expansion based on developing new technology and industries. Whilst they might not be directly involved in the new industries themselves they might benefit indirectly by finding a niche in the informal economy, such as retail or informal building and development, serving those more directly involved. However, this does not mean that their involvement in such an informal economy places them in a particularly strong position.

Eviction is also a common cause of homelessness. Although states should defend their most vulnerable people, it is unfortunately quite common for governments to use their powers to evict people who have neither the money nor the power to defend themselves. People are evicted to clear land for more valuable development or to improve the city's image for special civic events or city marketing [Agbola, 1997 #200]; [Audefroy, 1994 #171]. Often such evictions are violent; disrupt precious, newly formed social networks; cause trauma amongst the evicted, affecting women more than men and the old more than the young; and cause even greater poverty amongst the evicted [Agbola, 1997 #200].

Now we turn to discuss how increased activity in a global marketplace has been a force generating homelessness for many people in our four South East Asian countries.

BB.Bangladesh

According to the 'Census of slum areas and floating population, 1997', there are 32,000 floating people in 118 cities and towns in Bangladesh and 15,000 floating people in Dhaka {BBS, 1999 #14}. The survey for the 'Urban Poverty Reduction Project' merges homeless people with 'street dwellers' who are defined as people who sleep on the streets, in railway terminals and platforms, bus stations, parks and open spaces, religious centres, construction sites and around graveyards, and other public places without having any roof over their heads {ADB, 1996 #9}. This exercise numbered street dwellers in Dhaka at 12,600.

Bangladesh is best known in the global market place for its garment export industry, which accounts for 75 per cent of all the country's exports. This industry has weathered

a number of storms, both economic and literal, in recent years, which could have had a devastating impact on its place in the global market with serious implications for employment and poverty reduction in Bangladesh.

First, many of the economies in the region, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, South Korea, and the Philippines, suffered near economic melt-down in the late 1990s. Some of these nations are also major exporters of clothing to the same countries as Bangladesh. As their currencies suddenly depreciated, their exports became considerably more competitive. Moreover, the investment of some of these countries in Bangladesh, particularly in infrastructure, was also reduced.

Second, the floods of 1998, which took the lives of 1100 people, caused considerable damage to infrastructure and many textile manufacturing companies and handlooms. In reality, the textile industry sustained itself remarkably well in the face of such devastation. However, this does highlight the dangers of placing so much reliance for export income and employment on a single industry.

In recent years another export industry, shrimp farming, has been increasing. It is this which has a more direct potential to ruin rural household incomes and push people to migrate to cities, joining the swelling numbers of urban homeless 'floating' people. The major cause of the growth in urban homelessness is rural to urban migration, underpinned by poverty. Rural livelihoods in Bangladesh are predominantly agricultural in nature and land remains the main asset for generation of household income. However, according to 1995/96 Household Expenditure Survey (HES), 5.5 per cent of the total rural households are landless while 49.5 per cent of households are 'functionally landless' (i.e. owning up to half an acre). The total number of these two categories is a staggering 10,181,000 (55.0 per cent of households in Bangladesh).

The high incidence of poverty in rural Bangladesh has long been associated with the high proportion of landless households, which is increasing, in part due to a change from a predominantly agricultural and rice-based system to one based on shrimp farming for export. This change has been brought about by a combination of factors. First, in the 1960s the water board built polders to help protect the coastal area from cyclonic surges and limit the incursion of saline water. Second, the damming of rivers in India, as part of the Green Revolution in the 1970s, led to the diminution of flood waters flowing through the rivers in Bangladesh and into the Bay of Bengal. In turn, these two actions have led to the increase in controllable brackish water in the low lying

tidal flood plains which have traditionally been used predominantly for rice cultivation, or a combination of rice and shrimps {Deb, 1997 #326}, {Ahmed, 2002 #329}.

This brackish water renders the land and water less suitable for rice cultivation but good for shrimp production, which has been a traditional activity on a smaller scale and in a fragile balance between rice cultivation and shrimp farming. The high price of shrimps, compared to rice, on the global market has led to a major interference in favour of highly saline land and water to support a lucrative export industry in shrimps. A study of one area, Rampala Upazilla in the Bay of Bengal, identified an increase in land used for shrimp cultivation from 4% to 17.5% in the ten years between 1993-2003 {Hasan, 2004 #330}.

Whilst shrimp cultivation may bring high profits it is not labour intensive, and many rural landless people, once employed in agriculture, have lost their employment. Some new 'service sector' jobs have developed, such as caretakers and night watchmen or shrimp processing work {Ito, Date unknown #331}. However, both Kendrick {, 1994 #332} and Rutherford {, 1994 #333} have expressed concern that employment opportunities might disappear once all the available land had been converted into shrimp *ghers*.

It is not only the landless who suffer. So lucrative are shrimps that the few companies which monopolise the industry are assembling massive land holdings. In some cases they buy land from households at market prices but often they force owners to sell cheaply. There are local reports of people being forced off their land, against their will and often violently {Karim, 2003 #334}.   From her study on rural homelessness, Rahman {, 1993 #23: 75} reports that while 30 per cent of her sampled households were landless before becoming homeless, 54 per cent homeless households had previously owned land within a range of 0 to1.65 acres.

Figures 1 & 2 much of the once green agricultural landscape is now turned over to shrimp farming

Shrimp farming is almost totally for export market. Shrimp exports earned Bangladesh around US$ 2.9 million in 1972/3, less than 1% of the total exports from the country. However, by 1999-2000 earnings from frozen shrimp alone were around US$356

million, accounting for 6.28% of total export earnings {Pokrant, 2001 #335}. As yet, these companies are virtually all Bangladeshi in origin. However, that does not mean that global wealth from shrimp exports, estimated is pouring into the country via this industry or its backward linkages. Corruption is so prevalent in Bangladesh, and the welfare system virtually non-existent, that redistribution of this wealth to the poor is scant.

Whilst the global demand cannot be blamed for the increased suitability of the Bay of Bengal for shrimp production, it is certainly the driver for the way in which land ownership is changing hands, and the resultant unemployment and poverty.

CC.   India

Poverty and homelessness have always existed in India, although precise numbers of homeless people are hard to determine. Apart from official Census figures, two enumerations of homeless people have been undertaken, one in Calcutta and one in Delhi. In the Socio-Economic Survey of Pavement Dwellers in Calcutta undertaken by the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority in 1987, 55,571 homeless people were found {Jagannathan, 1990 #336}. In a headcount of homeless people in Delhi in 2000, using a similar definition to the Census, Aashray Adhikar Abhiyan (AAA) [, 2001 #271] counted 52,765 homeless people,[74] compared to 19,366 counted in Census 1991, an increase of over 33,000 (2.7 times as many). AAA believe this to be the minimum number of homeless people as they recognise survey limitations such as many migrants being home for the harvest season and people sleeping in places that are not visible such as the roofs of shops and inside flyover girders. An estimate of about 100,000 [The Pioneer, 2000 #409], almost twice that of AAA, accords with the estimate provided by the Slum and Juggi-Jompri Department of Delhi Development Authority who believe approximately one percent of the total population of Delhi is homeless [Dupont, 1998 #143].

In other cities, only very rough estimates are available. SPARC estimated there to be 100,000 homeless people in Mumbai in 1985. However, they include those with structures on the pavement in their definition of homeless (SPARC, 1985). The Tamil Nadu Government estimates that, in urban areas of the State (including Chennai), there are 69,000 homeless families "living in objectionable areas along roads and canals and places required for public purposes" [Mody, 2001 #403]

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[74] As shown in table **11.**

Recently, India has actively founded its role in the global economy upon the information technology sector. From software development to information management, India has more recently engaged in providing call centre support for some of the world's largest companies. The city of Bangalore, in Southern Karnataka, is at the epicentre of an explosion of IT companies which have brought increased employment and wealth to a growing middle class. This move has demanded considerable development, with major IT parks springing up on low-value land on the city's periphery bringing a booming housing market for a new wave of middle class households [Madon, 1997 #404]. Land is somewhat cheaper in Bangalore than many Indian cities.[75] This has, no doubt, helped Bangalore develop this industry but land of little commercial value is often the very land on which informal settlements form, and remain uncontested, for years. Rising land prices mean that informal and illegal settlements, in cities, and at their peripheries, become obstacles in the way of development [Berner, 1997 #225]; [Berner, 2000 #67]. Those living in such settlements are increasingly at risk of eviction, especially tenants and sub tenant, who are the least well protected [Durand-Lasserve, 2002 #410].

Although Bangalore has had a somewhat lower proportion of people living in slum areas than other major cities [De Wit, 1992 #406], the proportion has been growing rapidly since the early 1990s. While this has been occurring, the urban poor and the original middle classes have been edged further and further out of the city by rising land prices, increasing rents and, sometimes, by evictions {Madon, 2004 #453}.

During our study, one of the authors visited Bangalore, where she was shown some of the peripheral development underway. People had been evicted not only to make way for the construction of an IT park but also to clear the way for a major road to service it and link it to the city. Moreover, land adjacent to the new road, previously too remote to be of interest to developers, was suddenly subject to speculation and clearance ready for further development.

This construction itself provides valuable jobs for people who will never be employed in the high technology industry. Nevertheless, there was no system for providing compensation or support for those who lost their (albeit poor) homes because of it. Moreover, the construction workers, and their families who accompany them, are themselves homeless, living in the poorest of straw dwellings at the side of the construction site. Indeed, it could be argued that new economic development is, to a

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[75] According to Payne {, 2002 #211}, Mumbai had some of the most expensive in the world by the mid 1990s.

degree, dependent on the willingness of a labour force to live in the poorest conditions. In this respect new economic development not only stimulates homelessness but is dependent on it.

Figure 3 Construction worker's families' huts by the roadworks for a new technology park, Bangalore

Clearly India's meteoric rise in the global information technology market is a major achievement for a country with a literacy rate of only 52 per cent {National Literacy Mission - India, n.d. #448} It presents the opportunity to achieve incomes and a standard of living for many which would have been unthinkable two decades ago. However, this new affluence is not only limited to a very small elite of well educated middle class Indians, it also has little impact on the wider state economy. For example, over 75 per cent of the state's population still live in rural villages. Whilst high-technology companies are offering a salary of $395 per month, 90 per cent of the rural population lives on little more than $100 per year {Madon, 2004 #453}. Moreover, achieved as it is in a context of deregulation and privatisation of urban services and the housing sector, this new economic development seems doomed to leave many in a worse position than they were before it, especially the poorest and most vulnerable.

DD.   China

It is very difficult to estimate the scale of homelessness in China or in any Chinese cities. No public sector or non-governmental organisation could provide useful information to our researcher. Since the ending of the old housing allocation system, the government no longer collects the number of houseless people but there are some data showing the scale of poor housing in the social welfare system. For example, according to a joint survey of those households in Shanghai who received the minimal living security support from the Shanghai Real Estate Management Bureau and Civil Affairs Bureau in 2000, 11,320 out of the 5.3 million households have living spaces of less than six square metres per capita and 3,183 households have less than four square metres per capita {Cai, 2001 #407}. But this number excludes the people who are self-employed and live in very poor accommodation.

There are two groups in China who most closely represent homeless people, the floating population and the blindly floating population or '*mangliu*'.   Both of these are composed of people who have left their place of origin, where their household registration or *Hukou* would be held, and travelled to other parts of the country, generally in search of work. The blindly floating population, those who do not re-

register for a Temporary Living Permit and are considered illegal by the government, are unable to access state employment and through it state provided worker's housing. They are, thus, likely to be under- or unemployed and badly housed.

The scale of the 'floating' population varies dramatically from different sources. According to the national spot check, there were 29.7 million in 1995 (2.4 per cent of the national population) of whom about 19.4 million people (1.6 per cent) were 'floating' in the cities. In the Fifth National Census (2000), the number was 8.8 million. According to the new (2001) statistics of Chinese Floating Population Management Authority, the national floating population is nearly 110 million in 2001 (8.5 per cent of the national population). However, anecdotal evidence among academics would put the figure between 80 million to 120 million in the whole country (6.2 to 9.2 per cent). According to the Fifth National Census, a transient population of 3.87 million lives in Shanghai, 1.84 million in Beijing and 2.68 million in Guangzhou in 2000.

It is even more difficult to estimate the scale of the most marginal group in the floating population, the '*mangliu*' (blindly floating people). According to the spot check in Shanghai, *mangliu* accounted for about 1.07 per cent of the floating population. If we assume the national percentage is similar, then the total number of blindly floating people in China should vary from 0.8 to 1.2 million. This number is very close to the more than one million people who are reported as sent back to their native place by about 700 'repatriation stations'[76] annually in recent years (South Weekly, Dec.13, 2001).

If we were to add those people who live in dormitories or work-sheds (about 40 per cent of the floating population) to the homeless category, the homeless total will be between 33 million and 49 million.

The numbers of blindly floating people are undoubtedly increased as economic growth in the cities of the south east attract rural households to the potential for enrichment. China has been remarkably successful in changing from a centrally planned economy to one in which the market has a major role. Foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows rose from US$916 million in 1983 to almost $3.5 billion in 1990 and to nearly $53 billion in 2002 when it was the largest recipient of FDI in the world.[77] The growth in economic performance, at 8 per cent per annum in 1998, has made China the sixth largest

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[76] There is a policy of returning people to their place of registration through these institutions.
[77] There are grounds to believe that this may be higher than actual FDI levels owing to some emanating from China itself via Hong Kong (known as' round tripping' investment), and some overstating in China's figures compared with the donors' [Davies, 2003 #424].

economy in the world, bringing with it major benefits in poverty reduction. However, it remains at 127th out of 208 economies in Gross National Income per capita [Davies, 2003 #424].

Guangzhou has a majority of its workers not registered to live there (2.7 million {Li, 2002 #445} out of its 3.9 million residents in 2000 {UNCHS, 2001 #327}). The rapid urban growth occurring in Guangzhou (formerly Canton) is partly associated with its especially successful Free Trade Zone.[78] FTZs (or Export Processing Zones - EPZs) have played a significant role in the economic growth so evident in South East Asia. However, they have been extensively criticised by trades unions and labour organisations (not least the ILO) for the suspension of whatever workers' rights pertain in the country at large. Thus, jobs there tend to be low-skilled and low-paid, and give workers little prospect for improvement {ILO, 1998 #454}. The success of Guangzhou's FTZ would have been impossible without the large numbers of migrants (floating people) and the unknown proportion of them who are *mangliu*. As Zhang et al {, 2003 #444} report, they mainly occupy poor quality housing in villages aggregated into the urban area (known as *chengzhongcun*) and subsequently developed by house-owners keen to make money from rooming accommodation.

A recent development has indicated a change in attitude of the government to *mangliu* in the cities of the south east. Recently, a young man who went to Guangzhou to find a job to pay for his university fees was found dead in the local 'repatriation station' where he had clearly died from torture. His story generated a national discussion about the repatriation policy which resulted in a new policy being implemented with remarkable speed. This was assisted by their being a new central government and the outbreak of the 'SARS' epidemic.

In June 20, 2003, the state council announced the new policy for blindly floating people. Since August 1st, all repatriation station should change into 'succour station' where *mangliu* can choose to go for help. For example, they will be given food, shelter, or tickets to go home. Although the policy is arousing much comment from the local government and academics, repatriation stations in most cities have begun to adjust to their new role. There was concern that the removal of 'repatriation' would result in many beggars but the increase appears to have been less than expected (Hou Li, personal communication, November, 2003).

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[78] Covering an area of 1.4 square kilometres, Guangzhou Free Trade Zone has been one of the most successful in China since its approval on May 13, 1992, Nearly 1,000 companies from 15 nations and regions have registered there, with investment of US$4,200 million.{Rexco Global Trade Information, 2003 #446}

EE.Indonesia

There is very little known about the nature of homelessness and the number of homeless people in Indonesia. In fact, there is no official definition of 'homelessness'. The National Census category of those 'not having a permanent place to stay' ('*tidak mempunyai tempat tinggal tetap*') [Badan Pusat Statistik, 2000 #418] includes not just homeless people (*tunawisma*)*,* but also ships' crew-members, people living in houseboats/ floating houses, and itinerant or semi-nomadic groups of people (usually living in remote areas). According to the Census, more than 3.5 million Indonesians (from a total of 203.4 million people) fall within those 'not having a permanent place to stay'. The daily newspaper, Republika (29 July 1998), reported that the number of *gepeng*[79] in Jakarta increased by 30 per cent, prostitutes by 30 per cent, street vendors by 75 per cent and street children by 200 per cent since before the crisis.

Some writers treat occupants of poorly serviced settlements *kampung kumuh* as homeless [Sriyuningsih, 2001 #393]. The most recent figures available for these are from 1991 showing 2.3 million in Jakarta, 901,000 in Surabaya, 439,000 in Semarang, and 205,000 in Bandung [Yudohusodo, 1991 #385].

Throughout the last quarter of the 20[th] century, Suharto's New Order regime followed two basic policies in ruling Indonesia; maintaining political stability and promoting economic growth {Budiman, 1993 #419}. To maintain political stability, the military became prominent in politics at the expense of political parties, the press, and labour organisations. To promote economic growth, foreign loans were used to control inflation until Indonesia became one of the most heavily indebted countries in the world[80]. During this period, its GDP per capita rose from under $200 in 1974 to over $1,000 in 1997 (Economist, 2000). However, for the sake of attracting investment (mostly rent-seeking companies well connected to the ruling elite), the rights of workers were suppressed so that they became the most lowly paid in the region {Budiman,

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[79] A term often used to describe homelessness (but not in official documents) is '*gelandangan*', derived from '*gelandang*' (to wander), meaning 'tramp'. This word is often used in combination with '*pengemis*' (beggar). Given the Indonesian penchant for acronyms, from the words '*gelandangan-pengemis*' a new word, '*gepeng*' has been coined.

[80] In 1996, Indonesia's debt was 30 per cent of its GDP; in 2000, following the crisis it had risen to 128 per cent of the GDP. The government had to allocate 40 per cent of the total expenditure in the 2000 state budget just to pay loan instalments [INFID, 2000 #411].

1993 #419}. Strikes were outlawed and those who dared to question the government's labour policy were dealt with severely[81].

Much of Indonesia's urban growth during the 1980s and after (at rates in excess of 5 per cent per year) was fuelled by declining agriculture in the outer islands and high levels of foreign investment in export-oriented manufacturing, especially along the northern coast of Java {World Resources Institute, 1999 #455}.

During the last decades, many people have been evicted from the land they had been occupying for generations, because it was needed for a new toll-road, an office block or a factory. Eviction did not just take place in urban areas and in the surrounding rural areas but also in remote places. In Kalimantan and Irian Jaya, indigenous tribes were 'resettled' to allow for the exploitation of their rich natural resources. Even after the fall of the Suharto regime, eviction of people from their land has continued.

In testimony to the fragility of such military controlled economic development, General Suharto's kleptocracy was ousted in May, 1998 amid severe recession, lack of confidence in the economy and steep falls in the value of the Rupiah. In August, 1998, the Rupiah stood at 13-15,000 per dollar whereas in had been 2,500 per dollar only one year before (Economist, 1998). The GDP per capita had fallen to below $500 in 1998 (Economist, 2000). Despite initial optimism arising from the change of government and a rallying of the Rupiah, the economy continued to be extremely troubled.

The situation was further exacerbated by civil unrest and a consequent down-turn tourism even ahead of the September 11, 2002, events and the Bali bombing, both of which occurred after our study period. The price of rice, a popular barometer of well-being in Java, more than tripled in 1998 so that government estimated that 17 million households (89 million people) could only afford one meal a day (Economist, 1998).

As a result of the prolonged crisis, which showed no sign of ending in 2001, more than 100 million Indonesians (or nearly half of its population) are living close to or below the poverty line [Jellinek, 1999 #412].   It is estimated that the collapse of the formal economy has cost 20 million people their jobs while unemployment is estimated at 17 per cent [INFID, 2000 #411]; [Wirakartakusumah, no date #414][82].

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[81] The UN Committee Against Torture has expressed its concern on reports of violence towards workers conducted by Indonesian military personnel, allegedly for security reasons (Kompas, 24 November 2001)

[82] Some analysts however believe that the number of unemployed people might actually have decreased, not because there has been more job opportunities open in the formal sector, but because there are fewer

We have no details of whether the economic collapse at the end of the century drove many middle income households into homelessness. However, evidence from Thailand {Yasmeen, 2001 #456} suggests that many formerly relatively prosperous households will have had to make major adjustments to their lifestyle. The more fortunate or entrepreneurial will have managed to survive through establishing small enterprises but some of the less fortunate may well have joined the ranks of the homeless.

Conclusions

In this paper we have tried to highlight some of the negative aspects of economic development in four South East Asian countries, as they appertain to homelessness. We have also begun to highlight the dependency of economic development on a highly mobile labour force, willing to live in poor conditions to be near sources of work. We would, of course, not suggest that this much-needed economic development should be hampered in any way. However, it is important that governments and investors are not blind to the inequity of the benefit it brings to developing countries.

Following the transition from an industrialised economy to an information and service sector economy, many western governments pinned their hopes on the concept of 'trickle down'. The belief at the time was that the benefits of new technology, information and service sector industries would eventually flow down to those not directly involved in them, through increased employment in a range of support activities. In countries with poorly functioning taxation systems, where the majority of the people operate in the informal sector, the redistribution of new wealth and opportunity is likely to be even more difficult. This is particularly so in the context of the structural change which has pressurised governments to reduce their welfare and public service spending and adopt an enabling approach to housing.

Moreover, in these countries the new development brings with it direct negative externalities, in this case in the form of massive land use changes in places to which homeless people resort and the displacement of many of the most vulnerable people in their societies. Planning systems oriented towards economic goals, in which social goals are regarded as only peripheral, cannot address these.

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people who can afford to be unemployed. Being unemployed has become a luxury as there is no social security system in Indonesia. People have no alternative but to work to earn a few rupiahs just to survive [Wirakartakusumah, no date #414].

In the above discussion, we have shown that the number of homeless people has probably increased as one of the effects of particular aspects of economic growth. Increasing pressure on land, removal of livelihoods, and eviction of both rightful owners and informal settlers, swell the ranks of homeless people, especially in the cities. One of the ways to combat inequity in development is compassionate and appropriately-located interventions to assist currently homeless people in their quest for economic and locational security. This will undoubtedly include devising means leave the former occupants in a materially better condition when low-quality accommodation is removed from potentially valuable sites. Mechanisms for this include;

- The involvement of the 'victims' of relocation in planning their removal and rehousing, as in the classic Mumbai case assisted by SPARC, Mahila Milan and National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF). In this project, the NGOs encouraged the residents to count themselves and collect data on their employment and other characteristics. With this, they were able to persuade Mumbai Municipality that they had the right to be treated as citizens and to be involved in the design and implementation of the relocation site and process. As a result, over 60,000 people were relocated peacefully [Patel, 2002 #199].

- Land sharing in which squatters are rehoused on a well-developed portion of the site in exchange for use of the rest, as reported in, among other cases, in a sprawling squatter settlement called,Klong Toey in Bangkok. There, with NGO assistance, the community countered eviction threats by the Port Authority, which wanted the land for expansion. Their successful solutions involved the National Housing Authority building rental flats on one edge of the site for resettling 1,440 families (1981), servicing plots on long-term lease for 1,300 families in a "land-sharing" agreement in the centre of Klong Toey (1983, in situ "reblocking" projects for 950 families who adjusted their dwellings to make way for services (1986-2003), and serviced plots with free land title for 400 households in resettlement sites 20 kms away {Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), 2003 #447}.

The continuing relocation of the poorest people in society from one newly valuable site to another soon-to-be valuable marginal site, in a continuously repeating process, is neither morally defensible nor an efficient way to deal with very-low-income accommodation. In the light of the continuing debate on how to interpret housing rights,

particularly as represented by the Grootboom case in South Africa, (refs), it may be more efficient to impose a charge on those who benefit from land use changes to benefit the displaced persons and homeless people in general.

Zhang et al {, 2003 #444} point out how important is the low-quality housing provided to poor urban migrants in the aggregated villages "chengzhongcun" to the economic development of cities such as Guangzhou. Not only does this housing allow *mangliu* to overcome politically-directed housing barriers and settle in the cities where their work is needed, but also it reduces the demand on city authorities to provide low-priced housing and services fully to cope with the rural to urban migration. Thus the "chengzhongcun"

> "[allows] city governments to take advantage of cheap and flexible rural labour without bearing the extra costs associated with labour relocation and without risking a great deal of social shocks which could lead to instability" {Zhang, 2003 #444: 934}

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Forced eviction, homelessness and the right to housing in Indonesia[83]

Tjahjono Rahardjo[84]

Abstract

To promote economic growth and attract investments while maintaining political stability Indonesia's repressive New Order regime suppressed the rights of workers. Strikes were outlawed and anyone who questioned the government's policy was dealt with severely.

The same approach was also applied in the management of cities. Many people had to give up their land and homes, often without any (or with very little) compensation, when the authorities declared that these were needed for "development" purposes, which in practice, however, meant that they were going to be used for more economically profitable purposes. As in the case of labour, any resistance was seen as disturbing the public order and were not tolerated. As a result many people were rendered literary homeless.

The fall of Suharto's New Order following the devastating financial crisis in 1997 brought about fundamental changes in Indonesian. On the one hand Indonesia was able to hold a truly democratic election, the first in 44 years; its press has enjoyed a much greater freedom then those in most countries in the region. On the other hand, however, Indonesia has not been able to curb the rampant corruption that has given it the dubious reputation of one of the most corrupt countries in the world.

This paper would like to see what influences the current changes have had on the housing situation of the poor. Furthermore, it would like to argue that the poor housing condition in Indonesia, is not only caused by poverty, as in many countries, but, more seriously, by the disregard of the people's right to housing.

Keywords: *Indonesia, forced eviction, right to housing, homelessness*

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FORCED EVICTION: PAST AND PRESENT

The basic policy of General Suharto's New Order government was to promote economic growth while maintaining political stability. Under this policy the rights of workers were suppressed for the sake of attracting investments, many of which were closely connected to the ruling elite. Strikes were outlawed and anyone who questioned this policy was dealt with severely (Budiman, 1993).

The same approach was also applied in the management of cities. Many people had to give up their land and homes, in most cases without any (or with very little) compensation, when the authorities declared that these lands were needed for "development" purposes, which in practice, however, meant that they were going to be used for more economically profitable purposes. As in the case of labour, any resistance was seen as disturbing the public order and were not tolerated. As a result many people were rendered literary homeless.

Following the Asian economic crisis, in which Indonesia was the worst hit, Suharto was forced to step down in May 1998 after only serving one month in his seventh term as president. In 1999 Indonesia embarked on its tortuous road towards becoming a democracy and carried out it first truly democratic parliamentary election in 44 years. In October 2004 Indonesia held the first direct presidential election in its history, which put Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in office.

Although since the demise of Suharto's repressive regime Indonesia is supposed to be on its way towards becoming a democracy, forced evictions have not stopped and in fact still occur on a massive scale[85]. In 2003 the Centre on Housing Rights and Eviction (COHRE) picked out Indonesia, as being the country with the highest forced eviction incidence, followed by Guatemala and Serbia & Montenegro (COHRE, 2003). COHRE has estimated that in Jakarta alone, where most of the displacements in Indonesia have taken place, between 2000 and 2005 more than 92 thousand people have been forcefully evicted from their homes, while another 1.5 million people are in constant danger of being evicted. In addition about 23,000 *becak* (pedicab) drivers and 62,000 sidewalk vendors have been banned and displaced from their respective work places.

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[85] One important difference, however, is perhaps the fact that today Indonesia's much freer press (arguably one of the freest in the region) openly and regularly report eviction cases, whereas in Suharto's time the tightly controlled press was forbidden to publish any news unfavourable towards the government.

The Report of the International Fact Finding Mission on State Violence against the Poor in Jakarta[86] informs that between January and October 2001 some 5,785 houses in Jakarta were demolished, making more than 23,000 people homeless. In October 2001 alone 2,470 families lost their homes due to forced eviction, (premeditated) arson or a combination of both (Anonymous, 2001). Because of their supposedly illegal status no compensations were given to the victims. Ironically, despite its record in human right violation, i.e. the right to adequate housing, the city of Jakarta received the 2005 UN Habitat Scroll of Honour, a decision that has been questioned and even challenged by many people and organisations.

Such cases are not just found in Jakarta. In Semarang, for example, residents in the village of Karanganyar in Ngaliyan sub-district were evicted in from their land in 1976. They had held the land for generations under customary law. Corrupt officials who were in the pay of a private housing developer tricked them to surrender their land. The developer, however, failed to build any houses and eventually was declared bankrupt. In 2002 some of the people tried to move back and build their houses on the land[87]. Within a month unidentified thugs demolished the houses, while the police who were present only looked. Later, however, the police detained and questioned some of the victims and accused them of illegal occupation (Septiviant, 2003).

The Urban Poor Consortium (UPC) (2005) has calculated that between 2000 and 2005 in Indonesian cities a total of 95,470 people, or about 19,000 households, have been evicted from their homes and rendered homeless. This figure does not include those who became homeless as a result of arm conflicts (such as the hostilities in Aceh and Papua), and natural disasters (such as the devastating tsunami that hit the northern part of Sumatra in December 2004).

In January 2005, less than a month after the tsunami disaster in northern Sumatra, the Indonesia Infrastructure Summit was held in Jakarta. Delegates representing nineteen different countries as well as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the Indonesian government and private sector attended the meeting. At the end of the

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[86] The mission, consisting of Won Soon Park (Executive Director, People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD), South Korea), Jesse Robredo (Mayor, Naga City, the Philippines), Soetandyo Wignjosoebroto (Professor, Airlangga University Surabaya, and Member, National Commission on Human Rights, Indonesia), Saparinah Sadli (Chairperson, National Commission on Violence against Women, Indonesia) and Melly G. Tan (Member, National Commission on Violence against Women, Indonesia) took place between 4-8 November 2001.

[87] In the years since 1976 many of the evicted people have moved to other parts of the city (and even to other towns) to make a living because as farmers they do not have any land to cultivate and any place to stay. A few who refused to move had to rent houses in neighbouring villages near their former home.

summit the Declaration of Action on Developing Infrastructure and Public Private Partnership was signed by the representatives of the respective delegates.

At the summit the Indonesian government announced that it needed investments to improve and develop its infrastructure amounting to a total of IDR 1,305,000,000,000,000[88]. To begin with, the Indonesian government invited investments for 91 projects having a total value of IDR 205,500,000,000,000. In return the Indonesian government promised to issue 14 new regulations to facilitate investments.

One of the new regulations passed is the *Peraturan Presiden* (President Regulation) 36/2005 on land acquisition. The issuance of this regulation was immediately followed by widespread criticisms and protests. This regulation is seen as repressive and totalitarian as it makes it possible for the government to arbitrarily and forcefully expropriate land, now in the name of "public interest" instead of for the sake of "development" (WALHI, 2005). It is seen as very much favouring large private investors at the expense of the people.

The new regulation, which is seen by many as being even harsher than the regulation dating from the Suharto era that it replaced, states that compensations will be decided through negotiations mediated by a committee set up by the government. It states further, however, that if within 90 days no agreement has been reached the committee can arbitrarily set the amount of compensation.

Most of those against the new regulation see that the negotiation process itself is inherently unfair, as the committee's status as a body formed by the government would naturally raise questions about its impartiality; it is suspected that it would be inclined to act more in the government's interest instead of the people's. With a government bureaucracy that is notoriously corrupt (Rahardjo, 2000) this would, in turn, mean that the interests of large, financially powerful private investors would prevail[89]. Meanwhile, the right of the other parties in the negotiations to be accompanied by a lawyer is not even clearly stated in the regulation (Gofar, 2005).

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[88] The exchange rate in October 2005 was about USD 1.- = IDR 10,000.-.

[89] In February 2005 Transparency International Indonesia published its report on corruption in Indonesia as perceived by the business community. The survey involved 1117 local and 118 foreign business people. The business people were asked to give their opinions of the performances of government agencies. Of the 21 cities surveyed the four most corrupt cities are Jakarta Surabaya, Medan and Semarang. The survey concluded that corruption and bribery is not just a matter of supplementing low government salaries but has become a systematic part of the decision making process within the government agencies at all levels. Those who are not able to pay bribes, therefore, often become casualties of biased decisions made by these agencies (Pandiangan, 2005).

According to Chalid Muhammad, executive director of the *Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia* (WALHI), a leading Indonesian NGO as quoted in the Kompas daily newspaper (10 June 2005), the regulation will in effect legalise forced eviction; It would have the potentials of causing wide spread human rights abuse as it will make it much more easier for the government to forcefully evict people from their lands and homes. Even without the President Regulation eviction is already widely practiced in Indonesia; the new regulation will give the government an even stronger basis for continuing such practices (Gofar, 2005) and many more people would be made homeless.

HOMELESSNESS IN INDONESIA

The Report on strategies to combat homelessness (UNCHS, 2000) classifies the following circumstances as being in the category of homelessness:

1. Rough sleepers

2. Pavement dwellers

3. Occupants of shelters

4. Occupants of institutions

5. Occupants of unserviced housing

6. Occupants of poorly constructed and insecure housing (vulnerable sites, precarious tenancy)

7. Sharers

8. Occupants of housing of unsuitable cost

9. Occupants of mobile homes

10. Occupants of refugee and other emergency camps

11. Itinerant groups (nomads, gypsies)

The report, however, acknowledges that not all of these categories would be regarded as homelessness in all parts of the world. Though Indonesia, for example, does not yet have any official definition for homelessness[90], the national census of 2000 has

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[90] It was only in 2000 that the *Majlis Bahasa Brunei Darussalam - Indonesia -Malaysia* (The Brunei Darussalam - Indonesia -Malaysia Language Council) adopted the term '*ketunawismaan*' as the official

categorised people into two groups: those having a permanent place to stay (*mempunyai tempat tinggal tetap*) and those not having a permanent place to stay (*tidak mempunyai tempat tinggal tetap*). Included in the second category are residents of so-called illegal settlements (*permukiman liar*) as well as nomadic communities and boat crewmembers[91].

Following the census grouping, only rough sleepers (category 1), pavement dwellers (category 2), occupants of insecure housing (in the sense of precarious tenancy) (category 6), occupants of refugee and emergency camps (category 10), and itinerant groups (category 11) of the above list would be regarded as being homeless in the Indonesian context.

For the purpose of this paper homeless people in Indonesia is defined as adults (in contrast to street children, who also have a noticeable presence in Indonesian cities) who are living permanently on the street, and those living in settlements categorised as "illegal". This would include residents living in *permukiman liar* as well as the more obviously homeless *tunawisma* (rough sleepers as well as pavement dwellers). Occupants of refugees and emergency camps do exist in Indonesia as a result of the various natural disasters and political and ethnic conflicts that have broken out in the country. However, because they are a very special case and their problems much too complex compared to other categories of homelessness they would not be discussed here.

While the street homeless live under bridges, in the shade of large trees, or in abandoned buildings, *permukiman liars* are located on riverbanks, along drainage canals, along railway tracks and in station yards, and near market places. The residents of *permukiman liar* settlements build their dwellings out of used non-durable material such as cardboard, plastic sheets, pieces of wood and scrap metal. In some cases, however, one can find some dwellings that have been reasonably up-graded.

The majority of people who actually live on the street, those who live under bridges, in the shade of large trees or under overhangs of buildings more or less share the same characteristics of those living in *permukiman liar*. Their dwellings might be less permanent, but they work in the same informal occupations such as rubbish collectors,

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translation of 'homelessness' to be used in the three countries. However, the Indonesian language does not make a distinction between 'home' and 'house', thus '*ketunawismaan*' can also mean 'houselessness.'

[91] The 2000 census showed that Indonesia had a population of 203.4 million people, 3.2 million of which did not have a permanent place to stay (*tidak mempunyai tempat tinggal tetap*).

itinerant vendors, *becak* (pedicab) drivers, construction workers and other unskilled occupation, although some street homeless do make their livings by begging.

Both squatters and street homeless people are often subject to raids. The more violent evictions usually happen to squatters because usually it involves the sensitive issue of land ownership. The occupants usually refuse to be removed on the ground that they have been living there long before the land had any commercial value.

The more peaceful raids towards street homeless people are carried out because they are thought to be creating a nuisance or - using an expression often used by city officials and planners - 'disturb the attractiveness of the city'. The street homeless, unlike the squatters, usually do not resist. They see their displacement as temporary (such as when there is a visiting dignitary or a national day celebration). After things have returned to 'normal' they are usually allowed to come back again to their old places. For the residents of *permukiman liar,* however, it is impossible to return because their settlements have been taken over by other users.

THE RIGHT TO ADEQUATE HOUSING

The right to adequate housing is recognised in a number of international legal instruments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), for example states that:

> "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control" (UDHR, article 25(1)).

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Right (ICESCR) (1966), requires States to respect, protect and fulfil the contents of the following article:

> "The States parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The State Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-cooperation based on free consent" (ICESCR, article 11(1)).

Other international human right instruments which enshrine and protect housing rights include the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1959), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), the International Convention on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990) (Gómez, 2002).

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has identified certain aspects that must be taken into account to determine housing adequacy. They include (a) legal security of tenure, (b) availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, (c) affordability, (d) habitability, (e) accessibility, (f) location, and (g) cultural adequacy.[92]

In Indonesia, Act 4/ 1992 on Housing and Settlement acknowledges the right of all citizens 'to live in and/ or to have the use of and/ or to own an adequate house located in a healthy, safe, harmonious and orderly environment'. Furthermore, the Act defines adequate housing as 'a house structure that, at least, meets building safety, minimum floor area and health requirements.' A healthy, safe, harmonious and orderly environment is defined as an environment that 'meets spatial planning, land-use, ownership and service provision requirements'. Thus, according to the Act there are basically two aspects of housing adequacy: physical and legal. This is a rather limited definition of housing adequacy compared to that spelled out in the CESCR General Comment No.4. Perhaps this is because the Indonesian government still sees housing only as a basic need, albeit a strategic one, and not yet as a human right. Housing is considered as a strategic basic need, because it is seen as an entry point for the fulfilment of other basic needs (Republik Indonesia, 1994).

In September 2005 Indonesia ratified the ICESCR[93]. However, it stated is reservation towards article 1 on self-determination. In addition, Indonesia does not recognise the complaint mechanism outlined in articles 20 to 25 of the covenant. Therefore, there are no possibilities for individuals and private groups to lodge complaints to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights against violations of economical, social and cultural rights in Indonesia. Thus, many see this as an indication of Indonesia's a half-hearted ratification of the covenant.

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[92] Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No.4 (1991) UN Doc. E/1992/23, Annex III.

[93] This is overdue because the Presidential Decree No. 129/ 1998 has outlined a five year (1998-2003) action plan for the ratification of international human rights instruments, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

HOUSING, THE *KARTU TANDA PENDUDUK* (KTP) AND EXLUSION OF THE POOR

All Indonesians above the age of seventeen should possess an identity card called the *Kartu Tanda Penduduk* (KTP) issued by their respective local authority. According to Yayasan Humana (2001) "A KTP is the sole defining element for both inclusion and identity". Not having a KTP means that one is not officially registered as a citizen of ones city. Furthermore, it is a serious offence for which a person can to go to prison and be expelled from the city.

At a more private level, even to obtain a marriage certificate, for example, one needs to be in possession of a KTP. Those who do not have a KTP cannot legally marry and get a marriage certificate. Consequently, their children are not issued birth certificates, which will be a problem when they are about to enter school.

From a human rights point of view all kinds of national ID cards are problematic (Fussell, 2001). Not surprisingly, proposals to introduce national ID cards in the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia and other countries have raised debates on issues of government control and individual privacy[94].

The Indonesian KTP has its share of controversies. The better known one is the indication of religion as one of the item on the back of the card. There are only five religious categories: Islam, *Katolik* (Christian-Catholic), *Protestan* (Christian-Protestant), Hindu and *Budha* (Buddhist). As no other categories are possible this in effect discriminates other religious groups and those not having any religion[95]. Other forms of discrimination include the fact that until 1996 former members of the outlawed Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) had the letters "ET" for *ex- tahanan politik* (ex-political prisoner) stamped on their cards and that up to 1998 the category *non-pribumi* (non-native) as opposed to *pribumi* (native) appeared on KTPs held by Chinese Indonesians.

In October 2005 the Indonesian government stopped subsidising fuel. The subsidies on fuel have been seen as posing a too heavy burden to the state budget and, therefore, the government decided to end it. This has caused the costs of fuel (petrol, diesel fuel, kerosene) to rise by 87.5 percent to 187.5 percent. To assist poor families in coping with the rise of living costs the government devised the so-called *bantuan tunai langsung* (literary meaning"direct cash assistance") scheme in the form of cash money

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94 Even more serious then the issue of government control and protection of privacy are the role played by group classification on ID cards in the genocidical crimes conducted in such diverse places and times as Germany under the Nazis and Rwanda in 1994 (Fussell, 2001).

95 Between 1979 and 1998 the category *Konghucu* (Confucianism) was removed, which is one form of discrimination towards the ethnic Chinese.

amounting to IDR 100,000 per family/ month. This "well targeted subsidy" – to use a well known World Bank terminology - is seen as being more fair and effective in helping the poor compared to the indiscriminate fuel subsidies, which is seen as benefiting both the rich as well as the poor.

The registration of poor families and the distribution of the financial assistance, however, have not proceeded smoothly. There have been many complaints of people who are relatively well off receiving the assistance while the really poor, including those who are unemployed, ill or aged, have been passed over[96]. In any case, however, only those having KTPs are registered. Those who do not have KTPs – many of them residents of *permukiman liar*s (illegal settlements) or *tunawisma*s living under bridges, on sidewalks, in market places and in railway station yards - are automatically counted out.[97]

However, there is another, less obvious form of discrimination caused by the KTP system that is often overlooked: the inability of homeless people to access formal housing. To be able to obtain a KTP, which literary translates to 'card indicating domicile', on the one hand a person has to have an officially recognised address[98]. On the other hand, the homeless (whether they are squatters or *tunawisma*s) do not have any official address. Therefore, they are not eligible for KTPs, are not registered as residents of the city where they live and do not appear in any official statistics. They are, in effect, caught in a vicious circle: having no officially recognised address they cannot obtain a KTP; having no KTP, they cannot gain access to formal housing (and, therefore, no formal address, which brings them back to square one).

They are also not organised into community and neighbourhood units (*rukun warga* and *rukun tetangga*)[99] in which every household (at least theoretically) should be a member of. Even if they are, their organisations do not enjoy official

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[96] Some of the undeserving beneficiaries are relatives and acquaintances of village administrators or, ironically, those who have enough money to bribe them.

[97] Jakarta's Governor Sutiyoso, for example, justifies this policy by arguing that those without a Jakarta KTP are not residents of the city and are probably registered in other places. Therefore, to avoid duplications they are automatically not listed, even though they might be very poor.

[98] The State Minister of Popular Housing Decision No. 06/KPTS/1994 aptly sums this up in the following statement: "…… without a home or a permanent place to stay it would be difficult for a person's formal existence to be recognised (to have a KTP) ……" *("......tanpa rumah atau tempat bermukim yang tetap keberadaan seseorang secara formal sulit diakui (memiliki KTP)......")*.

[99] These organisations are a legacy of the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) when they were used to organise the people in war efforts (Jellinek, 1995). In 1969 Ali Sadikin, the governor of Jakarta, revived them to promote community participation in the city's development. A *rukun tetangga* (RT) consist of around 30 households, while a *rukun warga* (RW) consist of around 10 RTs (300 households).

recognition. Thus, they are not able to gain access to urban services such as education, health care and, of course, housing, though the Indonesian government has launched many housing programmes for the urban poor such as the Kampung Improvement Project (KIP), the Community Based Housing Project and the Community Based Initiative for Local Development (CoBILD).

The Dutch colonial government under its Ethical Policy originally initiated *kampung* improvement. Called *Kampong Verbetering* in Dutch, it was implemented in the newly formed urban municipalities following the introduction of the Decentralisation Law at the beginning of the 20th century. The programme was triggered by the growing fear among the European population that the appalling health condition in the native settlements (*kampung*s) could pose a danger to their well being as well (Yodohusodo, 1991; Jellinek, 1995). It should be noted that, surprisingly, the colonial government never had any plans to remove those native settlements.

With the Japanese occupation and the ensuing struggle for independence this programme could not be continued, but in 1972 the Indonesian government with the support of the World Bank implemented its version of this programme in large and medium sized cities all over the country which was called the Kampung Improvement Project (KIP) [100]. This scheme, however, was only implemented in regular, legal settlements because there was a fear that improving illegal settlements could be seen as de-*facto* recognition by the government.

The Community Based Housing initiative was introduced because the government realised that subsidised low-cost housing credit scheme has missed its intended target group and has instead benefited those who are economically better off. To support this initiative a special credit scheme was introduced. Instead of providing loans to individuals, this scheme, called the Triguna credit scheme, is aimed at community groups who otherwise (being informally employed individuals having no fixed incomes) would not be eligible for other types of housing loans.

The Community Based Housing initiative is based on a very simple concept. In practice, however, it was too complicated for the poor to handle. To apply for the Triguna loan, which is managed by the government owned Bank Tabungan Negara (BTN), for instance, they had to prepare proposals. These proposals would have to include a large number of documents issued by different local government agencies as

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[100] The post-independence Kampung Improvement Project (KIP) is often referred by the World Bank as one of the more successful housing initiatives supported by the Bank.

attachments. Besides being very time consuming, to obtain these documents more often than not entailed the paying of bribes; among the required documents were also copies of the KTPs of each community member.

Because of this complication, the Triguna scheme was only successful in a very small number of isolated places; it never became a viable and effective nationwide housing supply system for the urban poor as it was intended to be.

Recently, with the assistance of the UNDP the community-based housing concept was revived in twelve cities in Indonesia. But instead of depending on BTN's Triguna loan as a source of finance, the Community Based Initiatives for Housing and Local Development (CoBILD) makes use of a Dutch government grant. The grant is managed as a revolving fund to be used to repair existing houses as well as to build new ones by a specially established independent financial institution accountable to the relevant stakeholders in each city.

Initially, CoBILD was planned as a long-term revolving programme. In its first phase it was planned that about 10,000 households in 100 *kampungs* in twelve cities all over Indonesia will benefit from the programme. Like previously mentioned housing schemes, only registered residents (in other words only those possessing KTPs) are eligible for CoBILD loans. Due to mismanagement and corruption, however, CoBILD has been successful in only two of the twelve cities: Semarang and Yogyakarta,[101] while in other cities it was discontinued after the first phase.

A LOOK AT THE FUTURE

The ratification of the ICESCR by the Indonesian government is an important move towards ensuring that the people's economic, social and cultural rights are recognised. As a state that has ratified the ICESCR, Indonesia would have to adjust all its legal instruments to be in accordance with the content of the covenant. Indonesia, therefore, would be, among others, required to promote and protect the right to housing and prevent forced eviction from happening. Moreover, it would be obliged to report to the international community on the implementation of the ICESCR in Indonesia. However, as mentioned earlier, Indonesia has stated is reservation towards article 1 and does not recognise the complaint mechanism outlined in articles 20 to 25 of the covenant.

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[101] In view of Semarang's success in implementing CoBILD, a Dutch NGO, the Stichting Garantiefonds Habitat Internationale (SGHI) has granted the CoBILD in Semarang additional funds to continue and extend the programme.

This raises the question of the effectiveness of Indonesia's ratification of the covenant in preventing forced eviction.

The KTP system in its present form can be (and has been) used to justify forced eviction. Persons without KTPs are not considered as being legal residents, thus removing them from their homes is not seen as a serious issue. The KTP system has, in many cases, been used to deny people their civil rights, including the right to housing. The KTP, therefore, should be reformed and should only be a citizen registration instrument, not the all-important document associated with ones domicile status.

It is perhaps too optimistic to hope that forced eviction will be something of the past, given the long history of forced eviction in Indonesia and the fact that corruption is so widespread. It is generally agreed that many of the problems faced by Indonesian cities are the results of the collusive interests of corrupt politicians, bureaucrats and rent seeking elements of the private sector. As long as systematic and structural corruption is still widely practised in Indonesia, there is little hope that forced evictions will cease.

On the contrary, recent developments - such as the issuance of the controversial *Peraturan Presiden* (Presidential Regulation) 36/2005 which has given forced eviction an even stronger legal basis – seem to point out that forced evictions will continue, probably at an even greater scale than what is taking place today. Together with the fact that Indonesia's economy has not recovered from the 1997 crisis (which has forced a large number of people into poverty), those factors mentioned above can be seen as signs that we can expect more homeless Indonesians in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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HOMELESSNESS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA: A Strategy

INTRODUCTION

Western Australia ('WA') is Australia's largest state, covering the Western most third of the mainland, bordering South Australia and the Northern Territory. Due to WA's vast geographical expanse and both cultural and demographic diversity, the issue of addressing and responding to homelessness poses a number of significant problems, especially involving the provision of services to remote regions, rural and Aboriginal communities.

In response to an election promise and in recognition of the ongoing problem of homelessness, the West Australian, Labor Government, appointed a State Homelessness Taskforce ('Taskforce') in July 2001, to develop a State Homelessness Strategy ('Strategy') with recommendations to be presented to its Cabinet Standing Committee on Social Policy on 31 January 2002.

Through consultation with stakeholders the Taskforce was to:

- Develop a plan of action, for the whole-of-Government and community. The plan was to incorporate practical responses to:

  - The prevention of homelessness;

  - The provision of effective support for those who are homeless;

  - The provision of support for people attempting to maintain their accommodation after an incidence of homelessness.

- Provide advice on identifying the causes of homelessness in WA, including an understanding of homelessness in the regions and appropriate initiatives for preventing homelessness.

- Contribute to a better understanding of homelessness and the pathways through homelessness in WA, and identify gaps in service provision.

- Provide advice on the development of benchmarks and social indicators relating to homelessness, in the context of the Government benchmarking project being managed by the Department of the Premier and Cabinet.

- Make recommendations to the Cabinet Standing Committee on Social Policy by 31 January 2002 on the:

  - Plan of action;

  - Implementation strategy; and

  - Plan to monitor the progress of the implementation strategy.

THE STATE HOMELESSNESS TASKFORCE

The Taskforce comprised 12 members appointed on the basis of their individual expertise, commitment to people who are homeless and their ability to access Government and community networks, was chaired by Mr. Tony Pietropiccolo, Director of Centrecare Inc. and the then President of the Western Australian Council of Social Service. To ensure a coordinated approach in addressing the many issues associated with being homeless, Taskforce members were drawn from Aboriginal, regional, metropolitan, Government, non-Government and community representation and all expressed a willingness to 'work within a group' rather than as a 'voice for a representational group'.

Maintaining a strong and motivated Taskforce was vital in ensuring a cohesive strategy. At the Taskforce's formation, a consultant was charged with conducting a half-day team building workshop to strengthen team functioning. Areas covered included the introduction of a framework for maximising team resources during challenges, tools for formulating a team vision statement, engaging members in outcomes, enhancing communication and creating a synergy between the individual and team.

The Taskforce was funded by the WA Government and supported by a Secretariat consisting of officers seconded from the Department for Community Development ('DCD') (formerly Department of Family and Children's Services), an officer from the Department of Housing and Works ('DHW' which is the Government Housing Authority) and a contracted officer from a non-Government Agency working with people who are homeless. The Secretariat was directly responsible to the Chairman and its primary role was to consult with the community, collate information and viewpoints to assist the Taskforce to make recommendations in line with the terms of reference.

The process used by the Taskforce was to develop across Government commitment through Taskforce membership, ongoing engagement and discussion with Government and non-Government agencies impacted by homelessness but not represented on the Taskforce.

Over a six month period the Taskforce met on a regular basis and undertook extensive community consultations across Western Australia. At the onset members discussed the issue of a definition of 'homelessness' and it was agreed that the definition to be used was one that had become accepted by most groups in Australia. The definition to be adopted is presented below:

"Homelessness is one extreme of a spectrum of disadvantage in terms of access to safe, affordable and secure housing. Homelessness has an implication of lack of options or choice. A person is homeless if he or she has inadequate access to safe and secure housing. Inadequate housing is defined as follows:

- It damages, or is likely to damage, the person's health; or

- It threatens the person's safety; or

- It fails to provide access to adequate personal amenities and the economic and social support that a home normally affords;

The broadly accepted categories of homelessness were:

- Primary homelessness or those that are sleeping rough without a roof over their head;

- Secondary homelessness or those in crisis accommodation or staying with friends/relatives; and

- Tertiary homelessness where people are living in insecure accommodation such as boarding houses, caravan parks or rooming houses."

However, the Taskforce believed that the definition was mainly focused on the provision of shelter and omitted broader social welfare factors. Such a definition can result in a better understanding of 'houselessness' but not necessarily of homelessness.

The Taskforce and Secretariat collated information on issues surrounding homelessness using three distinct strategies. An initial research/information gathering strategy targeted key people in sector groups to identify existing reports, studies and information to inform the Taskforce in areas where there are gaps in knowledge. The communication strategy was implemented to inform the community of the existence of the Taskforce, raise community understanding of homelessness and to develop a shared Government and community response. The communication strategy needed to be considered as part of a continuum that started with the Taskforce communicating with the wider community and then moving through into the consultation phase to obtain input and feedback. The consultation strategy was used to engage the broader community ensuring that all members of the community with an interest in homelessness had the opportunity to be heard. This involved the Secretariat linking in to target groups and consulting with Taskforce members on identifying key informants and encouraging their participation in the development of the draft and final report to Government.

In September 2001, the Taskforce released an "Issues Paper"[102] to encourage debate and guide input from the community. The Taskforce received over 100 written submissions, undertook 43 group consultations, 58 individual interviews and 206 questionnaires were received from people who had been homeless. The consultations included those experiencing homelessness, service providers, Aboriginal people and representatives of those with special needs and the migrant community. In December 2001, an "Interim Report to Government"[103] was released, identifying findings from the first consultations and was open to comment from the public until 31 December 2001.

THE STATE HOMELESSNESS TASKFORCE FINDINGS

On 31 January 2002, the Taskforce's reported its findings in "Addressing Homelessness in Western Australia" ('Report') which provided the first comprehensive analysis of homelessness in WA.

The Report found that traditionally West Australian services to people who are homeless were provided by a variety of large community organisations, church organisations, small funded single-focus community organisations, volunteers working both singularly and as part of organisations, local Government and State and Commonwealth Government agencies. The majority of services were funded for specific target groups and programs delivered were allocated specifically to deal with issues such as substance abuse, mental health, ageing, domestic or family violence, offending behaviour, brain acquired injury, disability or illness.

The consultations identified a range of factors contributing to people experiencing homelessness which included: social exclusion; lack of access to affordable housing, poverty, debt and financial difficulty; eviction; people who were banned from accessing services and accommodation; discrimination; stigma and shame. Factors that impeded the provision of effective services was the difficulty experienced in providing services to people with mobile lifestyles; the drift of homeless people into city and regional area;

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[102] State Homelessness Taskforce, Issues Paper (2001)

[103] State Homelessness Taskforce , Interim Report to Government (2001)

and at its worst, banning or limiting the most vulnerable from access to support services.

The Taskforce heard that homelessness and access to affordable housing are inextricably linked. The mandate of the State Homeless Taskforce was to develop strategies to address homelessness. One of the major barriers to addressing homelessness in the State was identified as access to affordable housing for low income people and people who are homeless or at risk of homelessness. Access to affordable housing also includes community housing options that are managed by either Regional Housing Associations and not for profit organisations.

The consultations identified that an increase in social housing stock was considered imperative in addressing the exclusion experienced by homeless people, just as the improvement in durability and upgrading of existing social housing stock was also considered essential.

Poverty and social exclusion go hand in hand. Without access to income, people's ability to participate in the community is diminished. The Western Australian Council of Social Service stated in its submission that many people on low incomes manage to remain in housing whilst being in 'housing stress'.[104] Further, the ongoing capacity of low-income people to either maintain their housing or gain access to employment, over a period of time becomes increasingly more difficult. In many instances, they trade off one necessity against another e.g. to forego health care or education in favour of maintaining a roof over their heads.[105]

Homeless people surveyed and organisations that provide services to homeless people or people at risk of homelessness identified outstanding debts, juggling payments to debtors and limited income as contributing significantly to people becoming homeless

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[104] *Western Australian Council of Social Service's Submission to the State Homelessness Taskforce Issues Paper – September 2001*
[105] WACOSS ibid

and creating barriers to escaping homelessness. Poor financial management was also identified as an issue for many individuals.

Banning people who are homeless from reentering accommodation was evidenced within social housing, supported accommodation and the private rental market. A history of non-payment of rent, inappropriate behaviour, substance abuse issues, property damage, outstanding debt and poor maintenance of the home were identified as major reasons why people are banned from supported accommodation services.

Discrimination in accessing and maintaining low-cost housing was an ongoing concern in all rental tenures: public, private, community and crisis accommodation. Aboriginal people were considered as facing significantly more barriers than most in accessing private rental accommodation based on their ethnicity, limited income and past housing histories. The Taskforce heard from many people and organisations that people with a mental illness were also likely to face significant discrimination within public, private, community and crisis accommodation.

Young people under 18 years of age were viewed as the least able to access housing, generally considered as high risk with public, community and private rental options due to their age, likelihood of poor household management skills and possible high-risk behaviours, likely to result in property damage.

Lesbian, gay and transgender people stated in their submission to the Taskforce that if they identified their sexuality they feared they would be discriminated against. This was said to be more of an issue within supported accommodation services where there were models of congregated living.

Stigma and shame are by-products of social exclusion where the impact is felt either externally as a criticism or internally as a shame. Media coverage tends to focus on issues of eviction and rough sleepers without regard to the broader issues surrounding homelessness or the need for positive preventative initiatives. The Taskforce was told

that the factors that contribute to the development and maintenance of stigma and shame also impact on the level of funding provided to deal with homelessness and the level of community debate on homelessness. It also generally engenders a culture that avoids openly dealing with homelessness.

Some families and individuals are highly mobile which was seen as a difficulty by services providers. Mobility often creates ongoing debt, instability for children's education and unconventional lifestyles. People are leaving rural and remote places in preference for regional centres and metropolitan areas raising concerns that the drift of homeless people to the city had led to an increase in need for services as they sought food, clothing and overnight accommodation.   The trend towards drifting to metropolitan areas can be linked to decreasing employment opportunities, closure of Government services and banking facilities in rural and remote areas with medical treatment and specialist treatment very rarely available in rural and remote locations

The durability and type of housing was raised as an issue within consultation forums, submissions and meetings with interested stakeholders. Concerns around durability were linked with the age of housing occupied and the types of materials used in current construction and/or in property maintenance. Poor materials and workmanship led to the early deterioration of housing and the creation of unhealthy living conditions. Concerns were also identified around the types of accommodation that could be considered culturally appropriate for Aboriginal people and culturally and linguistically diverse people where traditional customs specified ways of living that were not necessarily sustainable within the usual three to four bedroom home. More durable products utilised within new constructions, refurbishment and general household maintenance, followed by identified local and occupant needs as to type of accommodation were considered as essential in addressing these concerns.

The feedback received through the consultations identified a lack of availability of support services and a deficiency in services and models already in operation. Support and advocacy services specifically targeted to people at risk can ensure that the people at risk of homelessness have the supports necessary to remain housed. These services need to include early intervention, crisis intervention and ongoing support and

assistance. Additionally services need to provide practical in-home support, support in developing skills and managing life issues, linkages into community and neighborhood systems, assistance in maneuvering through health, welfare and justice systems and in developing and maintaining independence.

Current services are mainly provided to individual target groups, such as youth services, family services and domestic violence services. The functional boundaries that determine Government agency responses further compartmentalises service delivery. A strong characteristic of the service delivery system, as identified by the Taskforce, was the silo approach to services. The system was characterized by individual services working within functional and targeted group boundaries. Understandably people are not neatly packaged into age, gender and family status as their needs are often multiple and consequently fall into more than one category. The service types that were seen as the most effective by those consulted by the Taskforce are those with the capacity to work across target groups and with a range of different life issues. The Taskforce believed that future services needed to have the flexibility to cut across functional boundaries and deal with a range of target groups at the same time.

Submissions received by the Taskforce identified an insufficient access to supported accommodation options across all identified target groups throughout the State. There was a perceived lack of emergency supported accommodation and of long-term supported accommodation. In effect, some hostel services were no longer operating as frontline, emergency services but were increasingly providing long term accommodation. Due to their mandate to provide only emergency accommodation they had a limited capacity to work with people to assist them to once again live independently. A further difficulty was the lack of alternative, supported accommodation which precluded people from exiting emergency shelters. The Taskforce was continually told that access to support and/or accommodation of any type was very problematic for both the people in need and the service providers.

The consultation identified that there were three main areas of concern in addressing homelessness. The first factor identified was the need to improve access to affordable

housing. A person will remain homeless, regardless of the support provided, if they are unable to move into affordable and appropriate housing. The second factor identified was the need to improve access to a range of supported accommodation services. In some areas, there are insufficient services and in other areas there are barriers to access, such as services being full with people unable to exit to appropriate affordable accommodation. The third factor was a need for improved support services to assist people live independently.

Each of these areas has elements of preventing homelessness; assisting people who are homeless and helping people to remain housed. The consultation identified that there was a need for a whole of community response involving State Government agencies, Commonwealth Government agencies, community agencies and the private sector. Those consulted believed that services were largely uncoordinated, and dominated by the requirements of Government departments and funding arrangements. It was felt that these shortcomings could be overcome through the development of an integrated system of support services and affordable housing in which the support provided is linked to the needs of the homeless person, not the housing.

Impediments to building an integrated system included the sense of "shame" felt by many people when admitting to being homeless. This results in a reluctance to discuss the issue of homelessness in public. The lack of public debate results in the perpetuation of myths and the ability to ignore homelessness. The consultation identified the need for the development of a community information strategy to inform people about homelessness and the range of community services available. Other major impediments to an effective response to homelessness were poverty and discrimination. These actively work against people being able to retain their ongoing accommodation.

Because of the complexity of needs, the support requirements of the homeless are diverse and often high, requiring coordination and linkages between agencies and programs. Existing service systems have developed a tendency for agencies to

operate in isolation from each other (silos mentality). This occurs in both the Government and non-Government sectors.

STATE HOMELESSNESS TASKFORCE RECOMMENDATIONS

In January 2002, the Taskforce published its Report which contained 68 recommendations covering thirteen strategic areas. These recommendations formed part of a 'Plan of Action' for practical, across-Government and community strategies to prevent homelessness, provide effective support for those who are homeless and provide support for people attempting to maintain their accommodation after an incidence of homelessness.

The Taskforce's recommendations centered around the need for preventative and early intervention services designed to minimise risk of homelessness and maximise people's opportunities through early assistance to prevent crises; joining up Government programs to present a seamless set of services for people; involving the community in the planning, design and implementation of responses; being supportive and compassionate in assisting people who are homeless; and monitoring the implementation of these initiatives through the development of performance measures. The Taskforce also proposed a shift in focus from crisis accommodation and support to services designed to assist people in staying housed once housing was obtained. These services would also assist families and individuals at risk of becoming homeless to avoid homelessness.

Arising from the Taskforce's report was a broad range of recommendations which included the following summary of key initiatives.

I.   **An increase in Government funding for social housing**.

–   Injection of Commonwealth funds to maintain and increase current social housing and stock levels.

–   Injection of State funds to maintain and increase current social housing stock levels.

II.   **Broaden opportunities for increasing the amount, durability and type of affordable housing**.   Initiatives in this area included policy initiatives to affect the construction and management of Indigenous housing and to increase the Indigenous occupancy of community housing.

–   Increase the use of durable building materials and fittings in social housing.

–   Increase the quality of housing in Indigenous Communities to eliminate 'homelessness in homelands'.

–   Increasing Aboriginal management to 18% of urban community housing stock.

III.   **Optimise the access and use of existing housing for people on low incomes.**

–   Examine options for incentives for private landlords to accommodate people on low incomes.

–   Ensure security of tenure for long term tenants in caravan parks and boarding/lodging houses by investigating the merits of legislating to protect the tenure of long term tenants in caravan parks, lodging and boarding houses.

IV.   **Support and advocacy to prevent homelessness**.   Initiatives in this area involved decreasing the number of people entering crisis and short-term accommodation due to evictions, substance abuse and financial or psychiatric problems.

–   Develop practical in-home support services to assist people in gaining the skills to manage in a home; these services to be developed with the Aboriginal communities and migrant communities where appropriate.

–   Increase the level of immediate clinical support for people with mental illness in all areas by increasing the capacity of the local Mental Health Teams to meet the demand of people in need.

–   Develop living skills as part of the course for students at risk. The Curriculum Council in consultation with Youth Affairs Council of Western Australia develop an appropriate curriculum on living skills for students at risk.

V.   **Leaving institutional and long-term care**.   This area dealt with the recommendations and commitments impacting on people who are leaving long-term care. It included the development of living skills and implementation of responsible discharge planning, when people are exiting hospital care or the justice system.

–   Department of Health promotes and implements responsible discharge planning where people leave hospital care to long term stable accommodation, not being referred into immediate access crisis accommodation.

–   Department of Justice develop strategies to enhance release planning for people leaving prison with longer sentences.

VI.   **Long term accommodation with support.**   This section of the report summarised the initiatives that dealt with long term accommodation with support. Included in these initiatives are the frail aged, people with disabilities or mental illness, migrants and youth.

–   Develop more independent living accommodation options which have the appropriate stock and appropriate support services available to people with mental illness and/or acquired brain injury.

–   Reduce the possibility of homelessness for all newly arrived migrants and refugees regardless of their visa status through negotiation with the Commonwealth to minimise overcrowding caused by people unable to obtain appropriate housing.

–   Work on joint ventures involving Aboriginal Hostels Ltd, DHW, DIA, private sector hotel, motel, caravan park operators to develop short term housing options for Indigenous people visiting towns and cities.

VII.   **Support for people who are homeless**. The initiatives suggested in this section provide for a wide range of services designed to allow a diverse groups of homeless people to access appropriate services.

–   Work on joint ventures involving Aboriginal Hostels Ltd, Department for Housing and Works and Department for Indigenous Affairs, private sector hotel, motel, caravan park operators to develop short term housing options for Indigenous people visiting towns and cities.

–   Develop increased access to supported accommodation and appropriate support services for men after an incident of family violence

–   Development of a service that allowed people to quickly access available, private accommodation without entering emergency services. This was to be a joint Department for Community Development and Department of Housing and Works initiative, with the support service being provided by a non-Government organisation

–   Develop a demonstration project specifically designed for Aboriginal people visiting the city. This was to include adequate facilities such as ablution blocks with showers, cooking facilities, shelter and security.

–   Expand the Street Doctor service to provide early medical intervention to homeless people. This avoided relatively simple medical conditions from becoming chronic and needing hospitalisation or more intensive care.

VIII.   **Enhancing implementation**. Initiatives in this area attempted to enhance the implementation of the strategies and initiatives contained in the State Homelessness Strategy.

–   Establish implementation Committee responsible to the Cabinet Standing Committee on Social Policy.

–   Ensure that there are structural links between the Implementation committee and the Indigenous Affairs Advisory Committee to ensure that strategies to enable the mapping of need and responses within Indigenous communities are integral to implementation.

–   Develop an information strategy to encourage debate and discussion on issues around homelessness.

–   Develop a commitment across the Government and community sector to work together in implementing the Action Plan.

–   Develop a method of centralising funding for new initiatives arising from the Taskforce across Government portfolios.

–   Developing flexibility in funding arrangement to enable Government and community agencies to work together.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO THE REPORT OF THE STATE HOMELESSNESS TASKFORCE

In May 2002, the Government's response – the State Homelessness Strategy (in the document "The Government's Response to the Report of the State Homelessness Taskforce – Putting People First") was published addressing each issue raised by the Taskforce and stating what action has or would be undertaken.

The Strategy had sought a whole-of- Government response, where for the first time the combined resources of both the Government and community were drawn together to address the causes of homelessness, put in place new and innovative services to prevent homelessness and assist people who have been homeless to a better life. The Government's response had three themes and provided for an additional $32 million dollars to be spent on new initiatives over a four year period. The three themes in the government's response were:

▪   Better options for Housing – improve access to affordable housing.

▪   Vulnerability and Transition – assist people through important transitions from institutions and other situations.

▪   Stability in Housing – provide services to keep people housed.

The response did not fund all of the Taskforce's recommendations but provided enough funds for most of them to be implemented.

The Strategy had articulated a delineation of roles and responsibilities across the broad social sector to ensure comprehensive and across-Government action. The Taskforce process itself had initiated a commitment to cross-sector partnership and consultation in forming an effective response which did not cease with the Taskforce's report. The Government's response was supportive of this vision.

In May 2002, the West Australian Government Cabinet Standing Committee on Social Policy established a Monitoring Committee. The Monitoring Committee comprised of community and Government representatives. It was responsible for assisting the Standing Committee monitor the implementation of the Government's response to the Taskforce's report, develop performance indicators to measure Government performance in responding to the Taskforce recommendations, prepare an annual report to Cabinet Standing Committee on Social Policy, against these performance indicators, with the first report due in May 2003 and prepare an evaluation report on the implementation of the recommendations for submission to Cabinet in December 2003.

Throughout 2002-2003, the Monitoring Committee met on a quarterly basis. In April 2004, the Cabinet Standing Committee on Social Policy agreed that the Monitoring Committee would continue until December 2005 to complete its work.

EVALUATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S STATE HOMELESSNESS STRATEGY

The Terms of Reference of the Monitoring Committee included an evaluation of the implementation of the Strategy and the development of performance indicators to measure the impact of the Strategy. On 4 April 2005, an independent consultant was commissioned to conduct a full impact evaluation of the Strategy. Preparing the

evaluation brief for the consultant was undertaken by a committee drawn from the Monitoring Committee and it consisted of people two *Government* agencies and the non-*Government sector*. This evaluation would be used by the Monitoring Committee to advise the Government and the public of Western Australia on the impact and effectiveness of those recommendations that had been implemented. The final report on the evaluation is currently being finalised, however, some initial findings are reported below.

The brief of the impact evaluation required the evaluator to look at seven areas:

1.   The effectiveness of the Strategy.

2.   The effect on the service system's response to homeless people and preventing homelessness

3.   The effects of the initiatives on other major service deliverers.

4.   The outcomes for clients and other affected groups

5.   To make recommendations about the future of the funded initiatives i.e. whether to continue, cease, change them, and identify gaps.

6.   The extent to which commitments have been implemented.

7.   The strategies relation to Government's social policy agenda.

There has been strong across Government and across sector collaboration during the Strategy's implementation period with a high proportion of the 68 Taskforce Recommendations addressed.

The government has created a great deal of goodwill amongst service providers with the implementation of the Taskforce's recommendations. There has been better co-

ordination and understanding of the homelessness issue across government and within government departments which has led to new interagency collaboration. There is also closer cooperation between Government and not-for-profit services, which has been evident in developing new service models and in the case management of clients.

There is greater understanding and acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of social issues such as homelessness, drug and alcohol abuse, mental illness, domestic violence, justice, education, health, and Government agencies are working more cooperatively on these issues and responses. For example the Drug Strategy and Mental Health Strategy have both acknowledged the link to homelessness and provided new services.

A major benefit of the Strategy for service providers was the recognition that homelessness is a government priority with increased interagency collaboration strengthening the relationship between government and non-government agencies. Overall, just over half of stakeholders believe the initiatives have had a moderate or great effect. The range of initiatives in the Strategy is seen as a comprehensive attempt to deal with the issue of homelessness and is fully supported by stakeholders.

The majority of the new funded services have been established and are working well. Over 30 new funded services have been established across four government departments. Those that were delayed are now being developed. This has led to a wider range of service responses to: prevent homelessness; support homeless people and those at risk and help people re-establish accommodation after homelessness.

Between 2001-02, requests for crisis accommodation have significantly reduced in the period following the implementation of the initiatives from 15,000 to 13,000. The accommodation provided decreased from 14,100 to 12,350. In addition, the percentage of those SAAP clients requesting housing/accommodation who were helped has risen from 93.6% to 95%.

The Department for Housing and Works has purchased or built additional mainstream accommodation for people with special needs such as transitional accommodation for prisoners leaving incarceration and long term supported accommodation for people with mental illness. An increase in the amount of social housing stock and the number of different housing options available has also significantly improved with a decrease in the number of people entering crisis and short term accommodation due to evictions, substance abuse and financial or psychiatric problems.

The provision of "the street doctor" launched in 2001 has increased access to medical treatment for the homeless and has been one of the most successful initiatives of the Strategy, with a significant increase in the number of people accessing the service.

There still, however, remains much work to be done. Gaps remain for some of the services for a range of client groups. The major reason the lack of service to these groups is that they often fall outside the guidelines for assistance for a specific service. The need for a model of care that is focused on the need of the client and not on a specific category eg youth remains. Such a model of care was identified by the Taskforce but remains illusive. There remains also an identified need for more services that assist people to develop life skills and for a greater range of services in regional areas.

There remains a need for more housing stock and for the provision of affordable housing. An additional, regional challenge is that the cost of providing accommodation increases strongly with the desirability of the location, especially with those locations that provide greater employment opportunities. This means that the availability of appropriate social and low cost private rental accommodation is most challenged in areas in which it is most desirable. More funding is needed for housing, more funding is needed for services and programs and more funding is required for "frontline" staff.

The data available does not clearly outline which services have had the greatest impact on homelessness and to what extent homelessness has been reduced as a consequence of the Strategy.   There are some encouraging signs in the statistics

presented above; however other data is not as conclusive. It is simply too early to tell what the Strategy's full impact will be, given the relatively short time that it has been in place.   However, the evaluation suggests that the thrust of the Taskforce's recommendations accurately targeted those areas that are likely to most positively impact on reducing homelessness and reducing the risk of people becoming homeless. The challenge remains to further expand the work that is currently being done and to build on what is already a strong foundation.

HOMELESSNESS IN NAIROBI, KENYA; CAUSES AND NTERVENTIONS

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ABSTRACT

Over a quarter of the world's population were said not to have shelter fit for human habitation as at the year 2000.This over a billion people may be referred to as homeless. Homelessness is about shelter and housing which is not just a basic need but also a human right according to the International Declaration on Human Rights. Homelessness has been identified as one of the most severe manifestations of the denial of human rights. Homelessness in this case, is not just about a roof over ones head, but goes to include the level of services available, materials of construction and occupancy rates that define overcrowding. As far as shelter is concerned, security of tenure assumes another dimension and covers not just the right of ownership but also the right against forced eviction and demolition.

Conditions whereby individuals are involuntarily without a home often place a country in a violation of its international human rights obligations. It is towards this end that the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (IYSH) in 1987 successfully observed the need to intensify national and international efforts to produce, deliver and improve shelter for all with particular emphasis on meeting the needs of the poor and disadvantaged. These shelter concerns led to The General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 43/81 to launch the Global Shelter Strategy to the year 2000. (GSS). Over the years, different countries have sought different approaches to curb homelessness. This has mainly been through feeble attempts to provide public and social housing. These attempts have, however, been rendered futile given the rising conditions of urbanization and poverty coupled with poor policy structures put in place to tackle homelessness by most governments.

The author wishes to trace the evolution of housing policy approaches in Kenya from immediate post colonial period to date. Concomitant to this, the paper will also draw a picture of homelessness in urban Kenya clearly investigating the causes of the current scenario while at the same time trying to analyze the effectiveness of the government interventions in its attempt to contain the menace.

1.0 Introduction

The rate of urbanization which is mainly pegged on the levels of rapid growth of the world's urban population is one of the most striking features of the demographic changes taking place in the world today. The level of urbanization which translates to the number of people living in the cities is projected to double from two to four billon by the year 2025. This rapid growth poses insurmountable challenges not only to the policy makers in the respective governments but also to the other stakeholders. The manifestations of the challenges facing the different players are all too glaring. Some of these include: -

❖ The ever increasing demand for affordable shelter and security of tenure, which is characteristically evidenced by severe overcrowding, homelessness, mushrooming informal settlements and demolitions

❖ Collapse in the infrastructural service systems coupled with backlogs in the delivery of the same

❖ General inability and lack of institutional capacity to cope with economic, social and political demands of the populace leading to a state of hopelessness and apathy which more often than not leads to civil strife. In most developing countries, this situation creates a new dimension to poverty, which more less becomes a way of life to a majority of the population.

Central to this is access to shelter, which is exacerbated by lack of secure tenure and basic infrastructure. The challenges facing the cities in as far as shelter is concerned was first recognized in the 1970s and from hence different fora, agendas, and organizations have been set up to address the issues of shelter, the most dominant ones being:-

❖ The global conference on human settlements in Vancouver in 1976

❖ The United Nations center for Human Settlements (UNCHS-Habitat), established in 1978, based in Nairobi

❖ The International year of Shelter for the Homelessness in 1987 whose main focus was on the plight of the homeless and the inefficiency of the public policies in addressing the situation

❖ The Habitat II conference in Istanbul which led to the formulation of the habitat agenda in 1996

❖ The Istanbul +5, a special session where the member countries reported on the progress of implementing the Habitat Agenda in 2001 and lastly

❖ The Global Strategy for Shelter adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 43/181 in 1988.

From the foregoing, one then may be tempted to ask why all the attention is given to the issues of shelter/ housing access. The role of shelter cannot be restricted to the productivity of the person but to the nation at large. Shelter is not only a basic need but has recently been recognized as a human right. And whereas shelter acts as a protective covering from weather elements thus enhancing productivity of the occupant, the mere chance to own shelter is in itself a status symbol in most of the societies, therefore making its acquisition a lifetime ambition (UNCHS 1991). This encourages personal savings. On the extreme, inadequate housing has a direct impact on the standards of living, in that where it is too crowded, poorly built and located in unsafe locations, it may lead to incidences of disease and death.

Housing plays a major role in the economic development of any country in terms of the direct relationship that exists between housing construction and economic growth. Any construction in any economy contributes to the gross capital formation of such a country. Housing is often said to make a big part of the construction activities. It also acts as a source of wealth since to most households in the developing countries, housing acts as a place from where they conduct their economic activities. It is a major employer thus inducing demand for goods and services through increased purchasing power and therefore triggering forward linkages for other sectors such as the building materials industry amongst others.

1.1 Housing and Homelessness

The concept of homelessness is not a new phenomenon as it has been recognized over the years not just as a development but also a social issue. Despite the many researches carried out on the issue, it has only recently come to the fore as evidenced by the recent establishment of different bodies that deal with homelessness. Schurink (2003) recognizes that the present day homelessness lies in the historical context of the economic conditions and policies applied globally. Conceding to the same argument, Farouk Tebbal and Kalyan Ray (2001), have recognized the fact that the

problem of homelessness in the cities around the world defies generalization because the growth of every city and the way the authorities manage the effects of such growth are rooted in its history, culture and the local politics. That is to say that, policy makers the world over have not developed standard models to address the problems of the poor but each approach is dependent on the individual country's circumstances. Thus, Planners, Land managers and all others have always planned green cities from their ivory towers without the fore thought that majority of their citizens have more urgent needs than conforming to planning and property regulations. This situation is worsened by the economic policies embraced by most of the governments. In the case of the LDCs for example the structural adjustment programmes have not helped a lot. This is evidenced by the widening gap between the rich and the poor. The kind of shelter or homes that the two categories of citizens live in is a manifestation of this widening gap in that whereas one group talks of their homes in the plush areas, the other talks of home in the slums and the streets where life is nothing but squalor and poverty. Thus the concept of homelessness and 'houselessness".

Schurink (2003) appreciates that it is very difficult to come to conclusive definition of the term homelessness due to the fact that it is a term that has a global face and it is relative and what one may consider homelessness in London may not be homelessness in Nairobi. In the advanced cities, substance abusers who sleep on the street are homeless whereas in the poorer cities over 50% of the urban population live in squatter settlements that lack in most basic amenities making the street dweller in London a better housed person! Such people in the LDCs cities can be said to be invisibly homeless.

Different Scholars have adopted various definitions of the term homelessness, though as highlighted above there may not be any universal definition. The United Nations categorizes homelessness into relative and absolute where the former are those at risk of sleeping on the streets and the latter as those already there. The UN, further defines homelessness as individuals who have no homes and those whose shelters do not meet the UN standards. Habitat (2000), views homelessness as a condition of detachment from society characterized by lack of the affiliative bonds that link people into their social structures. Other wide-ranging interpretations of homelessness are those of overcrowded, insecure or substandard accommodation. This once again confirms the relativity of the term since there are no universal socially acceptable standards. That is however not to say that standard indicators lack. The Collins English dictionary has no clear cut definition of the term but it is implied that one who has no home to go to is homeless with a home being a place or the place where one

lives. It is impossible to separate homelessness from the term housing if one was to adopt John Turner's definition which focuses on housing not just as a built artefact but as a process through which a society acquires shelter. That process in essence involves the acquisition of the house and its accompaniments ie security of tenure that guarantees permanence and the services thereupon. While quoting the Access Toronto, Schurink (2003) describes homeless as those who are absolutely, periodically or temporarily without shelter as well as those at a substantial risk of eviction. Therefore, people who are at risk of loosing their housing through evictions and demolitions may be considered homeless. These people for purposes of this paper are those that live in slums and squatter settlements who not only lack security of tenure but also lead a life of severe deprivation of the infrastructural services like safe and clean drinking water, sewerage services, solid waste disposal amongst others. Security of tenure in this debate of homelessness adds a new dimension in that it is not just about having a title but a psychological state of mind. In other words, how secure does one feel in relation to the location that one lives in? The author is of the opinion that there is no other group of people who feel insecure as people who live in informal settlements in as far as their assured shelter needs are concerned. This insecurity is often triggered by fear of eminent demolitions and evictions and the invasion of their privacy due to the general lack of services. Emphasis of this paper will therefore be on homeless person as that who has no security of tenure and has no sense of belonging, security and dignity and one who has no access to infrastructure or community services. This concurs with the definition adopted by Schurink while quoting the Pretoria Homeless Consortium 1998.

1.2 The Dynamics of Homelessness in Nairobi

Africa is currently experiencing urbanization rate of growth more than ever before with myriad problems associated with such growth. Central to this is the ever growing urban population numbers who now live in overcrowded slums, squatter settlements and shantytowns where the economic survival strategies are very limited thus limiting access to any meaningful infrastructural services (Wasao 2002).

The situation in Kenya is no different from any other African country in as far as the population growth is concerned. Nairobi, being the capital City bears the blunt of it all with figures ranging between 120,000 in 1948 and 2.1 million in 1999 (CBS 2001). This makes Nairobi's population growth rate to stand at 7% per annum. The history of Nairobi dates back to the pre-colonial times when it was a major trading center for various ethnic groups living around the place who used the place due to its climatic

convinience and centrality of location to undertake barter trade. It was later chosen by the British colonial masters in 1905, to be the headquarters of the colonial government after the completion of the railway. Nairobi officially became a city in 1950 and was granted provincial status in 1963. It is divided into eight divisions namely Dagoretti, Kasarani, Central, Westlands, Makandara, Pumwani and Kibera which are in turn divided into locations and further on into sub locations.

2.0 The Origin of Informal Settlements in Nairobi

The development of informal settlements in any city is a manifestation of the inability of the formal systems to deal with the shelter needs of the growing populating. These shelter strategies are interplay between the social, economic and political dynamics of any country and how the respective government react to such interplay. An economic analysis suggests that homeless occurs where the core economic institutions cannot produce and distribute houses effectively. Informal settlements just like urban poverty are a creation of systems and policies that continue to marginalse particular sections of the population obviously for the survival of a small group of political and social elites. The informal settlements are one of the indicators of homelessness which is a 'combination of economic poverty and the erosion of social links or social poverty"(Schurink 2003). In the case of Nairobi, informal settlements cover only about five per cent of the total residential land, but are inhabited by over fifty per cent of the city's population (Wasao 2002). Some of the large informal settlements like Mathare Valley and Kibera started during the colonial while majority others have sprouted in the post-colonial era. The colonial government believed that a big part of the population including Africans, Arabs and Asians represented surplus labor that exceeded the needs of the towns and its economy. Both the colonial government and the post-colonial government instituted a deliberate policy of constrained provision of housing for Africans. Slums, therefore, have continued to manifest the legacy of neglect of this part of the population which is regarded as a nuisance and whose conditions are at best viewed as transitional! This culminated into a big number of slum dwellers who lived in makeshift tents which were often dismantled every now and then by the provincial administration. Besides, the official policy or lack of it, the other obvious reasons for the growth of these settlements include:

(i)   Rural –urban migration, where the city is viewed to have all the opportunities by the rural folk

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(ii)   Unprofitability of rural investments like agriculture making the population see the city as the only economic recourse

(iii)   Natural increase in the population as a result of better health and dietary practices

(iv)   Political uncertainty which gripped the country in the 1990s as was manifested by the tribal clashes forcing the affected parties to seek refuge in the cities and

(v)   The limited government resources to match the burgeoning needs of the urban population both for the in-migrants and the new households.

The official response to the informal settlements has been that of harassment, demolition and eviction. This trend did continue to the early 1990s with the excuse that the squatter settlements were hideouts for thugs and political criminals. This attitude coupled with the lack of provision of services to these settlements has continued to render them a poor reflection of housing that is acceptable. It is this wait-and- see attitude that has led to the mushrooming of informal settlements.

2.1 Nairobi's Homelessness

The definition adopted herein is that of homelessness being a situation where one may have a roof over his/her head but is totally lacking in as far as the basic amenities are concerned. Slums and squatter settlements will be categorized as such. Kenya is a land of contrasts with the good, the bad and the ugly. In a recent study conducted by the United Nations, Kenya is one of the countries where the gap between the rich and the poor is so diverse. Similarly as shown in the attached plates, whereas there are modest apartments sprouting everywhere in Nairobi for the middle and high income groups, majority of Nairobi dwellers still survive on less than a dollar a day and their kind of shelter is wanting. This study is going to examine the housing condition in Mathare Valley which is one of the oldest informal settlements in Nairobi.

Mathare Valley is located in the Pumwani Division of Nairobi and it is approximately 4kms to the South East of the city center. Mathare has been an informal settlements for over seventy years when the colonial masters designated Pumwani as a residential area for the natives. Back then as it now, although mildly, slum residents were either harassed or merely tolerated by official policy as interlopers with no right to public amenities. Thus the existing housing conditions in Mathare have continued to

deteriorate as there has been no active government involvement in as afar as the improvements of the plight of the residents is concerned. A visit into the Mathare Valley revealed a gleam picture of the various housing parameters/ indicators taken to measure housing. These indicators are based on the socially acceptable standards of housing that though not universal are laid down regulations that govern housing provision. The criteria adopted to measure standards is highly subjective and uneven, since the cultural, economic and social circumstances differ from one region to the other and services in the Third World cities can only compare with those of similar cities. All this makes the Universal definition more elusive. In Kenya, however, a decent house according to 1966/67 Sessional Paper No5, constitutes of a two bed-roomed house, constructed of permanent materials with a separate kitchen and basic sanitary facilities. In the case of Mathare the following was observed:-

(i)Amenities and services

Infrastructural services may include a full range of modern facilities but when reduced to its minimum, the basic requirements are access to safe drinking water, sewerage disposal, refuse collection services, access roads and other communal facilities such as schools and health care facilities. In Mathare Valley, these basics are lacking. The residents have access to water in form of standpipes which sometimes may be located 500metres from the shanties. This water is mainly through illegal water connections and is therefore unreliable. A recent Nairobi Cross-sectional Slum Survey indicates that about 75% of the slums' residents purchase water on regular basis from the water Vendors. The same survey indicated that 78.8% use traditional pit latrines. In the case of mathare Valley, most of the residents don't have a pit latrine near their premises and have to relieve themselves in buckets and polythene bags at night and discard the waste in the flowing steams and rivers, thus the term 'Flying toilets'. Other facilities like roads are too narrow for any vehicular movement making emergency rescue operations impossible. This explains why any event of fire has so many casualties in these Settlements.

(ii)Occupancy rates

This refers to the maximum number of occupants that a given room may accommodate. Exceeding such a number may lead to overcrowding which leads to spread of disease, intrusion into privacy and social moral decay. The 1966/7 Sessional paper recommends the Two bed-roomed house to be occupied by a

maximum number of 5 persons. In Mathare informal Settlement, it was observed that the houses which are single roomed often times accommodate a family of man, wife and a minimum of for children. In most cases there is a relative from the rural area being housed in the family. All domestic activities including bathing are conducted in this one room. This has led to high incidents of spread of communicable diseases like TB, whooping cough and other vices like sexual abuse on the children.

(iii) Construction Materials and Room Sizes.

The above-mentioned survey showed that 69% of the structures in the Informal settlements in Nairobi are constructed of wood planks/wood/ vinyl for the floor. These in themselves are temporary materials which are susceptible to fires, decay from weather elements and attacks by vermin and rodents. It is recommended that the sizes of rooms be big enough to allow free movement of household items and people.

A visit to Mathare reveal that the structural conditions of the houses is poor owing the nature of materials used for the construction. They are weak, temporary and highly flammable. The walls are made of polythene paper, mud or dung supported by weak timber posts or on rusted Galvanized Iron sheets. Roofing is by the same old sheets which allows sun or rain to penetrate. Most of the floors in Mathare are mud and dung but where the house is suspended over drains wood planks are used. The recommended minimum 9Sqm for the room is just a dream to majority of the residents as the rooms are in the ranges of 4.5sqm to 9Sqm.

(iv) Security of Tenure

The global Campaign on Secure tenure is premised on the realization that security of   tenure is a key component to the realization of the UN-Habitat's goal of Cities without Slums. Various studies carried across the informal settlements in the LDCs reveal that land ownership is not viewed as security of tenure. To most dwellers of the slums security of tenure is about the piece of mind so that one has no fear of unforeseen eviction, demolition and thuggery with or without a title. It is also viewed as having a relationaship with the natural factors such as climate, soils or topography. For instance as most informal settlements are established in quarries, ravines or flood plains, the residents may not feel happy to invest permanent structures in such areas. Social cohesion also counts in as far as security of tenure is concerned as it

based on the certain social structures primarily determined by administrative and cultural instruments. These determine how persons and communities relate to each other thus prompting people to invest in certain areas. Mathare is a cosmopolitan slum settlement with different communities living there. However, these communities are all squatters on Government land with a few private owners who are absentee landlords. In the past, they had to contend with evictions, demolitions and regular arson on their properties in an attempt to get them out. Currently the level of official tolerance is higher and such harassment is not common. However, no formal steps have been taken to regularize ownership of land in Mathare Valley and it is therefore difficult for the landlords to develop better structures. Besides, there has been no decisive attempt to fully provide Mathare Valley and other informal settlements with infrastructural services.
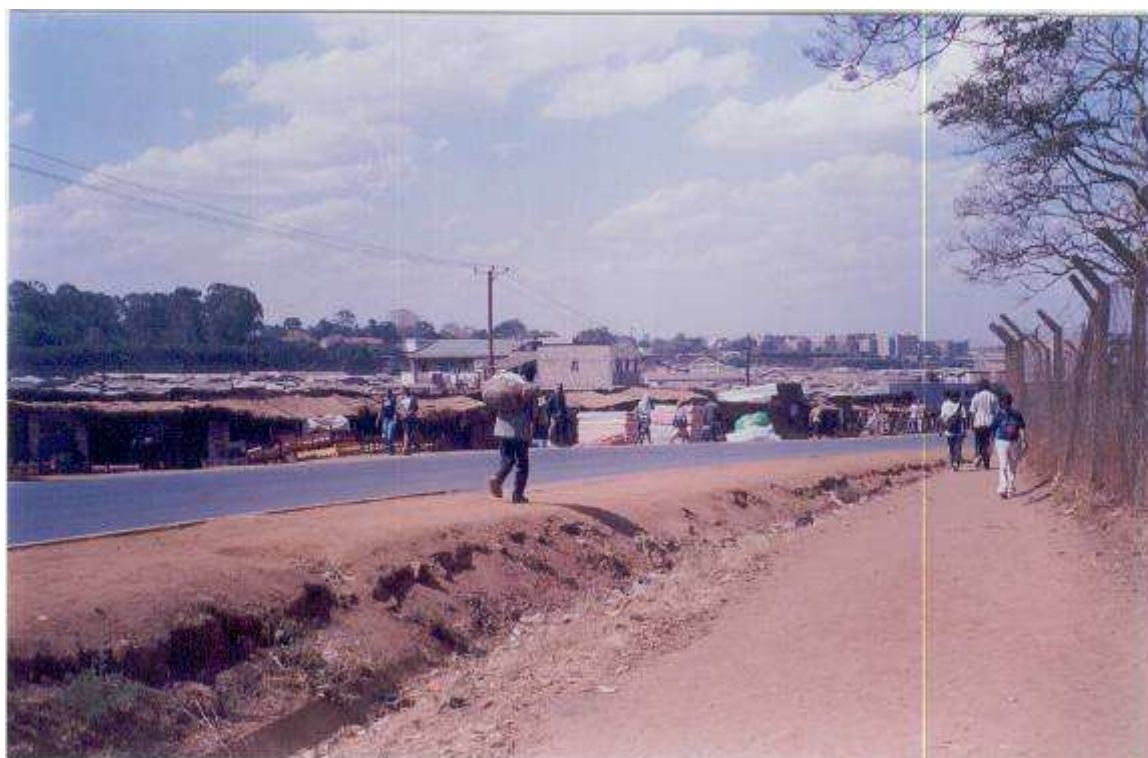

Plate 1: An overview of Mathare Valley: Source Author (2005)

Plate 2: Solid Waste disposal still a problem in informal settlements: Source Author (2005)

2.2 Government Intervention

The previous discussion focuses on the development of homelessness as mostly attributed to lack of clear-cut policies on the part of most governments to address the issue. Thus informal settlements particularly squatter settlements are as a result of deliberate neglect on the part of government institutions entrusted with the responsibility of shelter provision. Despite, this lackluster performance, it is not to say that there haven't been any official response.

Prior to independence, the colonial government recognized the need to have areas that were reserved for the native accommodation. Although the number of African natives getting into Nairobi then was limited owing to the pass entry rule, there was still a growing demand for housing. This, the government addressed by what may be referred to as Conventional housing approaches which involved the provision of fully built units with basic services. It is around this time that low income residential neighborhoods were created to the East of the city. A visit into that direction reveals very old estates like Kaloleni, Shauri Moyo, Mbotela etc. This policy not only served to accommodate the natives but was also a tool to control any other form of informal growth so that all

other unauthorized settlements were demolished. The fully built housing approach by the government continued well into independent period with the government continuing to provide ready housing particularly to the public servants. Thus there are still scattered government housing units all over the city done by the central government, the Local Authority or by government parastatals. Examples include areas like Madaraka in Nairobi West, Kileleshwa, Parklands and a few other places.

This approach could, however, not be sustained due to the following reasons:-

- The units costs were very high since the standards adopted were high making cost recovery and replication difficult

- The number of units put up was small relative to the housing needs

- The designs and locations of the projects were not compatible to the needs, priorities and aspirations of the target group

This led to a limited production of the required housing units compared to the numbers thus pushing majority to be accommodated in the informal settlements. The private sector on the other hand could not produce housing for the massive poor as theirs was a different mission altogether. This led to the adoption of non-conventional approaches in the 1970s and 80s in the form of site and service schemes and squatter upgrading programmes which came much later after the silent realization that these informal settlements are not a transitional feature. Site and service schemes consist of provision of serviced sites which selected applicants may lease or buy. The intended beneficiaries are provided with secure tenure and a range of basic services and in most cases demonstration units. Whereas Squatter upgrading takes into consideration the existing housing stock, site and service schemes add to the existing stock.

Plate 3: Government Housing of Mathari Hospital: Source Author (2005)

2.3 Dandora Site and Service Scheme

This scheme is found about 12kms to the East of the city center in Embakasi Division. The project was initiated in the early 1970s through the World Bank and Usaid collaboration. It was managed by the Nairobi City council and aimed at provision of 6000 serviced plots with infrastructural services and demonstration units. There was provision of   cash and material loans. The target group was selected and limited to levels of incomes earned, the household composition and the education levels. These in themselves were limitations to the level of applicants that could be admitted into the project. In the case of income, a down payment of six hundred shillings was required which was far too high for most of the genuinely poor people. Proof of a stable income was required in form of recommendation letters from the employers, bank statements etc. The nature of household composition was stereotyped in form of male-headed household. Various studies have, however shown that majority of low income households are headed by women.

Just like in other site and service project, the Dandora site and service project had its merits which included:-

- Increased production of housing and infrastructure

- Delivery of higher quality housing

- Allocation of plots to as low as the 20th income percentile

- Generation of income and employment among the beneficiaries

However the scheme success was hampered by the following limitations

- The benefits realized from the project went to better off households due to the limiting criteria.

- The subsidy levels were too high for the intended beneficiaries making recovery hard

- Institutional conflicts between the implementing agency and the donors led to delay in completion

- The Dandora scheme was inappropriate in terms of location design and standards. These were ill-matched to the needs of the target group

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GG.   2.3 Mathare 4A Squatter upgrading project

HH.   Squatter upgrading projects signify a shift in the government approach to the housing shortages from the creation of new units and adding to the existing stock to the recognition that it is better to improve what is already existing. Balbo (2001) argues that with an estimated one billion poor living in unsafe and unhealthy settlements, upgrading remains one of the key options for housing development. The new economic and institutional arrangements are making upgrading strategies more relevant. Thus upgrading involves the official realization that squatter projects are not transitional through land tenure reforms, improvement of shelter and provision of basic services.

Mathare 4A is located in the Mathare valley settlement scheme. The project was started in the 1990s through the initiative of the slum dwellers, their local Member of Parliament and a local Catholic Priest who approached a German organization, Kreditantalt Fur Wiederaufban (KFW). KFW funded the study of the area with the project viewed to accommodate between 100,000 to 200,000 persons. The project was planned to be executed in four phases within five years. The first phase was completed

in 1995, while the second by 1996. Infrastructure works were completed in May 1997. There were 1480 housing units completed by March 1997.

Although well intended the Mathare 4A project had a lot of constraints in terms of: -

- Finance – Finance in any housing project is needed for purchase of land, payment of labor and procurement of materials. The project was estimated to cost Ksh.600 million with the Kenya government giving a share of it, which it didn't honour. This led to implementation delays. The tenants could neither afford the rent of 420/- per month nor qualify for the mortgage facilities. All these financial constraints affected the project completion and the affordability

- Land - Land has always been sensitive in any upgrading project as ownership is always hard to verify and displacement has to take place so as to create room for services. In Mathare, land belonged to the government and majority of the structures were owned by absentee landlords. The squatters in Mathare 4A had to be resettled elsewhere and most resisted this resettlement which led to implementation delays.

- Building Materials - The adoption of expensive materials such as stabilized soil blocks and galvanized iron sheets was inappropriate for the target group. This led to high repayment costs which was unaffordable to most

- Commodification – This is component which is hardly thought of at the start of the project. This is the enhancement of value of the properties once upgrading is done which often leads to displacement of the target group by the well off. In the case of Mathare 4A most of the squatters sold their interest due to the costs and went to squat elsewhere.

The Dandora site and service schemes and the Mathare 4A are examples of the government approaches in dealing with homelessness. Though at a small scale, similar projects have been replicated in most big towns in Kenya with reasonable success. However, due to the limitations outlined in each of the case coupled with the limited resources on the part of the government, the approach to homelessness and other Millennium Development issues has called for an about turn from the state playing the role of a provider to an enabler, thus the enabling strategies which incorporates.

(i) Equitable distribution to resources – Most governments are achieving increased access to resources by a wider part of the population by recognizing the roles played

by NGOs and CBOs. These organizations have better chances of accessing housing finance, land and mobilize the community to participate in the process of infrastructure provision.

(ii) Removal of institutional constraints- In most LDCs, access to shelter, land and amenities is greatly hampered by the long chains of command, red tape and bureaucracy. With the help of the development partners, these countries are taking a cue and are restructuring their institutions thus reducing the costs and time spent to get government approvals. Moreover, building codes and regulations are being revised to suit cultural, economic and social conditions

(iii) Decentralization and democratization – A lot of development areas in the LDCs have been unattended to due to many years of bad politics, poor governance, lack of transparency and accountability. The donor community has been putting pressure on most of these governments to reform or loose support. Although this has been hard to achieve, most of them are decentralizing their operations and democratizing their structures. This is especially so in the areas of land tenure regularization and infrastructure provision

(iv) Public private sector participation – Most governments are appreciating the active and effective role played by the private and community sectors in provision of shelter. Thus, they are inviting as many players as possible to participate in these areas. The role of the government is now left to that of provision of basic infrastructure like water, sewerage and electricity trunk systems.

Plate 4: An example of Private Sector Initiative: Source Author (2005)

3.0 Conclusion

From the foregoing, homelessness can be said to be a condition in which the affected persons are living in desolate circumstances without basic amenities and in constant fear of eviction. These people live a life of potentially becoming homeless. It has been difficult to achieve a universally acceptable definition of the term as it varies from country to country all depending on the social, economic and social conditions of the individual country. However, different indicators which measure housing standards universally have been analyzed in the Mathare case study to show how urban communities can be termed homeless even when they have a roof over their heads.

Various governments have taken different approaches to tackle homelessness. The most common are mentioned as conventional and non-conventional housing approaches whose success and limitations have been analyzed. It is worth noting that there is not one single approach that is going to be a panacea to homelessness, but a combination of approaches. This is specifically so due to the bursting levels of

urbanization coupled with limited government resources in the LDcs. There is therefore, need to adopt a more flexible attitude to the issue of homelessness through an all-inclusive approach which includes all possible players.

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i Hernando de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

ii For example, see Ernesto Zedillo. "Making Businesses Work for the Poor," *Forbes,* 29 March 2004, 35.

iii *Land Policies for Growth and Poverty Reduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 22. Sjaastad and Bromley define property rights more formally as "social conventions backed up by the power of the state or the community (at various levels) that allow individuals or groups to lay 'a claim to a benefit or income stream that the state will agree to protect through the assignment of duty to others who may cover, or somehow interfere with, the benefit stream.' " Daniel W. Bromley and Espen Sjaastad, "Indigenous Land Rights in Sub-Saharan Africa: Appropriation, Security and Investment Demand," *World Development* 25:4 (1997): 549-62.

iv De Soto, The Mystery of Capital.

v For example, see "In the Shadows," *The Economist,* 17 June 2004, 76. See also Diana Farrell, "The Hidden Dangers of the Informal Economy," *McKinsey Quarterly* 3 (2004): 26-37.

vi *Doing Business in 2005: Removing Obstacles to Growth* (Washington, DC: Oxford University Press and the World Bank, 2004).

vii Hernando de Soto refers to dead capital as "assets that cannot be used to their fullest." See Hernando de Soto, interview with *ReasonOnline* (http://reason.com/DeSoto.shtml). That property is considered dead capital should not be confused with productive capacity. Much of this informal land is used for businesses that are essential to local, and often national, economies. For example, see Kerry A. Dolan, "Waking Dead Capital," *Forbes*, 15 May 2000, 98-105.

viii Hernando de Soto interview with *ReasonOnline*.

ix *Doing Business in 2005*, 34.

x As *ReasonOnline* notes, "[i]f you go and try to expropriate one of these people and send in troops to do so, your soldiers will come back in boxes. There is no way to touch these entrepreneurs. They get together and defend their private property with guns." See Hernando de Soto interview with *ReasonOnline*.

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xix Ibid., 5.

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